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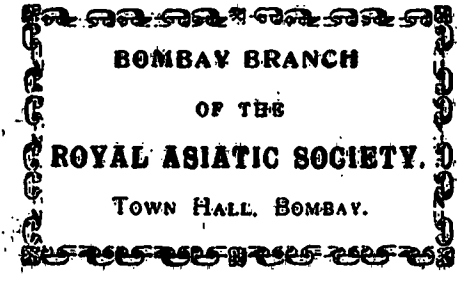

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BIBLICAL COMMENTARY

ON

THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY

C. F. KEIL, D.D., AND F. DELITZSCH, D.D.,

PROFESSORS OF THEOLOGY.

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THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET DANIEL,

BY

C. F. KEIL.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE venerable and learned author of the following Commentary has produced a work which, it is believed, will stand comparison with any other of the present age for the comprehensive and masterly way in which he handles the many difficult and interesting questions of Biblical Criticism and Interpretation that have accumulated from the earliest times around the Exposition of the Book of the Prophet Daniel. The Translator is glad of the opportunity of bringing this work under the notice of English readers. The severely critical and exegetical nature of the work precludes any attempt at elegance of style. The Translator's aim has simply been to introduce the English student to Dr. Keil's own modes of thought and forms of expression.

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THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

INTRODUCTION.

I.—THE PERSON OF THE PROPHET.

THE name דָּנִיֵּאל or דָּנְאֵל (Ezek. xiv. 14, 20, xxviii. 3), Δανιήλ, *i.e.* "God is my Judge," or, if the י is the *Yod compaginis*, "God is judging," "God will judge," but not "Judge of God," is in the Old Testament borne by a son of David by Abigail (1 Chron. iii. 1), a Levite in the time of Ezra (Ezra viii. 2; Neh. x. 7 [6]), and by the prophet whose life and prophecies form the contents of this book.

Of Daniel's life the following particulars are related:—From ch. i. 1–5 it appears that, along with other youths of the "king's seed," and of the most distinguished families of Israel, he was carried captive to Babylon, in the reign of Jehoiakim, by Nebuchadnezzar, when he first came up against Jerusalem and took it, and that there, under the Chaldee name of Belteshazzar, he spent three years in acquiring a knowledge of Chaldee science and learning, that he might be prepared for serving in the king's palace. Whether Daniel was of the "seed royal," or only belonged to one of the most distinguished families of Israel, is not decided, inasmuch as there is no certain information regarding his descent. The statement of Josephus (*Ant.* x. 10, 1), that he was ἐκ τοῦ Σεδεκίου γένους, is probably an opinion deduced from Dan. i. 3, and it is not much better established than the saying of Epiphanius (*Adv. Hæres.* 55. 3) that his father was called Σαβαάν, and that of the Pseudo-Epiphanius (*de vita proph.* ch. x.) that he was born at Upper Bethhoron, not far from Jerusalem. During the period set apart for his education, Daniel and his like-minded friends, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, who had received the Chaldee names Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, abstained, with the consent of their overseer, from the meat and drink provided for

them from the king's table, lest they should thereby be defiled through contact with idolatry, and partook only of pulse and water. This stedfast adherence to the faith of their fathers was so blessed of God, that they were not only in bodily appearance fairer than the other youths who ate of the king's meat, but they also made such progress in their education, that at the end of their years of training, on an examination of their attainments in the presence of the king, they far excelled all the Chaldean wise men throughout the whole kingdom (vers. 6–20).

After this, in the second year of his reign, Nebuchadnezzar, being troubled in spirit by a remarkable dream which he had dreamt, called to him all the astrologers and Chaldeans of Babylon, that they might tell him the dream and interpret it. They confessed their inability to fulfil his desire. The king's dream and its interpretation were then revealed by God to Daniel, in answer to prayer, so that he could tell the matter to the king. On this account Nebuchadnezzar gave glory to the God of the Jews as the God of gods and the Revealer of hidden things, and raised Daniel to the rank of ruler over the whole province of Babylon, and chief president over all the wise men of Babylon. At the request of Daniel, he also appointed his three friends to be administrators over the province, so that Daniel remained in the king's palace (ch. ii.). He held this office during the whole of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, and interpreted, at a later period, a dream of great significance relative to a calamity which was about to fall upon the king (ch. iv.).

After Nebuchadnezzar's death he appears to have been deprived of his elevated rank, as the result of the change of government. But Belshazzar, having been alarmed during a riotous feast by the finger of a man's hand writing on the wall, called to him the Chaldeans and astrologers. None of them was able to read and to interpret the mysterious writing. The king's mother thereupon directed that Daniel should be called, and he read and interpreted the writing to the king. For this he was promoted by the king to be the third ruler of the kingdom, *i.e.* to be one of the three chief governors of the kingdom (ch. v.). This office he continued to hold under the Median king Darius. The other princes of the empire and the royal satraps sought to deprive him of it, but God the Lord in a wonderful manner saved him (ch. vi.) by His angel from the mouth of the lions; and he remained in office under the government of the Persian Cyrus (ch. vi. 29 [28]).

During this second half of his life Daniel was honoured by God with revelations regarding the development of the world-power in its different phases, the warfare between it and the kingdom of God, and the final victory of the latter over all hostile powers. These revelations are contained in ch. vii.–xii. The last of them was communicated to him in the third year of Cyrus the king (ch. x. 1), *i.e.* in the second year after Cyrus had issued his edict (Ezra i. 1 ff.) permitting the Jews to return to their own land and to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem. Hence we learn that Daniel lived to see the beginning of the return of his people from their exile. He did not, however, return to his native land with the company that went up under Zerubbabel and Joshua, but remained in Babylon, and there ended his days, probably not long after the last of these revelations from God had been communicated to him, which concluded with the command to seal up the book of his prophecies till the time of the end, and with the charge, rich in its comfort, to go in peace to meet his death, and to await the resurrection from the dead at the end of the days (ch. xii. 4, 13). If Daniel was a youth (יֶלֶד, i. 4, 10) of from fifteen to eighteen years of age at the time of his being carried captive into Chaldea, and died in the faith of the divine promise soon after the last revelation made to him in the third year (ch. x. 1) of king Cyrus, then he must have reached the advanced age of at least ninety years.

The statements of this book regarding his righteousness and piety, as also regarding his wonderful endowment with wisdom to reveal hidden things, receive a powerful confirmation from the language of his contemporary Ezekiel (ch. xiv. 14, 20), who mentions Daniel along with Noah and Job as a pattern of righteousness of life pleasing to God, and (ch. xxviii. 3) speaks of his wisdom as above that of the princes of Tyre. If we consider that Ezekiel gave expression to the former of these statements fourteen years, and to the other eighteen years, after Daniel had been carried captive to Babylon, and also that the former statement was made eleven, and the latter fifteen years, after his elevation to the rank of president of the Chaldean wise men, then it will in no way appear surprising to us to find that the fame of his righteousness and his wonderful wisdom was so spread abroad among the Jewish exiles, that Ezekiel was able to point to him as a bright example of these virtues. When now God gave him, under Belshazzar, a new opportunity, by reading and interpreting the mysterious handwriting on

the wall, of showing his supernatural prophetic gifts, on account of which he was raised by the king to one of the highest offices of state in the kingdom; when, moreover, under the Median king Darius the machinations of his enemies against his life were frustrated, by his wonderful deliverance from the jaws of the lions, and he not only remained to hoary old age to hold that high office, but also received from God revelations regarding the development of the world-power and of the kingdom of God, which in precision excel all the predictions of the prophets,—then it could not fail but that a life so rich in the wonders of divine power and grace should not only attract the attention of his contemporaries, but also that after his death it should become a subject of wide-spread fame, as appears from the apocryphal addition to his book in the Alexandrine translation of it, and in the later Jewish Haggada, and be enlarged upon by the church fathers, and even by Mohammedan authors. Cf. Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient. s.v. Daniel*, and Delitzsch, *de Habacuci Proph. vita atque ætate*, Lps. 1842, p. 24 sqq.

Regarding the end of Daniel's life and his burial nothing certain is known. The Jewish report of his return to his fatherland (cf. Carpzov, *Introd.* iii. p. 239 sq.) has as little historical value as that which relates that he died in Babylon, and was buried in the king's sepulchre (Pseud.-Epiph.), or that his grave was in Susa (Abulph. and Benjamin of Tudela).

In direct opposition to the wide-spread reports which bear testimony to the veneration with which the prophet was regarded, stands the modern naturalistic criticism, which, springing from antipathy to the miracles of the Bible, maintains that the prophet never existed at all, but that his life and labours, as they are recorded in this book, are the mere invention of a Jew of the time of the Maccabees, who attributed his fiction to Daniel, deriving the name from some unknown hero of mythic antiquity (Bleek, von Lengerke, Hitzig) or of the Assyrian exile (Ewald).

II.—DANIEL'S PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

Though Daniel lived during the Babylonian exile, yet it was not, as in the case of Ezekiel, in the midst of his countrymen, who had been carried into captivity, but at the court of the ruler of the world and in the service of the state. To comprehend his work for the kingdom of God in this situation, we must first of all endeavour to make clear the significance of the Babylonian exile, not only for the

people of Israel, but also for the heathen nations, with reference to the working out of the divine counsel for the salvation of the human race.

Let us first fix our attention on the significance of the exile for Israel, the people of God under the Old Covenant. The destruction of the kingdom of Judah and the deportation of the Jews into Babylonish captivity, not only put an end to the independence of the covenant people, but also to the continuance of that constitution of the kingdom of God which was founded at Sinai; and that not only temporarily, but for ever, for in its integrity it was never restored. God the Lord had indeed, in the foundation of the Old Covenant, through the institution of circumcision as a sign of the covenant for the chosen people, given to the patriarch Abraham the promise that He would establish His covenant with him and his seed as an everlasting covenant, that He would be a God to them, and would give them the land of Canaan as a perpetual possession (Gen. xvii. 18, 19). Accordingly, at the establishment of this covenant with the people of Israel by Moses, the fundamental arrangements of the covenant constitution were designated as everlasting institutions (חֻקַּת עוֹלָם or חֹק); as, for example, the arrangements connected with the feast of the passover (Ex. xii. 14, 17, 24), the day of atonement (Lev. xvi. 29, 31, 34), and the other feasts (Lev. xxiii. 14, 21, 31, 41), the most important of the arrangements concerning the offering of sacrifice (Lev. iii. 17, vii. 34, 36, x. 15; Num. xv. 15, xviii. 8, 11, 19), and concerning the duties and rights of the priests (Ex. xxvii. 21, xxviii. 43, xxix. 28, xxx. 21), etc. God fulfilled His promise. He not only delivered the tribes of Israel from their bondage in Egypt by the wonders of His almighty power, and put them in possession of the land of Canaan, but He also protected them there against their enemies, and gave to them afterwards in David a king who ruled over them according to His will, overcame all their enemies, and made Israel powerful and prosperous. Moreover He gave to this king, His servant David, who, after he had vanquished all his enemies round about, wished to build a house for the Lord that His name might dwell there, the Great Promise: "When thy days be fulfilled, and thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, I will set up thy seed after thee, which shall proceed out of thy bowels, and I will establish his kingdom. He shall build an house for my name, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom for ever. I will be his Father, and he shall be my son. If he commit iniquity, I will chasten him with

the rod of men, and with the stripes of the children of men: but my mercy shall not depart away from him. . . . And thine house and thy kingdom shall be established for ever before thee: thy throne shall be established for ever" (2 Sam. vii. 12–16). Wherefore after David's death, when his son Solomon built the temple, the word of the Lord came to him, saying, "If thou wilt walk in my statutes, . . . then will I perform my word unto thee which I spake unto David thy father, and I will dwell among the children of Israel, and will not forsake my people Israel" (1 Kings vi. 12, 13). After the completion of the building of the temple the glory of the Lord filled the house, and God appeared to Solomon the second time, renewing the assurance, "If thou wilt walk before me as David thy father walked, . . . then I will establish the throne of thy kingdom upon Israel for ever, as I promised to David thy father" (1 Kings ix. 2–5). The Lord was faithful to this His word to the people of Israel, and to the seed of David. When Solomon in his old age, through the influence of his foreign wives, was induced to sanction the worship of idols, God visited the king's house with chastisement, by the revolt of the ten tribes, which took place after Solomon's death; but He gave to his son Rehoboam the kingdom of Judah and Benjamin, with the metropolis Jerusalem and the temple, and He preserved this kingdom, notwithstanding the constantly repeated declension of the king and the people into idolatry, even after the Assyrians had destroyed the kingdom of the ten tribes, whom they carried into captivity. But at length Judah also, through the wickedness of Manasseh, filled up the measure of its iniquity, and brought upon itself the judgment of the dissolution of the kingdom, and the carrying away of the inhabitants into captivity into Babylon.

In his last address and warning to the people against their continued apostasy from the Lord their God, Moses had, among other severe chastisements that would fall upon them, threatened this as the last of the punishments with which God would visit them. This threatening was repeated by all the prophets; but at the same time, following the example of Moses, they further announced that the Lord would again receive into His favour His people driven into exile, if, humbled under their sufferings, they would turn again unto Him; that He would gather them together from the heathen lands, and bring them back to their own land, and renew them by His Spirit, and would then erect anew in all its glory the kingdom of David under the Messiah.

Thus Micah not only prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple, and the leading away into captivity of the daughters of Zion (ch. iii. 12, iv. 10), but also the return from Babylon and the restoration of the former dominion of the daughters of Jerusalem, their victory over all their enemies under the sceptre of the Ruler who would go forth from Bethlehem, and the exaltation of the mountain of the house of the Lord above all mountains and hills in the last days (ch. v. 1 ff., iv. 1 ff.). Isaiah also announced (ch. xl.–lxvi.) the deliverance of Israel out of Babylon, the building up of the ruins of Jerusalem and Judah, and the final glory of Zion through the creation of new heavens and a new earth. Jeremiah, in like manner, at the beginning of the Chaldean catastrophe, not only proclaimed to the people who had become ripe for the judgment, the carrying away into Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, and the continuance of the exile for the space of seventy years, but he also prophesied the destruction of Babylon after the end of the seventy years, and the return of the people of Judah and Israel who might survive to the land of their fathers, the rebuilding of the desolated city, and the manifestation of God's grace toward them, by His entering into a new covenant with them, and writing His law upon their hearts and forgiving their sins (ch. xxv. 29–31).

Hence it evidently appears that the abolition of the Israelitish theocracy, through the destruction of the kingdom of Judah and the carrying away of the people into exile by the Chaldeans, in consequence of their continued unfaithfulness and the transgression of the laws of the covenant on the part of Israel, was foreseen in the gracious counsels of God; and that the perpetual duration of the covenant of grace, as such, was not dissolved, but only the then existing condition of the kingdom of God was changed, in order to winnow that perverse people, who, notwithstanding all the chastisements that had hitherto fallen upon them, had not in earnest turned away from their idolatry, by that the severest of all the judgments that had been threatened them; to exterminate by the sword, by famine, by the plague, and by other calamities, the incorrigible mass of the people; and to prepare the better portion of them, the remnant who might repent, as a holy seed to whom God might fulfil His covenant promises.

Accordingly the exile forms a great turning-point in the development of the kingdom of God which He had founded in Israel. With that event the form of the theocracy established at

Sinai comes to an end, and then begins the period of the transition to a new form, which was to be established by Christ, and has been actually established by Him. The form according to which the people of God constituted an earthly kingdom, taking its place beside the other kingdoms of the nations, was not again restored after the termination of the seventy years of the desolations of Jerusalem and Judah, which had been prophesied by Jeremiah, because the Old Testament theocracy had served its end. God the Lord had, during its continuance, showed daily not only that He was Israel's God, a merciful and gracious God, who was faithful to His covenant towards those who feared Him and walked in His commandments and laws, and who could make His people great and glorious, and had power to protect them against all their enemies; but also that He was a mighty and a jealous God, who visits the blasphemers of His holy name according to their iniquity, and is able to fulfil His threatenings no less than His promises. It was necessary that the people of Israel should know by experience that a transgressing of the covenant and a turning away from the service of God does not lead to safety, but hastens onward to ruin; that deliverance from sin, and salvation life and happiness, can be found only with the Lord who is rich in grace and in faithfulness, and can only be reached by a humble walking according to His commandments.

The restoration of the Jewish state after the exile was not a re-establishment of the Old Testament kingdom of God. When Cyrus granted liberty to the Jews to return to their own land, and commanded them to rebuild the temple of Jehovah in Jerusalem, only a very small band of captives returned; the greater part remained scattered among the heathen. Even those who went home from Babylon to Canaan were not set free from subjection to the heathen world-power, but remained, in the land which the Lord had given to their fathers, servants to it. Though now again the ruined walls of Jerusalem and the cities of Judah were restored, and the temple also was rebuilt, and the offering up of sacrifice renewed, yet the glory of the Lord did not again enter into the new temple, which was also without the ark of the covenant and the mercy-seat, so as to hallow it as the place of His gracious presence among His people. The temple worship among the Jews after the captivity was without its soul, the real presence of the Lord in the sanctuary; the high priest could no longer go before God's throne of grace in the holy of holies to sprinkle the

atoning blood of the sacrifice toward the ark of the covenant, and to accomplish the reconciliation of the congregation with their God, and could no longer find out, by means of the Urim and Thummim, the will of the Lord. When Nehemiah had finished the restoration of the walls of Jerusalem, prophecy ceased, the revelations of the Old Covenant came to a final end, and the period of expectation (during which no prophecy was given) of the promised Deliverer, of the seed of David, began. When this Deliverer appeared in Jesus Christ, and the Jews did not recognise Him as their Saviour, but rejected Him and put Him to death, they were at length, on the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple by the Romans, scattered throughout the whole world, and to this day they live in a state of banishment from the presence of the Lord, till they return to Christ, and through faith in Him again enter into the kingdom of God and be blessed.

The space of 500 years, from the end of the Babylonish captivity to the appearance of Christ, can be considered as the last period of the Old Covenant only in so far as in point of time it precedes the foundation of the New Covenant; but it was in reality, for that portion of the Jewish people who had returned to Judea, no deliverance from subjection to the power of the heathen, no re-introduction into the kingdom of God, but only a period of transition from the Old to the New Covenant, during which Israel were prepared for the reception of the Deliverer coming out of Zion. In this respect this period may be compared with the forty, or more accurately, the thirty-eight years of the wanderings of Israel in the Arabian desert. As God did not withdraw all the tokens of His gracious covenant from the race that was doomed to die in the wilderness, but guided them by His pillar of cloud and fire, and gave them manna to eat, so He gave grace to those who had returned from Babylon to Jerusalem to build again the temple and to restore the sacrificial service, whereby they prepared themselves for the appearance of Him who should build the true temple, and make an everlasting atonement by the offering up of His life as a sacrifice for the sins of the world.

If the prophets before the captivity, therefore, connect the deliverance of Israel from Babylon and their return to Canaan immediately with the setting up of the kingdom of God in its glory, without giving any indication that between the end of the Babylonish exile and the appearance of the Messiah a long period would intervene, this uniting together of the two events is not to be explained only

from the perspective and apotelesmatic character of the prophecy, but has its foundation in the very nature of the thing itself. The prophetic perspective, by virtue of which the inward eye of the seer beholds only the elevated summits of historical events as they unfold themselves, and not the valleys of the common incidents of history which lie between these heights, is indeed peculiar to prophecy in general, and accounts for the circumstance that the prophecies as a rule give no fixed dates, and apotelesmatically bind together the points of history which open the way to the end, with the end itself. But this formal peculiarity of prophetic contemplation we must not extend to the prejudice of the actual truth of the prophecies. The fact of the uniting together of the future glory of the kingdom of God under the Messiah with the deliverance of Israel from exile, has perfect historical veracity. The banishment of the covenant people from the land of the Lord and their subjection to the heathen, was not only the last of those judgments which God had threatened against His degenerate people, but it also continues till the perverse rebels are exterminated, and the penitents are turned with sincere hearts to God the Lord and are saved through Christ. Consequently the exile was for Israel the last space for repentance which God in His faithfulness to His covenant granted to them. Whoever is not brought by this severe chastisement to repentance and reformation, but continues opposed to the gracious will of God, on him falls the judgment of death; and only they who turn themselves to the Lord, their God and Saviour, will be saved, gathered from among the heathen, brought in within the bonds of the covenant of grace through Christ, and become partakers of the promised riches of grace in His kingdom.

But with the Babylonish exile of Israel there also arises for the heathen nations a turning-point of marked importance for their future history. So long as Israel formed within the borders of their own separated land a peculiar people, under immediate divine guidance, the heathen nations dwelling around came into manifold hostile conflicts with them, while God used them as a rod of correction for His rebellious people. Though they were often at war among themselves, yet, in general separated from each other, each nation developed itself according to its own proclivities. Besides, from ancient times the greater kingdoms on the Nile and the Euphrates had for centuries striven to raise their power, enlarging themselves into world-powers; while the Phœnicians on the Medi-

terranean sea-coast gave themselves to commerce, and sought to enrich themselves with the treasures of the earth. In this development the smaller as well as the larger nations gradually acquired strength. God had permitted each of them to follow its own way, and had conferred on them much good, that they might seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after Him and find Him; but the principle of sin dwelling within them had poisoned their natural development, so that they went farther and farther away from the living God and from everlasting good, sunk deeper and deeper into idolatry and immorality of every kind, and went down with rapid steps toward destruction. Then God began to winnow the nations of the world by His great judgments. The Chaldeans raised themselves, under energetic leaders, to be a world-power, which not only overthrew the Assyrian kingdom and subjugated all the lesser nations of Hither Asia, but also broke the power of the Phœnicians and Egyptians, and brought under its dominion all the civilised peoples of the East. With the monarchy founded by Nebuchadnezzar it raised itself in the rank of world-powers, which within not long intervals followed each other in quick succession, until the Roman world-monarchy arose, by which all the civilised nations of antiquity were subdued, and under which the ancient world came to a close, at the appearance of Christ. These world-kingdoms, which destroyed one another, each giving place, after a short existence, to its successor, which in its turn also was overthrown by another that followed, led the nations, on the one side, to the knowledge of the helplessness and the vanity of their idols, and taught them the fleeting nature and the nothingness of all earthly greatness and glory, and, on the other side, placed limits to the egoistical establishment of the different nations in their separate interests, and the deification of their peculiarities in education, culture, art, and science, and thereby prepared the way, by means of the spreading abroad of the language and customs of the physically or intellectually dominant people among all the different nationalities united under one empire, for the removal of the particularistic isolation of the tribes separated from them by language and customs, and for the re-uniting together into one universal family of the scattered tribes of the human race. Thus they opened the way for the revelation of the divine plan of salvation to all peoples, whilst they shook the faith of the heathen in their gods, destroyed the frail supports of heathen religion, and awakened the longing for the Saviour from sin, death, and destruction.

But God, the Lord of heaven and earth, revealed to the heathen His eternal Godhead and His invisible essence, not only by His almighty government in the disposal of the affairs of their history, but He also, in every great event in the historical development of humanity, announced His will through that people whom He had chosen as the depositaries of His salvation. Already the patriarchs had, by their lives and by their fear of God, taught the Canaanites the name of the Lord so distinctly, that they were known amongst them as "princes of God" (Gen. xxiii. 6), and in their God they acknowledged the most high God, the Creator of heaven and earth (Gen. xiv. 19, 22). Thus, when Moses was sent to Pharaoh to announce to him the will of God regarding the departure of the people of Israel, and when Pharaoh refused to listen to the will of God, his land and his people were so struck by the wonders of the divine omnipotence, that not only the Egyptians learned to fear the God of Israel, but the fear and dread of Him also fell on the princes of Edom and Moab, and on all the inhabitants of Canaan (Ex. xv. 14 ff.). Afterwards, when Israel came to the borders of Canaan, and the king of Moab, in conjunction with the princes of Midian, brought the famed soothsayer Balaam out of Mesopotamia that he might destroy the people of God with his curse, Balaam was constrained to predict, according to the will of God, to the king and his counsellors the victorious power of Israel over all their enemies, and the subjection of all the heathen nations (Num. xxii.–xxiv.). In the age succeeding, God the Lord showed Himself to the nations, as often as they assailed Israel contrary to His will, as an almighty God who can destroy all His enemies; and even the Israelitish prisoners of war were the means of making known to the heathen the great name of the God of Israel, as the history of the cure of Naaman the Syrian by means of Elisha shows (2 Kings v.). This knowledge of the living, all-powerful God could not but be yet more spread abroad among the heathen by the leading away captive of the tribes of Israel and of Judah into Assyria and Chaldea.

But fully to prepare, by the exile, the people of Israel as well as the heathen world for the appearance of the Saviour of all nations and for the reception of the gospel, the Lord raised up prophets, who not only preached His law and His justice among the covenant people scattered among the heathen, and made more widely known the counsel of His grace, but also bore witness by word and deed, in the presence of the heathen rulers of the world, of the omnipotence

and glory of God, the Lord of heaven and earth. This mission was discharged by Ezekiel and Daniel. God placed the prophet Ezekiel among his exiled fellow-countrymen as a watchman over the house of Israel, that he might warn the godless, proclaim to them continually the judgment which would fall upon them and destroy their vain hopes of a speedy liberation from bondage and a return to their fatherland; but to the God-fearing, who were bowed down under the burden of their sorrows and were led to doubt the covenant faithfulness of God, he was commissioned to testify the certain fulfilment of the predictions of the earlier prophets as to the restoration and bringing to its completion of the kingdom of God. A different situation was appointed by God to Daniel. His duty was to proclaim before the throne of the rulers of this world the glory of the God of Israel as the God of heaven and earth, in opposition to false gods; to announce to those invested with worldly might and dominion the subjugation of all the kingdoms of this world by the everlasting kingdom of God; and to his own people the continuance of their afflictions under the oppression of the world-power, as well as the fulfilment of the gracious counsels of God through the blotting out of all sin, the establishment of an everlasting righteousness, the fulfilling of all the prophecies, and the setting up of a true holy of holies.

III.—THE CONTENTS AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

The book begins (ch. i.) with the account of Daniel's being carried away to Babylon, his appointment and education for the service of the court of the Chaldean king by a three years' course of instruction in the literature and wisdom of the Chaldeans, and his entrance on service in the king's palace. This narative, by its closing (ver. 21) statement that Daniel continued in this office till the first year of king Cyrus, and still more by making manifest his firm fidelity to the law of the true God and his higher enlightenment in the meaning of dreams and visions granted to him on account of this fidelity, as well as by the special mention of his three like-minded friends, is to be regarded as a historico-biographical introduction to the book, showing how Daniel, under the divine guidance, was prepared, along with his friends, for that calling in which, as prophet at the court of the rulers of the world, he might bear testimony to the omnipotence and the infallible wisdom

of the God of Israel. This testimony is given in the following book. Ch. ii. contains a remarkable dream of Nebuchadnezzar, which none of the Chaldean wise men could tell to the king or interpret. But God made it known to Daniel in answer to prayer, so that he could declare and explain to the king the visions he saw in his dream, representing the four great world-powers, and their destruction by the everlasting kingdom of God. Ch. iii. describes the wonderful deliverance of Daniel's three friends from the burning fiery furnace into which they were thrown, because they would not bow down to the golden image which Nebuchadnezzar had set up. Ch. iv. (in Heb. text iii. 31–iv. 34) contains an edict promulgated by Nebuchadnezzar to all the peoples and nations of his kingdom, in which he made known to them a remarkable dream which had been interpreted to him by Daniel, and its fulfilment to him in his temporary derangement,—a beast's heart having been given unto him as a punishment for his haughty self-deification,—and his recovery from that state in consequence of his humbling himself under the hand of the almighty God. Ch. v. makes mention of a wonderful handwriting which appeared on the wall during a riotous feast, and which king Belshazzar saw, and the interpretation of it by Daniel. Ch. vi. narrates Daniel's miraculous deliverance from the den of lions into which the Median king Darius had thrown him, because he had, despite of the king's command to the contrary, continued to pray to his God.

The remaining chapters contain visions and divine revelations regarding the development of the world-powers and of the kingdom of God vouchsafed to Daniel. The seventh sets forth a vision, in which, under the image of four ravenous beasts rising up out of the troubled sea, are represented the four world-powers following one another. The judgment which would fall upon them is also revealed. The eighth contains a vision of the Medo-Persian and Greek world-powers under the image of a ram and a he-goat respectively, and of the enemy and desolater of the sanctuary and of the people of God arising out of the last named kingdom; the ninth, the revelation of the seventy weeks appointed for the development and the completion of the kingdom of God, which Daniel received in answer to earnest prayer for the pardon of his people and the restoration of Jerusalem; and, finally, ch. x.–xii. contain a vision, granted in the third year of the reign of Cyrus, with further disclosures regarding the Persian and the Grecian world-powers, and the wars of the kingdoms of the north

and the south, springing out of the latter of these powers, for the supreme authority and the dominion over the Holy Land; the oppression that would fall on the saints of the Most High at the time of the end; the destruction of the last enemy under the stroke of divine judgment; and the completion of the kingdom of God, by the rising again from the dead of some to everlasting life, and of some to shame and everlasting contempt.

The book has commonly been divided into two parts, consisting of six chapters each (*e.g.* by Ros., Maur., Hävern., Hitz., Zündel, etc.). The first six are regarded as historical, and the remaining six as prophetical; or the first part is called the "book of history," the second, the "book of visions." But this division corresponds neither with the contents nor with the formal design of the book. If we consider the first chapter and its relation to the whole already stated, we cannot discern a substantial reason for regarding Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the image representing the monarchies (ch. ii.), which with its interpretation was revealed to Daniel in a night vision (ch. ii. 19), as an historical narration, and Daniel's dream-vision of the four world-powers symbolized by ravenous beasts, which an angel interpreted to him, as a prophetic vision, since the contents of both chapters are essentially alike. The circumstance that in ch. ii. it is particularly related how the Chaldean wise men, who were summoned by Nubuchadnezzar, could neither relate nor interpret the dream, and on that account were threatened with death, and were partly visited with punishment, does not entitle us to refuse to the dream and its contents, which were revealed to Daniel in a night vision, the character of a prophecy. In addition to this, ch. vii., inasmuch as it is written in the Chaldee language and that Daniel speaks in it in the third person (ch. vii. 1, 2), naturally connects itself with the chapters preceding (ch. ii.–vi.), and separates itself from those which follow, in which Daniel speaks in the first person and uses the Hebrew language. On these grounds, we must, with Aub., Klief., and Kran., regard ch. ii., which is written in Chaldee, as belonging to the first part of the book, viz. ch. ii.–vii., and ch. viii.–xii., which are written in Hebrew, as constituting the second part; and the propriety of this division we must seek to vindicate by an examination of the contents of both of the parts.

Kranichfeld (*das Buch Daniel erklärt*) thus explains the distinction between the two parts:—The first presents the successive development of the whole heathen world power, and its

relation to Israel, till the time of the Messianic kingdom (ch. ii. and vii.), but lingers particularly in the period lying at the beginning of this development, *i.e.* in the heathen kingdoms standing nearest the exiles, namely, the Chaldean kingdom and that of the Medes which subdued it (ch. vi.). The second part (ch. viii.–xii.), on the contrary, passing from the Chaldean kingdom, lingers on the development of the heathen world-power towards the time of its end, in the Javanic form of power, and on the Median and Persian kingdom only in so far as it immediately precedes the unfolding of the power of Javan. But, setting aside this explanation of the world-kingdoms, with which we do not agree, the contents of ch. ix. are altogether overlooked in this view of the relations between the two parts, inasmuch as this chapter does not treat of the development of the heathen world-power, but of the kingdom of God and of the time of its consummation determined by God. If we inspect more narrowly the contents of the *first* part, we find an interruption of the chronological order pervading the book, inasmuch as events (ch. vi.) belonging to the time of the Median king Darius are recorded before the visions (ch. vii. and viii.) in the first and third year of the Chaldean king Belshazzar. The placing of these events before that vision can have no other ground than to allow historical incidents of a like kind to be recorded together, and then the visions granted to Daniel, without any interruption. Hence has arisen the appearance of the book's being divided into two parts, an historical and a prophetical.

In order to discover a right division, we must first endeavour to make clear the meaning of the historical incidents recorded in ch. iii.–vi., that we may determine their relations to the visions in ch. ii. and vii. The two intervening chapters iv. and v. are like the second chapter in this, that they speak of revelations which the possessors of the world-power received, and that, too, revelations of the judgment which they drew upon themselves by their boastful pride and violence against the sanctuaries of the living God. To Nebuchadnezzar, the founder of the world-power, when he boasted (ch. iv.) of the building of great Babylon as a royal residence by his great might, it was revealed in a dream that he should be cast down from his height and debased among the beasts of the field, till he should learn that the Most High rules over the kingdom of men. To king Belshazzar (ch. v.), in the midst of his riotous banquet, at which he desecrated the vessels of the holy temple at Jerusalem, was revealed, by means of a handwriting on the wall,

his death and the destruction of his kingdom. To both of these kings Daniel had to explain the divine revelation, which soon after was fulfilled. The other two chapters (iii. and vi.) make known the attempts of the rulers of the world to compel the servants of the Lord to offer supplication to them and to their images, and the wonderful deliverance from death which the Lord vouchsafed to the faithful confessors of His name. These four events have, besides their historical value, a prophetical import: they show how the world-rulers, when they misuse their power for self-idolatry and in opposition to the Lord and His servants, will be humbled and cast down by God, while, on the contrary, the true confessors of His name will be wonderfully protected and upheld. For the sake of presenting this prophetic meaning, Daniel has recorded these events and incidents in his prophetical book; and, on chronological and essential grounds, has introduced ch. ii. and vii. between the visions, so as to define more clearly the position of the world-power in relation to the kingdom of God. Thus the whole of the *first* part (ch. ii.–vii.) treats of *the world-power and its development in relation to the kingdom of God;* and we can say with Kliefoth,[1] that "chapter second gives a survey of the whole historical evolution of the world-power, which survey ch. vii., at the close of this part, further extends, while the intermediate chapters iii.–vi. show in concrete outlines the nature and kind of the world-power, and its conduct in opposition to the people of God."

If we now fix our attention on the *second* part, ch. viii.–xii., it will appear that in the visions, ch. viii. and x.–xii., are prophesied oppressions of the people of God by a powerful enemy of God and His saints, who would arise out of the third world-kingdom; which gave occasion to Auberlen[2] to say that the first part unfolds and presents to view the whole development of the world-powers from a universal historical point of view, and shows how the kingdom of God would in the end triumph over them; that the second part, on the contrary, places before our eyes the unfolding of the world-powers in their relation to Israel in the nearer future before the predicted (ch. ix.) appearance of Christ in the flesh. This designation of the distinction between the two parts accords with that already acknowledged by me, yet on renewed reflection it does not accord with the recognised

[1] *Das Buch Daniels übers. u. erkl.*

[2] *Der Proph. Daniel u. die Offenb. Johannis*, p. 38, der 2 Auf. (*The Prophecies of Daniel, and the Revelations of John.* Published by Messrs. T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh.)

reference of ch. ix. 24–27 to the first appearance of Christ in the flesh, nor with ch. xi. 36–xii. 7, which prophesies of Antichrist. Rather, as Kliefoth has also justly remarked, the *second* part treats *of the kingdom of God, and its development in relation to the world-power.* "As the second chapter forms the central-point of the first part, so does the ninth chapter of the second part, gathering all the rest around it. And as the second chapter presents the whole historical evolution of the world-power from the days of Daniel to the end, so, on the other hand, the ninth chapter presents the whole historical evolution of the kingdom of God from the days of Daniel to the end." But the preceding vision recorded in ch. viii., and that which follows in ch. x.–xii., predict a violent incursion of an insolent enemy rising out of the Javanic world-kingdom against the kingdom of God, which will terminate in his own destruction at the time appointed by God, and, as a comparison of ch. viii. and vii. and of ch. xi. 21–35 with 36–44 and ch. xii. 1–3 shows, will be a type of the assault of the last enemy, in whom the might of the fourth world-power reaches its highest point of hostility against the kingdom of God, but who in the final judgment will also be destroyed. These two visions, the second of which is but a further unfolding of the first, could not but show to the people of God what wars and oppressions they would have to encounter in the near and the remote future for their sanctification, and for the confirmation of their faith, till the final perfecting of the kingdom of God by the resurrection of the dead and the judgment of the world, and at the same time strengthen the true servants of God with the assurance of final victory in these severe conflicts.

With this view of the contents of the book the form in which the prophecies are given stands also in harmony. In the first part, which treats of the world-power, Nebuchadnezzar, the founder of the world-power, is the receiver of the revelation. To him was communicated not only the prophecy (ch. iv.) relating to himself personally, but also that which comprehended the whole development of the world-power (ch. ii.); while Daniel received only the revelation (ch. vii.) specially bearing on the relation of the world-power in its development to the kingdom of God, in a certain measure for the confirmation of the revelation communicated to Nebuchadnezzar. Belshazzar also, as the bearer of the world-power, received (ch. v.) a revelation from God. In the second part, on the contrary, which treats of the development of the kingdom of God, Daniel, "who is by birth and by faith a member of

the kingdom of God," alone receives a prophecy.—With this the change in the language of the book agrees. The first part (ch. ii.–vii.), treating of the world-power and its development, is written in Chaldee, which is the language of the world-power; the second part (ch. viii.–xii.), treating of the kingdom of God and its development, as also the first chapter, which shows how Daniel the Israelite was called to be a prophet by God, is written in the Hebrew, which is the language of the people of God. This circumstance denotes that in the first part the fortunes of the world-power, and that in the second part the development of the kingdom of God, is the subject treated of (cf. Auber. p. 39, Klief. p. 44).[1]

From these things we arrive at the certainty that the book of Daniel forms an organic whole, as is now indeed generally acknowledged, and that it was composed by a prophet according to a plan resting on higher illumination.

IV.—THE GENUINENESS OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

The book of Daniel, in its historical and prophetical contents, corresponds to the circumstances of the times under which, according to its statements, it sprang up, as also to the place which the receiver of the vision, called the prophet Daniel (ch. vii. 2, viii. 1,

[1] Kranichfeld (*d. B. Daniels*, p. 53) seeks to explain this interchange of the Hebrew and Chaldee (Aramean) languages by supposing that the decree of Nebuchadnezzar (ch. iii. 31 [iv. 1] ff.) to his people, and also his conversation with the Chaldeans (ch. ii. 4-11), were originally in the Aramaic language, and that the author was led from this to make use of this language throughout one part of his book, as was the case with Ezra, *e.g.* ch. iv. 23 ff. And the continuous use of the Aramaic language in one whole part of the book will be sufficiently explained, if it were composed during a definite epoch, within which the heathen oppressors as such, and the heathen persecution, stand everywhere in the foreground, namely in the time of the Chaldean supremacy, on which the Median made no essential change. Thus the theocrat, writing at this time, composed his reports in the Aramaic language in order to make them effective among the Chaldeans, because they were aimed against their enmity and hostility as well as against that of their rulers. But this explanation fails from this circumstance, that in the third year of Belshazzar the vision granted to Daniel (ch. viii.) is recorded in the Hebrew language, while, on the contrary, the later events which occurred in the night on which Belshazzar was slain (ch. v.) are described in the Chaldee language. The use of the Hebrew language in the vision (ch. viii.) cannot be explained on Kranichfeld's supposition, for that vision is so internally related to the one recorded in the Chaldee language in the seventh chapter, that no ground can be discerned for the change of language in these two chapters.

ix. 2, x. 2 ff.), occupied during the exile. If the exile has that importance in relation to the development of the kingdom of God as already described in § 2, then the whole progressive development of the divine revelation, as it lies before us in the Old and New Testaments, warrants us to expect, from the period of the exile, a book containing records such as are found in the book of Daniel. Since miracles and prophecies essentially belong not only in general to the realizing of the divine plan of salvation, but have also been especially manifested in all the critical periods of the history of the kingdom of God, neither the miracles in the historical parts of the book, nor its prophecies, consisting of singular predictions, can in any respect seem strange to us.

The history of redemption in the Old and New Covenants presents four great periods of miracles, *i.e.* four epochs, which are distinguished from other times by numerous and remarkable miracles. These are, (1) The time of Moses, or of the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt, and their journey through the Arabian desert to Canaan; (2) In the promised land, the time of the prophets Elijah and Elisha; (3) The time of Daniel, or of the Babylonish exile; and (4) The period from the appearance of John the Baptist to the ascension of Christ, or the time of Christ. These are the times of the foundation of the Old and the New Covenant, and the times of the two deliverances of the people of Israel. Of these four historical epochs the first and the fourth correspond with one another, and so also do the second and the third. But if we consider that the Mosaic period contains the two elements, the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt and the establishment of the kingdom of God at Sinai, then, if we take into view the first of these elements, the Mosaic period resembles that of the exile in this respect, that in both of them the subject is the deliverance of Israel from subjection to the heathen world-power, and that the deliverance in both instances served as a preparation for the founding of the kingdom of God,—the freeing of Israel from Egyptian bondage for the founding of the Old Testament kingdom of God, and the deliverance from Babylonish exile for the founding of the New. In both periods the heathen world-power had externally overcome the people of God and reduced them to slavery, and determined on their destruction. In both, therefore, God the Lord, if He would not suffer His work of redemption to be frustrated by man, must reveal Himself by wonders and signs before the heathen, as the almighty God and Lord in heaven and on earth,

and compel the oppressors of His people, by means of great judgments, to acknowledge His omnipotence and His eternal Godhead, so that they learned to fear the God of Israel and released His people. In the time of Moses, it was necessary to show to the Egyptians and to Pharaoh, who had said to Moses, "Who is the Lord, that I should obey His voice, to let Israel go? I know not the Lord, neither will I let Israel go," that Israel's God was Jehovah the Lord, that He, and not their gods, as they thought, was Lord in their land, and that there was none like Him in the whole earth (Ex. vii. 17, viii. 18, ix. 14, 29). And as Pharaoh did not know, and did not wish to know, the God of Israel, so also neither Nebuchadnezzar, nor Belshazzar, nor Darius knew Him. Since all the heathen estimated the power of the gods according to the power of the people who honoured them, the God of the Jews, whom they had subjugated by their arms, would naturally appear to the Chaldeans and their king as an inferior and feeble God, as He had already appeared to the Assyrians (Isa. x. 8–11, xxxvi. 18–20). They had no apprehension of the fact that God had given up His people to be punished by them on account of their unfaithful departure from Him. This delusion of theirs, by which not only the honour of the true God was misunderstood and sullied, but also the object for which the God of Israel had sent His people into exile among the heathen was in danger of being frustrated, God could only dissipate by revealing Himself, as He once did in Egypt, so now in the exile, as the Lord and Ruler of the whole world. The similarity of circumstances required similar wonderful revelations from God. For this reason there were miracles wrought in the exile as there had been in Egypt,—miracles which showed the omnipotence of the God of the Israelites, and the helplessness of the heathen gods; and hence the way and manner in which God did this is in general the same. To the heathen kings Pharaoh (Gen. xli.) and Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. ii.) He made known the future in dreams, which the heathen wise men of the land were not able to interpret, and the servants of Jehovah, Joseph and Daniel, interpreted to them, and on that account were exalted to high offices of state, in which they exerted their influence as the saviours of their people. And He shows His omnipotence by miracles which break through the course of nature.

In so far the revelations of God in Egypt and in the Babylonish exile resemble one another. But that the actions of God revealed in the book of Daniel are not mere copies of those which were

wrought in Egypt, but that in reality they repeat themselves, is clear from the manifest difference in particulars between the two. Of the two ways in which God reveals Himself as the one only true God, in the wonders of His almighty power, and in the displays of His omniscience in predictions, we meet with the former almost alone in Egypt, while in the exile it is the latter that prevails. Leaving out of view Pharaoh's dream in the time of Joseph, God spoke to the Pharaoh of the time of Moses through Moses only; and He showed Himself as the Lord of the whole earth only in the plagues. In the exile God showed His omnipotence only through the two miracles of the deliverance of Daniel from the den of lions, and of Daniel's three friends from the burning fiery furnace. All the other revelations of God consist in the prophetic announcement of the course of the development of the world-kingdoms and of the kingdom of God. For, besides the general object of all God's actions, to reveal to men the existence of the invisible God, the revelations of God in the time of the exile had a different specific object from those in Egypt. In Egypt God would break Pharaoh's pride and his resistance to His will, and compel him to let Israel go. This could only be reached by the judgments which fell upon the land of Egypt and its inhabitants, and manifested the God of Israel as the Lord in the land of Egypt and over the whole earth. In the exile, on the contrary, the object was to destroy the delusion of the heathen, that the God of the subjugated people of Judea was an impotent national god, and to show to the rulers of the world by acts, that the God of this so humbled people was yet the only true God, who rules over the whole earth, and in His wisdom and omniscience determines the affairs of men. Thus God must, as Caspari, in his *Lectures on the Book of Daniel*,[1] rightly remarks, "by great revelations lay open His omnipotence and omniscience, and show that He is infinitely exalted above the gods and wise men of this world and above all the world-powers." Caspari further says: "The wise men of the Chaldean world-power, *i.e.* the so-called magi, maintained that they were the possessors of great wisdom, and such they were indeed celebrated to be, and that they obtained their wisdom from their gods. The Lord must, through great revelations of His omniscience, show that He alone of all the possessors of knowledge is the Omniscient, while their knowledge, and the knowledge of their gods, is nothing. . . . The heathen world-power rests in the

[1] *Vorlesungen ueber das B. Daniels*, p. 20.

belief that it acts independently,—that *it* rules and governs in the world,—that even the future, to a certain degree, is in its hands. The Lord must show to it that it is only an instrument in His hand for the furthering of His plans,—that He is the only independent agent in history,—that it is He who directs the course of the whole world, and therefore that all that happens to His people is His own work. And He must, on this account, lay open to it the whole future, that He may show to it that He knows it all, even to the very minutest events,—that it all lies like a map before His eyes,—and that to Him it is history; for He who fully knows the whole future must also be the same who governs the whole development of the world. Omnipotence cannot be separated from omniscience." Only by virtue of such acts of God could the shaking of the faith of the heathen in the reality and power of their gods, effected through the fall and destruction of one world-kingdom after another, become an operative means for the preparation of the heathen world beforehand for the appearance of the Saviour who should arise out of Judah.

But as all the revelations of God were first and principally intended for Israel, so also the wonderful manifestations of the divine omnipotence and omniscience in the exile, which are recorded in the book of Daniel. The wonders of God in Egypt had their relation to Israel not only in their primary bearing on their deliverance from the house of bondage in Egypt, but also in a far wider respect: they were intended to show actually to Israel that Jehovah, the God of their fathers, possessed the power to overcome all the hindrances which stood in the way of the accomplishing of His promises. With the dissolution of the kingdom of Judah, the destruction of Jerusalem, the burning of the temple, the dethronement of the royal house of David, the cessation of the offering up of the Levitical sacrifices, the carrying away of the king, the priests, and the people into bondage, the kingdom of God was destroyed, the covenant relation dissolved, and Israel, the people of Jehovah, driven forth from their own land among the heathen, were brought into a new Egyptian slavery (cf. Deut. xxviii. 68, Hos. viii. 13, ix. 3). The situation into which Israel fell by the carrying away into Babylon was so grievous and so full of afflictions, that the earnest-minded and the pious even might despair, and doubt the covenant faithfulness of God. The predictions by the earlier prophets of their deliverance from exile, and their return to the land of their fathers after the period of chastisement had

passed by, served to prevent their sinking into despair or falling away into heathenism, amid the sufferings and oppressions to which they were exposed. Even the labours of the prophet Ezekiel in their midst, although his appearance was a sign and a pledge that the Lord had not wholly cast off His people, could be to the vanquished no full compensation for that which they had lost, and must feel the want of. Divine actions must be added to the word of promise, which gave assurance of its fulfilment,—wonderful works, which took away every doubt that the Lord could save the true confessors of His name out of the hand of their enemies, yea, from death itself. To these actual proofs of the divine omnipotence, if they would fully accomplish their purpose, new disclosures regarding the future must be added, since, as we have explained above (p. 8), after the expiry of the seventy years of Babylonian captivity prophesied of by Jeremiah, Babylon would indeed fall, and the Jews be permitted to return to their fatherland, yet the glorification of the kingdom of God by the Messiah, which was connected by all the earlier prophets, and even by Ezekiel, with the return from Babylon, did not immediately appear, nor was the theocracy restored in all its former integrity, but Israel must remain yet longer under the domination and the oppression of the heathen. The non-fulfilment of the Messianic hopes, founded in the deliverance from Babylonian exile at the end of the seventy years, could not but have shaken their confidence in the faithfulness of God in the fulfilment of His promises, had not God before this already unveiled His plan of salvation, and revealed beforehand the progressive development and the continuation of the heathen world-power, till its final destruction through the erection of His everlasting kingdom.

Prophecy stands side by side with God's actions along the whole course of the history of the Old Covenant, interpreting these actions to the people, and making known the counsel of the Lord in guiding and governing their affairs. As soon and as often as Israel comes into conflict with the heathen nations, the prophets appear and proclaim the will of God, not only in regard to the present time, but they also make known the final victory of His kingdom over all the kingdoms and powers of this earth. These prophetic announcements take a form corresponding to the circumstances of each period. Yet they are always of such a kind that they shine out into the future far beyond the horizon of the immediate present. Thus (leaving out of view the older times)

the prophets of the Assyrian period predict not only the deliverance of Judah and Jerusalem from the powerful invasion of the hostile Assyrians and the destruction of the Assyrian host before the gates of Jerusalem, but also the carrying away of Judah into Babylon and the subsequent deliverance from this exile, and the destruction of all the heathen nations which fight against the Lord and against His people. At the time of the exile Jeremiah and Ezekiel prophesy with great fulness of detail, and in the most particular manner, of the destruction of the kingdom of Judah and of Jerusalem and the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, but Jeremiah prophesies as particularly the return of Israel and of Judah from the exile, and the formation of a new covenant which should endure for ever; and Ezekiel in grand ideal outlines describes the re-establishment of the kingdom of God in a purified and transfigured form. Completing this prophecy, the Lord reveals to His people by Daniel the succession and the duration of the world-kingdoms, the relation of each to the kingdom of God and its preservation under all the persecution of the world-power, as well as its completion by judgments poured out on the world-kingdoms till their final destruction.

The new form of the revelation regarding the course and issue of the process commencing with the formation of the world-kingdoms—a process by which the world-power shall be judged, the people of God purified, and the plan of salvation for the deliverance of the human race shall be perfected—corresponds to the new aspect of things arising in the subjection of the people of God to the violence of the world-powers. The so-called apocalyptical character of Daniel's prophecy is neither in contents nor in form a new species of prophecy. What Auberlen[1] remarks regarding the distinction between apocalypse and prophecy needs important limitation. We cannot justify the remark, that while the prophets generally place in the light of prophecy only the existing condition of the people of God, Daniel had not so special a destination, but only the general appointment to serve to the church of God as a prophetic light for the 500 years from the exile to the coming of Christ and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, during which there was no revelation. For these other prophets do not limit themselves to the present, but they almost all at the same time throw light on the future; and Daniel's prophecy also goes forth from the present and reaches far beyond the time of the destruc-

[1] *Der Proph. Dan.* p. 79 ff. (Eng. Trans. p. 70 ff.)

tion of Jerusalem by the Romans. The further observation also, that the apocalypses, in conformity with their destination to throw prophetic light on the relation of the world to the kingdom of God for the times in which the light of immediate revelation is wanting, must be on the one side more universal in their survey, and on the other more special in the presentation of details, is, when more closely looked into, unfounded. Isaiah, for example, is in his survey not less universal than Daniel. He throws light not only on the whole future of the people and kingdom of God onward till the creation of the new heavens and the new earth, but also on the end of all the heathen nations and kingdoms, and gives in his representations very special disclosures not only regarding the overthrow of the Assyrian power, which at that time oppressed the people of God and sought to destroy the kingdom of God, but also regarding far future events, such as the carrying away into Babylon of the treasures of the king's house, and of the king's sons, that they might become courtiers in the palace of the king of Babylon (ch. xxxix. 6, 7), the deliverance of Judah from Babylon by the hand of Cyrus (ch. xliv. 28, xlv. 1), etc. Compare also, for special glances into the future, the rich representation of details in Mic. iv. 8–v. 3. It is true that the prophets before the exile contemplate the world-power in its present form together with its final unfolding, and therefore they announce the Messianic time for the most part as near at hand, while, on the contrary, with Daniel the one world-power is successively presented in four world-monarchies; but this difference is not essential, but only a wider expansion of the prophecy of Isaiah corresponding to the time and the circumstances in which Daniel was placed, that not Assyria but Babylon would destroy the kingdom of Judah and lead the people of God into exile, and that the Medes and Elamites would destroy Babylon, and Cyrus set free the captives of Judah and Jerusalem. Even the "significant presentation of numbers and of definite chronological periods expressed in them," which is regarded as a "characteristic mark" of apocalypse, has its roots and fundamental principles in simple prophecy, which here and there also gives significant numbers and definite periods. Thus the seventy years of Jeremiah form the starting-point for the seventy weeks or the seven times of Daniel, ch. ix. Compare also the sixty-five years of Isa. vii. 8; the three years, Isa. xx. 3; the seventy years of the desolation of Tyre, Isa. xxiii. 15; the forty and the three hundred and ninety days of Ezek. iv. 6, 9.

In fine, if we examine attentively the subjective form of the apocalypse, we shall find of the two ways in which the future is unveiled, viz. by dreams and visions, the latter with almost all the prophets together with communications flowing from divine illumination, while revelation by dreams as a rule is granted only to the heathen (Abimelech, Gen. xx. 3; Pharaoh, Gen. xli.; Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. ii.) or to Jews who were not prophets (Jacob, Gen. xxviii. 12; Solomon, 1 Kings iii. 5), and the revelation in Dan. vii. is communicated to Daniel in a dream only on account of its particular relation, as to the matter of it, to the dream of Nebuchadnezzar. Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah (cf. Amos vii.–ix., Isa. vi., lxiii., Jer. i. 13, xxiv. 1, 2) had also visions. With Ezekiel visions rather than discourses conveying condemnation or comfort prevail, and Zechariah beholds in a series of actions the future development of the kingdom of God and of the world-kingdoms (Zech. i. 7–vi. 15). We also find images representing angels seen by the prophets when, in an ecstasy, not only with Zechariah, who was after Daniel's time, but also with Ezekiel; and Isaiah too saw the seraphim standing, and even moving and acting, before the throne of God (Isa. vi. 6, 7). In the visions the future appears embodied in plastic figures which have a symbolical meaning and which need interpretation. Thus the appearance of angels to Daniel is to be explained in the same way as their appearance to Ezekiel and Zechariah.

Accordingly the prophecies of Daniel are not distinguished even in their apocalyptic form from the whole body of prophecy in nature, but only in degree. When dream and vision form the only means of announcing the future, the prophetic discourse is wholly wanting. But the entire return of the prophecy to the form of discourses of condemnation, warning, and consolation is fully explained from the position of Daniel outside of the congregation of God at the court and in the state service of the heathen world-ruler; and this position the Lord had assigned to him on account of the great significance which the world-kingdom had, as we have shown (p. 10), for the preparation beforehand of Israel and of the heathen world for the renovation and perfecting of the kingdom of God through Christ.

Both in its contents and form the book of Daniel has thus the stamp of a prophetical writing, such as we might have expected according to the development of the Old Testament kingdom of God from the period of the Babylonish exile; and the testimony of

the Jewish synagogue as well as of the Christian church to the genuineness of the book, or its composition by the prophet Daniel, rests on a solid foundation. In the whole of antiquity no one doubted its genuineness except the well-known enemy of Christianity, the Neo-Platonist *Porphyry*, who according to the statement of Jerome (in the preface to his *Comment. in Dan.*) wrote the twelfth book of his λόγοι κατὰ Χριστιανῶν against the book of Daniel, *nolens eum ab ipso, cujus inscriptus est nomine, esse compositum, sed a quodam qui temporibus Antiochi, qui appellatus est Epiphanes, fuerit in Judæa, et non tam Danielem ventura dixisse, quam illum narrasse præterita.* He was, however, opposed by *Eusebius* of Cæsarea and other church Fathers. For the first time with the rise of deism, naturalism, and rationalism during the bygone century, there began, as a consequence of the rejection of a supernatural revelation from God, the assault against the genuineness of the book. To such an extent has this opposition prevailed, that at the present time all critics who reject miracles and supernatural prophecy hold its spuriousness as an undoubted principle of criticism. They regard the book as the composition of a Jew living in the time of the Maccabees, whose object was to cheer and animate his contemporaries in the war which was waged against them by Antiochus Epiphanes for the purpose of rooting up Judaism, by representing to them certain feigned miracles and prophecies of some old prophet announcing the victory of God's people over all their enemies.[1]

The arguments by which the opponents of the genuineness seek to justify scientifically their opinion are deduced partly from the position of the book in the canon, and other external circumstances, but principally from the contents of the book. Leaving out of view that which the most recent opponents have yielded up, the following things, adduced by Bleek and Stähelin (in their works mentioned in

[1] Cf. the historical survey of the controversy regarding the genuineness of the book in my *Lehrb. d. Einleit. in d. A. Test.* § 134. To what is there mentioned add to the number of the opponents of the genuineness, Fr. Bleek, *Einleitung in d. A. Test.* p. 577 ff., and his article on the "Messianic Prophecies in the Book of Daniel" in the *Jahrb. f. deutsche Theologie*, v. 1, p. 45 ff., and J. J. Stähelin's *Einleit. in die kanon. Bücher des A. Test.* 1862, § 73. To the number of the defenders of the genuineness of the book as there mentioned add, Dav. Zündel's *krit. Untersuchungen ueber die Abfassungszeit des B. Daniel*, 1861, Rud. Kranichfeld and Th. Kliefoth in their commentaries on the Book of Daniel (1868), and the Catholic theologian, Dr. Fr. Heinr. Reusch (professor in Bonn), in his *Lehr. der Einleit. in d. A. Test.* 1868, § 43.

the last note), are asserted, which alone we wish to consider here, referring to the discussions on this question in my *Lehrb. der Einleitung*, § 133.

Among the *external* grounds great stress is laid on the place the book holds in the Hebrew canon. That Daniel should here hold his place not among the *Nebiyîm* [the prophetical writings], but among the *Kethubîm* [the Hagiographa] between the books of Esther and Ezra, can scarcely be explained otherwise than on the supposition that it was yet unknown at the time of the formation of the *Nebiyîm*, that is, in the age of Nehemiah, and consequently that it did not exist previously to that time. But this conclusion, even on the supposition that the Third Part of the canon, the collection called the *Kethubîm*, was for the first time formed some time after the conclusion of the Second Part, is not valid. On the contrary, Kranichfeld has not without good reason remarked, that since the prophets before the exile connected the beginning of the Messianic deliverance with the end of the exile, while on the other hand the book of Daniel predicts a period of oppression continuing long after the exile, therefore the period succeeding the exile might be offended with the contents of the book, and hence feel some hesitation to incorporate the book of one who was less distinctively a prophet in the collection of the prophetic books, and that the Maccabee time, under the influence of the persecution prophesied of in the book, first learned to estimate its prophetic worth and secured its reception into the canon. This objection is thus sufficiently disproved. But the supposition of a successive collection of the books of the canon and of its three Parts after the period in which the books themselves were written, is a hypothesis which has never been proved: cf. my *Einleit. in d. A. T.* § 154 ff. The place occupied by this book in the Hebrew canon perfectly corresponds with the place of Daniel in the theocracy. Daniel did not labour, as the rest of the prophets did whose writings form the class of the *Nebiyîm*, as a prophet among his people in the congregation of Israel, but he was a minister of state under the Chaldean and Medo-Persian world-rulers. Although, like David and Solomon, he possessed the gift of prophecy, and therefore was called προφήτης (LXX., Joseph., New Testament), yet he was not a נָבִיא, *i.e.* a prophet in his official position and standing. Therefore his book in its contents and form is different from the writings of the *Nebiyîm*. His prophecies are not prophetic discourses addressed to Israel or the nations, but visions, in which the development of the world-

kingdoms and their relation to the kingdom of God are unveiled, and the historical part of his book describes events of the time when Israel went into captivity among the heathen. For these reasons his book is not placed in the class of the *Nebiyîm*, which reaches from Joshua to Malachi,—for these, according to the view of him who arranged the canon, are wholly the writings of such as held the prophetic office, *i.e.* the office requiring them openly, by word of mouth and by writing, to announce the word of God,—but in the class of the *Kethubîm*, which comprehends sacred writings of different kinds whose common character consists in this, that their authors did not fill the prophetic office, as *e.g.* Jonah, in the theocracy; which is confirmed by the fact that the Lamentations of Jeremiah are comprehended in this class, since Jeremiah uttered these Lamentations over the destruction of Jerusalem and Judah not *qua* a prophet, but as a member of that nation which was chastened by the Lord.

Little importance is to be attached to the silence of Jesus Sirach in his ὕμνος πατέρων, ch. xlix., regarding Daniel, since an express mention of Daniel could not justly be expected. Jesus Sirach passes over other distinguished men of antiquity, such as Job, the good king Jehoshaphat, and even Ezra the priest and scribe, who did great service for the re-establishment of the authority of the law, from which it may be seen that it was not his purpose to present a complete list. Still less did he intend to name all the writers of the Old Testament. And if also, in his praise of the fathers, he limits himself on the whole to the course of the biblical books of the Hebrew canon from the Pentateuch down to the Minor Prophets, yet what he says of Zerubbabel, Joshua, and Nehemiah he does not gather from the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. When, on the other hand, Bleek seeks to account for the absence of any mention of Ezra, which his supposition that Jesus Sirach names all the celebrated men mentioned in the canonical books extant in his time contradicts, by the remark that "Ezra *perhaps* would not have been omitted if the book which bears his name had been before that time received into the canon," he has in his zeal against the book of Daniel forgotten to observe that neither the book of Nehemiah in its original or then existing form, nor the first part of the book of Ezra, containing notices of Zerubbabel and Joshua, has ever, separated from the second part, which speaks of Ezra, formed a constituent portion of the canon, but that rather, according to his own statement, the second part of the book of Ezra "was

without doubt composed by Ezra himself," which is consequently as old, if not older than the genuine parts of the book of Nehemiah, and that both books in the form in which they have come to us must have been edited by a Jew living at the end of the Persian or at the beginning of the Grecian supremacy, and then for the first time in this redaction were admitted into the canon.

Besides all this, it appears that in the work of Jesus Sirach the previous existence of the book of Daniel is presupposed, for the idea presented in Sirach xvii. 14, that God had given to that people an angel as ἡγούμενος (שַׂר), refers to Dan. x. 13, 20–xi. 1, xii. 1. For if Sirach first formed this idea from the LXX. translation of Deut. xxxii. 8, 9, then the LXX. introduced it from the book of Daniel into Deut. xxxii. 8, so that Daniel is the author from whom this opinion was derived; and the book which was known to the Alexandrine translators of the Pentateuch could not be unknown to the Siracidæ.

Still weaker is the *argumentum e silentio*, that in the prophets after the exile, Haggai and Malachi, and particularly Zechariah (ch. i.–viii.), there are no traces of any use being made of the book of Daniel, and that it exerted no influence on the Messianic representations of the later prophets. Kran. has already made manifest the weakness of this argument by replying that Bleek was silent as to the relation of Daniel's prayer, ch. ix. 3–19, to Ezra ix. and Neh. ix., because the dependence of Ezra and Nehemiah on the book of Daniel could not be denied. Moreover von Hofmann, Zündel (p. 249 ff.), Volck (*Vindiciæ Danielicæ*, 1866), Kran., and Klief. have shown that Zechariah proceeded on the supposition of Daniel's prophecy of the four world-monarchies, inasmuch as not only do the visions of the four horns and of the four carpenters of Zech. ii. 1–4 (i. 18–21) rest on Dan. vii. 7, 8, viii. 3–9, and the representation of nations and kingdoms as horns originate in these passages, but also in the symbolic transactions recorded Zech. xi. 5, the killing of the three shepherds in one month becomes intelligible only by a reference to Daniel's prophecy of the world-rulers under whose power Israel was brought into subjection. Cf. my Comm. on Zech. ii. 1–4 and xi. 5. The exposition of Zech. i. 7–17 and vi. 1–8 as founded on Daniel's prophecy of the world-kingdoms, does not, however, appear to us to be satisfactory, and in what Zechariah (ch. ii. 5) says of the building of Jerusalem we can find no allusion to Dan. ix. 25. But if Bleek in particular has missed

in Zech. Daniel's announcement of a Ruler like a son of man coming in the clouds, Kran. has, on the other hand, justly remarked that this announcement by Daniel is connected with the scene of judgment described in ch. vii., which Zechariah, in whose prophecies the priestly character of the Messiah predominates, had no occasion to repeat or expressly to mention. This is the case also with the *names* of the angels in Daniel, which are connected with the special character of his visions, and cannot be expected in Zechariah. Yet Zechariah agrees with Daniel in regard to the distinction between the higher and the lower ranks of angels.

Rather the case stands thus: that not only was Zechariah acquainted with Daniel's prophecies, but Ezra also and the Levites of his time made use of (Ezra ix. and Neh. ix.) the penitential prayer of Daniel (ch. ix.). In Ezekiel also we have still older testimony for Daniel and the principal contents of his book, which the opponents of its genuineness have in vain attempted to set aside. Even Bleek is obliged to confess that "in the way in which Ezekiel (xiv. 14, 20, xxviii. 3) makes mention of the rectitude and wisdom of Daniel, we are led to think of a man of such virtue and wisdom as Daniel appears in this book to have been distinguished by, and also to conceive of some connection between the character there presented and that which Ezekiel had before his eyes;" but yet, notwithstanding this, the manner in which Ezekiel makes mention of Daniel does not lead him to think of a man who was Ezekiel's contemporary in the Babylonish exile, and who was probably comparatively young at the time when Ezekiel spake of him, but of a man who had been long known as an historic or mythic personage of antiquity. But this latter idea is based only on the groundless supposition that the names Noah, Daniel, and Job, as found in Ezek. xiv. 14, 20, are there presented in chronological order, which, as we have shown under Ezek. xiv., is a natural order determined by a reference to the deliverance from great danger experienced by each of the persons named on account of his righteousness. Equally groundless is the other supposition, that the Daniel named by Ezekiel must have been a very old man, because righteousness and wisdom first show themselves in old age. If we abandon this supposition and fall in with the course of thought in Ezekiel, then the difficulty arising from the naming of Daniel between Noah and Job (Ezek. xiv. 14) disappears, and at the same time also the occasion for thinking of an historical or mythical personage of antiquity, of whose special

wisdom no trace can anywhere be found. What Ezekiel says of Daniel in both places agrees perfectly with the Daniel of this book. When he (ch. xxviii. 3) says of the king of Tyre, "Thou regardest thyself as wiser than Daniel, there is nothing secret that is hidden from thee," the reference to Daniel cannot be denied, to whom God granted an insight into all manner of visions and dreams, so that he excelled ten times all the wise men of Babylon in wisdom (Dan. i. 17–20); and therefore Nebuchadnezzar (ch. iv. 6 [9]) and the queen (ch. v. 11) regarded him as endowed with the spirit and the wisdom of the gods, which the ruler of Tyre in vain self-idolatry attributed to himself. The opinion pronounced regarding Daniel in Ezek. xiv. 14, 20, refers without a doubt also to the Daniel of this book. Ezekiel names Noah, Daniel, and Job as pious men, who by their righteousness before God in the midst of severe judgments saved their souls, *i.e.* their lives. If his discourse was intended to make any impression on his hearers, then the facts regarding this saving of their lives must have been well known. Record of this was found in the Holy Scriptures in the case of Noah and Job, but of a Daniel of antiquity nothing was at all communicated. On the contrary, Ezekiel's audience could not but at once think of Daniel, who not only refused, from reverence for the law of God, to eat of the food from the king's table, thereby exposing his life to danger, and who was therefore blessed of God with both bodily and mental health, but who also, when the decree had gone forth that the wise men who could not show to Nebuchadnezzar his dream should be put to death, in the firm faith that God would by prayer reveal to him the king's dream, saved his own life and that of his fellows, and in consequence of his interpretation of the dream revealed to him by God, was appointed ruler over the whole province of Babylon and chief over all the wise men of Babylon, so that his name was known in all the kingdom, and his fidelity to the law of God and his righteousness were praised by all the captives of Judah in Chaldea.

Thus it stands with respect to the *external* evidences against the genuineness of the book of Daniel. Its place in the canon among the *Kethulîm* corresponds with the place which Daniel occupied in the kingdom of God under the Old Testament; the alleged want of references to the book and its prophecies in Zechariah and in the book of Jesus Sirach is, when closely examined, not really the case: not only Jesus Sirach and Zechariah knew and understood

the prophecies of Daniel, but even Ezekiel names Daniel as a bright pattern of righteousness and wisdom.

If we now turn our attention to the *internal* evidences alleged against the genuineness of the book, the circumstance that the opponents place the Greek names of certain musical instruments mentioned in Dan. iii. in the front, awakens certainly no prejudice favourable to the strength of their argument.

In the list of the instruments of music which were played upon at the inauguration of Nebuchadnezzar's golden image, three names are found of Grecian origin: קִיתָרוֹס = *κίθαρις*, סוּמְפֹנְיָה (סִיפֹנְיָא) = *συμφωνία*, and פְּסַנְתֵּרִין (פְּסַנְטֵרִין) = *ψαλτήριον* (Dan. iii. 5, 7, 10, 15). To these there has also been added סַבְּכָא = *σαμβύκη*, but unwarrantably; for the *σαμβύκη*, *σάμβυξ*, *ζαμβίκη* is, according to the testimony of Athen. and Strabo, of foreign or Syrian, *i.e.* of Semitic origin, and the word *σαμβύκη* is without any etymon in Greek (cf. Ges. *Thes.* p. 935). Of the other three names, it is undoubted that they have a Grecian origin; but "no one can maintain that such instruments could not at the time of the Chaldean supremacy have found their way from the Greek West into Upper Asia, who takes into view the historical facts" (Kran.). At the time of Nebuchadnezzar, not only was "there intercourse between the inhabitants of Upper Asia and the Ionians of Asia Minor," as Bleek thinks, but according to Strabo (xiii. 2, 3) there was in the army of Nebuchadnezzar, Antimenidas, the brother of the poet Alcæus, fighting victoriously for the Babylonians, apparently, as M. v. Nieb. in his *Gesch. Assurs*, p. 206, remarks, at the head of a warlike troop, as chief of a band of *fuorusciti* who had bound themselves to the king of Babylon. According to the testimony of Abydenus, quoted in Eusebius, *Chron. Arm.* ed. Aucher, i. 53, Greek soldiers followed the Assyrian Esarhaddon (Axerdis) on his march through Asia; and according to Berosus (*Fragm. hist. Græc.* ed. Müller, ii. 504), Sennacherib had already conducted a successful war against a Greek army that had invaded Cilicia. And the recent excavations in Nineveh confirm more and more the fact that there was extensive intercourse between the inhabitants of Upper Asia and Greece, extending to a period long before the time of Daniel, so that the importation of Greek instruments into Nineveh was by no means a strange thing, much less could it be so during the time of the Chaldean supremacy in Babylon, the merchant-city, as Ezekiel (ch. xvii. 4, 19) calls it, from which even in Joshua's time a Babylonish garment had

been brought to the Canaanites (Josh. vii. 21). But if Staehelin (*Einleit.* p. 348) further remarks, that granting even the possibility that in Nebuchadnezzar's time the Babylonians had some knowledge of the Greek musical instruments, yet there is a great difference between this and the using of them at great festivals, where usually the old customs prevail, it must be replied that this alleged close adherence to ancient custom on the part of Nebuchadnezzar stands altogether in opposition to all we already know of the king. And the further remark by the same critic, that *psalterium* and *symphonie* were words first used by the later Greek writers about 150 B.C., finds a sufficient reply in the discovery of the figure of a ψαλτήριον on the Monument of Sennacherib.[1] But if through this ancient commerce, which was principally carried on by the Phœnicians, Greek instruments were brought into Upper Asia, it cannot be a strange thing that their Greek names should be found in the third chapter of Daniel, since, as is everywhere known, the foreign name is usually given to the foreign articles which may be imported among any people.

More important appear the historical improbabilities and errors which are said to occur in the historical narratives of this book.

These are: (1) The want of harmony between the narrative of Nebuchadnezzar's incursion against Judah in Jer. xxv. 1 ff., xlvi. 2, and the statement of Daniel (ch. i. 1 ff.) that this king came up against Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim, besieged the city, and carried away captive to Babylon Daniel and other Hebrew youths, giving command that for three years they should be educated in the wisdom of the Chaldeans; while, according to the narrative of ch. ii., Daniel already, in the second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, interpreted to the king his dream, which could have occurred only after the close of the period of his education. This inconsistency between Dan. i. 1 and Jer. xxvi. 2, xxv. 1, and also between Dan. i. and ii., would indeed be evident if it were an undoubted fact that the statement that Nebuchadnezzar besieged

[1] Cf. Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 454. On a bas-relief representing the return of the Assyrian army from a victorious campaign, companies of men welcome the Assyrian commander with song, and music, and dancing. Five musicians go before, three with many-sided harps, a fourth with a double flute, such as are seen on Egyptian monuments, and were in use also among the Romans and Greeks; the fifth carries an instrument like the *santur* (פַּסַנְתֵּרִין, v. Gesen. *Thes.* p. 1116), still in use among the Egyptians, which consists of a hollow box or a sounding-board with strings stretched over it.—Quite in the same way Augustin (under Ps. xxxii.) describes the *psalterium*.

Jerusalem in the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim, as mentioned in Dan. i. 1, meant that this was done after he ascended the throne. But the remark of Wieseler (*die 70 Wochen u. die 63 Jahrwochen des Proph. Daniel*, p. 9), that the supposed opposition between Dan. i. and ii. is so great that it cannot be thought of even in a pseudo-Daniel, cannot but awaken suspicion against the accuracy of the supposition that Nebuchadnezzar was the actual king of Babylon at the time of the siege of Jerusalem and the carrying away of Daniel. The dream of Nebuchadnezzar in ch. ii. 1 is expressly placed in the second year of his reign (מַלְכוּת); in ch. i. Nebuchadnezzar is called the king of Babylon, but yet nothing is said of his actual reign, and the time of the siege of Jerusalem is not defined by a year of his reign. But he who afterwards became king might be proleptically styled king, though he was at the time only the commander of the army. This conjecture is confirmed by the statement of Berosus, as quoted by Josephus (*Ant.* x. 11. 1, *c. Ap.* i. 19), that Nebuchadnezzar undertook the first campaign against the Egyptian king during the lifetime of his father, who had entrusted him with the carrying on of the war on account of the infirmity of old age, and that he received tidings of his father's death after he had subdued his enemies in Western Asia. The time of Nebuchadnezzar's ascending the throne and commencing his reign was a year or a year and a half after the first siege of Jerusalem; thus in the second year of his reign, that is about the end of it, the three years of the education of the Hebrew youths in the wisdom of the Chaldees would have come to an end. Thus the apparent contradiction between Dan. ii. 1 and i. 1 is cleared up. In reference to the date, "in the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim" (Dan. i. 1), we cannot regard as justified the supposition deduced from Jer. xxxvi. 9, that the Chaldeans in the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakim had not yet come to Jerusalem, nor can we agree with the opinion that Nebuchadnezzar had already destroyed Jerusalem before the victory gained by him over Pharaoh-necho at Carchemish (Jer. xlvi. 2) in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, but hope under ch. i. 1 to prove that the taking of Jerusalem in the fourth year of Jehoiakim followed after the battle at Carchemish, and that the statement by Daniel (ch. i. 1), when rightly understood, harmonizes easily therewith, since בּוֹא (Dan. i. 1) signifies *to go, to set out*, and not *to come*.

But (2) it is not so easy to explain the historical difficulties which are found in ch. v. and vi. 1 (v. 31), since the extra-biblical

information regarding the destruction of Babylon is very scanty and self-contradictory. Yet these difficulties are by no means so inexplicable or so great as to make the authorship of the book of Daniel a matter of doubt. For instance, that is a very insignificant matter in which Bleek finds a "specially great difficulty," viz. that in ch. v.: "so many things should have occurred in *one* night, which it can scarcely be believed could have happened so immediately after one another in so short a time." For if one only lays aside the statements which Bleek imports into the narrative,—(1) that the feast began in the evening, or at night, while it began really in the afternoon and might be prolonged into the night; (2) that the clothing of Daniel with purple and putting a chain about his neck, and the proclamation of his elevation to the rank of third ruler in the kingdom, were consummated by a solemn procession moving through the streets of the city; (3) that Daniel was still the chief president over the magi; and (4) that after the appearance of the handwriting lengthened consultations took place, —if one gives up all these suppositions, and considers what things may take place at a sudden disastrous occurrence, as, for example, on the breaking out of a fire, in a very few hours, it will not appear incredible that all the things recited in this chapter occurred in one night, and were followed even by the death of the king before the dawn of the morning. The historical difficulty lies merely in this, that, as Staehelin (p. 350) states the matter, Belshazzar appears as the last king of Babylon, and his mother as the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, which is contrary to historical fact. This is so far true, that the queen-mother, as also Daniel, repeatedly calls Nebuchadnezzar the father (אָב) of Belshazzar; but that Belshazzar was the last king of Babylon is not at all stated in the narrative, but is only concluded from this circumstance, that the writing on the wall announced the destruction of king Belshazzar and of his kingdom, and that, as the fulfilling of this announcement, the death of Belshazzar (ch. v. 30) occurred that same night, and (ch. vi. 1) also the transferring of the kingdom of the Chaldeans to the Median Darius. But that the destruction of the Chaldean kingdom or its transference to the Medes occurred at the same time with the death of Belshazzar, is not said in the text. The connecting of the second *factum* with the first by the copula ו (ch. vi. 1) indicates nothing further than that both of these parts of the prophecy were fulfilled. The first (ch. v. 3) was fulfilled that same night, but the time of the other is not given, since ch. vi. 1 (v. 31)

does not form the conclusion of the narrative of the fifth chapter, but the beginning to those events recorded in the sixth. How little may be concluded as to the relative time of two events by the connection of the second with the first by the copula ו, may *e.g.* be seen in the history recorded in 1 Kings xiv., where the prophet Ahijah announces (ver. 12) to the wife of Jeroboam the death of her sick son, and immediately in connection therewith the destruction of the house of Jeroboam (ver. 14), as well as the exile (ver. 15) of the ten tribes; events which in point of time stood far apart from each other, while yet they were internally related, for the sin of Jeroboam was the cause not only of the death of his son, but also of the termination of his dynasty and of the destruction of the kingdom of the ten tribes.[1] So here also the death of Belshazzar and the overthrow of the Chaldean kingdom are internally connected, without, however, rendering it necessary that the two events should take place in the self-same hour. The book of Daniel gives no information as to the time when the Chaldean kingdom was overthrown; this must be discovered from extra-biblical sources, to which we shall more particularly refer under ch. v. We hope to show there that the statement made by Daniel perfectly harmonizes with that which, from among the contradictory reports of the Greek historians regarding this occurrence, appears to be historically correct, and perhaps also to show the source of the statement that the destruction of Babylon took place during a riotous feast of the Babylonians.

The other "difficulty" also, that Darius, a king of Median origin, succeeds Belshazzar (ch. vi. 1 [v. 31]), who also is, ch. ix. 1 and xi. 1, designated as a Median, and, ch. ix. 1, as the son of Ahasuerus, disappears as soon as we give up the unfounded statement that this Darius immediately followed Belshazzar, and that Ahasuerus the Persian king was Xerxes, and give credit to the declaration, ch. vi. 29, that Cyrus the Persian succeeded in the kingdom to Darius the Median, according to the statement of Xenophon regarding the Median king Cyaxeres II. and his relation to Cyrus, as at ch. vi. 1 shall be shown.

The remaining "difficulties" and "improbabilities" are destitute

[1] By a reference to this narrative Kran. has (p. 26) refuted the objection of Hitzig, that if the death of Belshazzar did not bring with it the transference of the kingdom of the Chaldeans to the Medes, then ver. 28 ought to have made mention of the death of the king, and that the kingdom (twenty-two years later) would come to the Chaldeans should have been passed over in silence.

of importance. The erection of a golden image of the gigantic proportion of sixty cubits high in the open plain, ch. iii., is "something very improbable," only when, with Bleek, we think on a massive golden statue of such a size, and lose sight of the fact that the Hebrews called articles that were merely plated with gold, golden, as *e.g.* the altar, which was overlaid with gold, Ex. xxxix. 38, xl. 5, 26, cf. Ex. xxxvii. 25 f., and idol images, cf. Isa. xl. 19, xli. 7, etc. Of the seven *years'* madness of Nebuchadnezzar the narrative of ch. iv. says nothing, but only of its duration for seven *times* (עִדָּנִין, vers. 20, 22, 29), which the interpreters have explained as meaning years. But that the long continuance of the king's madness must have been accompanied with "very important changes and commotions," can only be supposed if we allow that during this period no one held the reigns of government. And the absence of any mentioning of this illness of Nebuchadnezzar by the extra-biblical historians is, considering their very imperfect acquaintance with Nebuchadnezzar's reign, not at all strange, even though the intimations by Berosus and Abydenus of such an illness should not be interpreted of his madness. See on this under ch. iv. Concerning such and such-like objections against the historical contents of this book, what Kran., p. 47, has very justly remarked regarding v. Lengerke's assertion, that the author lived "in the greatest ignorance regarding the leading events of his time," or Hitzig's, that this book is "very unhistorical," may be here adopted, viz. "that they emanate from a criticism which is astonishingly consistent in looking at the surface of certain facts, and then pronouncing objection after objection, without showing the least disposition toward other than a wholly external, violent solution of the existing difficulties."

All the opponents of the book of Daniel who have followed Porphyry[1] find a powerful evidence of its being composed not in the time of the exile, but in the time of the Maccabees, in the contents and nature of the prophecies found in it, particularly in this, as Bleek has expressed it, that "the special destination of the prediction extends to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes when that Syrian prince exercised tyranny against the Jewish people, and especially sought by every means to abolish the worship of Jehovah

[1] Whose opinion of the contents of the book is thus quoted by Jerome (*Proœm. in Dan.*): "*Quidquid (autor libri Dan.) usque ad Antiochum dixerit, veram historiam continere; si quid autem ultra opinatus sit, quia futura nescierit, esse mentitum.*"

and to introduce the Grecian *cultus* into the temple at Jerusalem; for the prophecy either breaks off with the death of this prince, or there is immediately joined to it the announcement of the liberation of the people of God from all oppression, of the salvation and the kingdom of the Messiah, and even of His rising again from the dead." To confirm this assertion, which deviates from the interpretation adopted in the church, and is also opposed by recent opponents of the genuineness of the book, Bleek has in his *Einleitung*, and in his *Abhandlg. v.* note, p. 28, fallen upon the strange expedient of comparing the prophecies of Daniel, going backwards from ch. xii., for the purpose of showing that as ch. xii. and xi. 21–45 speak only of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, of his wicked actions, and especially of his proceedings against the Jewish people and against the worship of Jehovah, so also in ch. ix., viii., vii., and ii. the special pre-intimations of the future do not reach further than to this enemy of the people of God. Now certainly in ch. xii., vers. 11 and 12 without doubt refer to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and xi. 21–35 as surely treat of the proceedings and of the wicked actions of this Syrian king; but the section xi. 36–xii. 3 is almost unanimously interpreted by the church of the rise and reign of Antichrist in the last time, and is explained of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, as lately shown by Klief., only when an interpretation is adopted which does not accord with the sense of the words, and is in part distorted, and rests on a false historical basis. While now Bleek, without acknowledging the ancient church-interpretation, adopts that which has recently become prevalent, applying the whole eleventh chapter absolutely to Antiochus Epiphanes, and regards it as necessary only to reject the artistic explanation which Auberlen has given of ch. xii., and then from the results so gained, and with the help of ch. viii., so explains the prophecies of the seventy weeks, ch. ix., and of the four world-monarchies, ch. ii. and vii., that ch. ix. 25–27 closes with Antiochus Epiphanes, and the fourth world-kingdom becomes the Greco-Macedonian monarchy of Alexander and his successors, he has by means of this process gained the wished-for result, disregarding altogether the organism of the well-arranged book. But scientifically we cannot well adopt such a method, which, without any reference to the organism of a book, takes a retrograde course to explain the clear and unambiguous expressions by means of dark and doubtful passages. For, as Zündel (p. 95) has well remarked, as we cannot certainly judge of a symphony from the last tones of

the *finale*, but only after the first simple passages of the *thema*, so we cannot certainly form a correct judgment from its last brief and abrupt sentences of a prophetical work like this, in which the course of the prophecy is such that it proceeds from general to special predictions. Ch. xii. forms the conclusion of the whole book; in vers. 5–13 are placed together the two periods (ch. vii. and viii.) of severe oppression of the people of God, which are distinctly separable from each other—that proceeding from the great enemy of the third world-kingdom, *i.e.* Antiochus Epiphanes (ch. viii.), and that from the last great enemy of the fourth world-kingdom, *i.e.* Antichrist (ch. vii.),—while the angel, at the request of the prophet, makes known to him the duration of both. These brief expressions of the angel occasioned by Daniel's two questions receive their right interpretation from the earlier prophecy in ch. vii. and viii. If we reverse this relation, while on the ground of a very doubtful, not to say erroneous, explanation of ch. xi., we misinterpret the questions of Daniel and the answers of the angel, and now make this interpretation the standard for the exposition of ch. ix., viii., vii., and ii., then we have departed from the way by which we may reach the right interpretation of the prophetic contents of the whole book.

The question how far the prophecies of Daniel reach, can only be determined by an unprejudiced interpretation of the two visions of the world-kingdoms, ch. ii. and vii., in conformity with the language there used and with their actual contents, and this can only be given in the following exposition of the book. Therefore we must here limit ourselves to a few brief remarks.

According to the unmistakeable import of the two fundamental visions, ch. ii. and vii., the erection of the Messianic kingdom follows close after the destruction of the fourth world-kingdom (ch. ii. 34, 44), and is brought about (ch. vii. 9–14, 26 f.) by the judgment on the little horn which grew out of the fourth world-power, and the investiture of the Messiah coming in the clouds of heaven with authority, glory, and kingly power. The first of these world-powers is the Chaldean monarchy founded by Nebuchadnezzar, who is the golden head of the image (ch. ii. 37, 38). The kingdom of the Chaldeans passes over to Darius, of Median origin, who is followed on the throne by Cyrus the Persian (ch. vi. 29 [28]), and thus it passes over to the Medes and Persians. This kingdom, in ch. vii. represented under the figure of a bear, Daniel saw in ch. viii. under the figure of a ram with two horns, which,

being pushed at by a he-goat having a great horn between his eyes as he was running in his flight over the earth, had his two horns broken, and was thrown to the ground and trodden upon. When the he-goat hereupon became strong, he broke his great horn, and in its stead there grew up four horns toward the four winds of heaven; and out of one of them came forth a little horn, which became exceeding great, and magnified itself even to the Prince of the host, and took away the daily sacrifice (ch. viii. 3–13). This vision was thus explained to the prophet by an angel:—The ram with two horns represents the kings of the Medes and Persians; the he-goat is the king of Javan, *i.e.* the Greco-Macedonian kingdom, for "the great horn that is between his eyes is the first king" (Alexander of Macedon); the four horns that sprang up in the place of the one that was broken off are four kingdoms, and in the latter time of their kingdom a fierce king shall stand up (the little horn), who shall destroy the people of the Holy One, etc. (ch. viii. 20–25). According to this quite distinct explanation given by the angel, the horn, *i.e.* Antiochus Epiphanes, so hostile to the people of God belongs to the third world-kingdom, arises out of one of the four kingdoms into which the monarchy of Alexander the Great was divided; the Messianic kingdom, on the contrary, does not appear till after the overthrow of the fourth world-kingdom and the death of the last of the enemies arising out of it (ch. vii.). Accordingly, the affirmation that in the book of Daniel the appearance of the Messianic salvation stands in order after the destruction of Antiochus Epiphanes, is in opposition to the principal prophecies of the book; and this opposition is not removed by the supposition that the terrible beast with the ten horns (ch. vii. 7) is identical with the he-goat, which is quite otherwise described, for at first it had only one horn, after the breaking off of which four came up in its stead. The circumstance that the description of the little horn growing up between the ten horns of the fourth beast, the speaking great and blasphemous things against the Most High, and thinking to change times and laws (ch. vii. 8, 24 f.), harmonizes in certain features with the representation of Antiochus Epiphanes described by the little horn (ch. viii.), which would destroy the people of the Holy One, rise up against the Prince of princes, and be broken without the hand of man, does not at all warrant the identification of these enemies of God and His people rising out of different world-kingdoms, but corresponds perfectly with this idea, that Antiochus Epiphanes in his war against the people of God was a type of

Antichrist, the great enemy arising out of the last world-kingdom. Along with these resemblances there are also points of dissimilarity, such *e.g.* as this: the period of continuance of the domination of both is apparently alike, but in reality it is different. The activity of the prince who took away the daily sacrifice, *i.e.* Antiochus Epiphanes, was to continue 2300 evening-mornings (ch. viii. 14), or, as the angel says, 1290 days (ch. xii. 11), so that he who waits and comes to the 1335 days shall see (ch. xii. 12) salvation; the activity of the enemy in the last time, *i.e.* of Antichrist, on the contrary, is for a time, (two) times, and an half time (ch. vii. 25, xii. 7), or a half שָׁבוּעַ (ch. ix. 27)—designations of time which have been taken without any exegetical justification to mean years, in order to harmonize the difference.

Accordingly, Daniel does not prophesy the appearance of the Messianic redemption after the overthrow of Antiochus Epiphanes, but announces that the fourth world-kingdom, with the kingdoms growing out of it, out of which the last enemy of the people of God arises, would first follow Antiochus, who belonged to the third world-kingdom. This fourth world-kingdom with its last enemy is destroyed by the judgment which puts an end to all the world-kingdoms and establishes the Messianic kingdom. Thus the assertion that the special destination of the prediction only goes down to Antiochus Epiphanes is shown to be erroneous. Not only in the visions ch. ii. and vii. is the conduct of the little horn rising up between the ten horns of the fourth beast predicted, but also in ch. xi. 36–45 the actions of the king designated by this horn are as specially predicted as is the domination and rule of Antiochus Epiphanes in ch. viii. 9 ff., 24 f., and in ch. xi. 20–35.

These are all the grounds worth mentioning which the most recent opponents of the historical and prophetical character of this book have adduced against its genuineness. It is proved from an examination of them, that the *internal* arguments are of as little value as the *external* to throw doubts on its authorship, or to establish its Maccabean origin. But we must go a step further, and briefly show that the modern opinion, that the book originated in the time of the Maccabees, which is set aside by the fact already adduced (p. 32), the use of it on the part of Zechariah and Ezra, is irreconcilable with the formal nature, with the actual contents, and with the spirit of the book of Daniel.

1. Neither the character of the language nor the mode in which

the prophetic statements are made, corresponds with the age of the Maccabees. As regards the character of the age, the interchange of the Hebrew and the Chaldee, in the first place, agrees fully with the time of the exile, in which the Chaldee language gradually obtained the ascendency over the Hebrew mother-tongue of the exiles, but not with the time of the Maccabees, in which the Hebrew had long ago ceased to be the language used by the people.[1] In the second place, the Hebrew diction of Daniel harmonizes peculiarly with the language used by writers of the period of the exile, particularly by Ezekiel;[2] and the Chaldean idiom of this book agrees in not a few characteristic points with the Chaldee of the book of Ezra and Jer. x. 11, wherein these Chaldean portions are markedly distinguished from the Chaldean language of the oldest Targums, which date from the middle of the first century B.C.[3] In the third place, the language of Daniel has, in common with that of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, certain Aryan elements or Parsisms, which can only be explained on the supposition that their authors lived and wrote in the Babylonish exile or

[1] The use of the Chaldee along with the Hebrew in this book points, as Kran., p. 52, justly remarks, "to a conjuncture in which, as in the Hebrew book of Ezra with its inwoven pieces of Chaldee, the general acquaintance of the people with the Aramaic is supposed to be self-evident, but at the same time the language of the fathers was used by the exiles of Babylon and their children as the language of conversation." Rosenm., therefore, knows no other mode of explaining the use of both languages in this book than by the assertion that the pseudo-author did this *nulla aliâ de causâ, quam ut lectoribus persuaderet, compositum esse librum a vetere illo propheta, cui utriusque linguæ usum æque facilem esse oportuit.* The supposition that even in the second century before Christ a great proportion of the people understood the Hebrew, modern critics set themselves to establish by a reference to the disputed book of Daniel and certain pretended Maccabean psalms.

[2] Compare the use of words such as בְּוָה for בֵּן, xi. 24, 33 (2 Chron. xiv. 13; Ezra ix. 7; Neh. iii. 36; Esth. ix. 10); הֵיךְ for אֵיךְ, x. 17 and 1 Chron. xxiii. 12; כְּתָב for סֵפֶר, x. 21 (Ezra iv. 7, 8; 1 Chron. xxviii. 19; Neh. vii. 64; Esth. iii. 14); מַדָּע, i. 4, 17 (2 Chron. i. 10; Eccles. x. 20); מַרְעִיד, x. 11 and Ezra x. 9; עִתִּים for עִתּוֹת, ix. 25, xi. 6, 13, 14 (Chron., Ezra, Neh., Ezek., and only once in Isaiah, xxxiii. 6); הַצְּבִי used of the land of Israel, viii. 9, cf. xi. 16, 41, also Ezek. xx. 6, 15, and Jer. iii. 10; זְהַר, brightness, xii. 3, Ezek. viii. 2; חַיֵּב, to make guilty, i. 10, and חוֹב, Ezek. xviii. 7; נְחֹשֶׁת קַלָּל, x. 6, and Ezek. i. 7; לְבוּשׁ הַבַּדִּים, xii. 6, 7, and Ezek. ix. 3, 11; x. 2, 6, 7, etc.

[3] See the collection of Hebraisms in the Chaldean portions of Daniel and of the book of Ezra in Hengstenberg's *Beitrage*, i. p. 303, and in my *Lehrb. d. Einl.* § 133, 4. It may be further remarked, that both books have a peculiar mode

under the Persian rule.[1] But the expedient adopted by the opponents of the genuineness to explain these characteristic agreements from imitation, is inadmissible from this consideration, that in the Hebrew complexion of the Chaldee portion as in the Aryan element found in the language there used, this book shows, along with the agreements, also peculiarities which announce[2] the independent character of its language.

of formation of the 3d pers. imperf. of הָוָא: לֶהֱוֵא, Dan. ii. 20, 28, 29, 45 (לֶהֱוֵה, iv. 22), Ezra iv. 13, vii. 26, לֶהֱוֹן, ii. 43, vi. 2, 3, and Ezra vii. 25, and לֶהֱוִין, v. 17, for יְהֵוֵא, יְהוֹן, and יְהוִין, which forms are not found in the biblical Chaldee, while the forms with ל are first used in the Talmud in the use of the imperative, optative, and subjunctive moods (cf. S. D. Luzzatto, *Elementi grammaticali del Caldeo biblico e del dialetto talmudico babilonese*, Padova 1865, p. 80,—the first attempt to present the grammatical peculiarities of the biblical Chaldee in contradistinction to the Babylonico-talmudic dialect), and לֶהֱוֵא is only once found in the *Targ. Jon.*, Ex. xxii. 24, and perhaps also in the *Jerusalem Targum*, Ex. x. 28. The importance of this linguistic phenomenon in determining the question of the date of the origin of both books has been already recognised by J. D. Michaelis (*Gram. Chal.* p. 25), who has remarked concerning it: "*ex his similibusque Danielis et Ezræ hebraismis, qui his libris peculiares sunt, intelliges, utrumque librum eo tempore scriptum fuisse, quo recens adhuc vernacula sua admiscentibus Hebræis lingua Chaldaica; non seriore tempore confictum. In Targumim enim, antiquissimis etiam, plerumque frustra hos hebraismos quæsieris, in Daniele et Ezra ubique obvios.*"

[1] Not to mention the name of dignity פַּחָה used in the Assyrian period, and the two proper names, אַשְׁפְּנַז, i. 3, and אַרְיוֹךְ, ii. 14, cf. Gen. xiv. 1, 9, there are in this book the following words of Aryan origin: אָזְדָּא, ii. 5, 8, derived from the Old Persian *âzandâ*, found in the inscriptions of Bisutun and Nakhschi-Rustam, meaning science, knowledge; גְּדִבְרִין, iii. 2, 3, and גִּנְבָר, גִּנְבְרִין, Ezra i. 8, vii. 21, from the Old Persian *gada* or *gañda*, Zend. *gaza* or *ganga*, thus *gada-bara*, treasurer, the Old Persian form, while גִּזְבַּר corresponds with the Zend. *gaza-bara*; דָּתְבַר, iii. 2, 3, Old Persian and Zend. *dâta-bara* (New Pers. *dâtavar*), one who understands the law, a judge; הַדְמִין (הַדְּמִין, ii. 5, iii. 29); from the Old Persian *handâm*, organized body, member (μέλος); פַּתְבַג, costly food, i. 5, 8, 13, 15 and xi. 26, from the Old Persian *pati-baga*, Zend. *paiti-bagha*, Sanskr. *prati-bhâga*, allotted food ["a share of small articles, as fruit, flowers, etc., paid daily to the rajah for household expenditure"]; פִּתְגָם, iii. 16, iv. 14, Ezra iv. 17, v. 7, vi. 11, from the Old Persian *pati-gama*, a message, a command; פַּרְתֳּמִים, i. 3, Esth. i. 3, vi. 9, the distinguished, the noble, in Pehlevi, *pardom*, Sanskr. *prathama*, the first; and the as yet unexplained מֶלְצַר, i. 11, 16, and נִבְזְבָה, ii. 6, and finally כָּרוֹזָא, a crier, a herald, iii. 4, Old Persian *khresii*, crier, from which the verb כְּרַז, v. 29, in Chald. and Syr. of similar meaning with the Greek κηρύσσειν.

[2] Thus Daniel uses only the plur. suffixes כֹּון, הֹון, לְכֹון, לְהֹון, while in Ezra

Although perhaps the use of peculiar Aramaic words and word-forms by a Jew of the time of the Maccabees may be explained, yet the use of words belonging to the Aryan language by such an one remains incomprehensible, — such words, *e.g.*, as אַזְדָּא, דְּתָבְרִין, פִּתְבַּג, which are met with neither in the Targums nor in the rabbinical writings, or הַדָּם, member, piece, from which the Targumists formed the *denom.* הַדֵּים, *μελίζεσθαι*, to dismember, and have naturalized in the Aramaic language (cf. J. Levy, *Chald. Wörterb. ueber die Targ.* i. p. 194). Whence could a Maccabean Jew of the era of the Seleucidæ, when the Greek language and culture had become prominent in the East, have received these foreign words?

But as the language of this book, particularly its Aryan element, speaks against its origin in the age of the Maccabees, so also "the contemplative-visionary manner of representation in the book," as Kran. (p. 59) justly remarks, "accords little with a conjuncture of time when (1 Macc. ii. ff.) the sanctuary was desecrated and tyranny rose to an intolerable height. It is not conceivable that in such a time those who mingled in that fearful insurrection and were called on to defend their lives with weapons in their hands, should have concerned themselves with visions and circumstantial narratives of detailed history, which appertain to a lengthened period of quietness, instead of directly encouraging and counselling the men of action, so that they might be set free from the fearful situation in which they were placed."

2. Thus in no respect do the actual contents of this book correspond with the relations and circumstances of the times of the Maccabees; but, on the contrary, they point decidedly to the time of the exile. The historical parts show an intimate acquaintance not only with the principal events of the time of the exile, but also with the laws and manners and customs of the Chaldean and Medo-Persian monarchies. The definite description (ch. i. 1) of the first expedition of Nebuchadnezzar against Jerusalem, which is fabricated certainly from no part of the O. T., and which is yet

the forms כֹּם and הֹם are interchanged with כּוֹן and הוֹן in such a way, that הוֹן is used fifteen times, הוֹם ten times, כּוֹן once, and כֹּם five times. The forms with ם used by Ezra, and also by Jeremiah, x. 11, prevail in the Targum. Moreover Daniel has only הִמּוֹן (ii. 34, 35, iii. 22), Ezra, on the contrary, has the abbreviated form הִמּוֹ (iv. 10, 23, v. 5, 11, etc.); Daniel דִּכֵּן, ii. 31, vii. 20, 21, Ezra דָּךְ, iv. 13, 15, 16, 18, 21, v. 8, and דֵּךְ, v. 16 f., vi. 7 f., 12; Daniel נְוָלִי, ii. 5, Ezra נְוָלוּ, vi. 11; Daniel גְּדָבְרַיָּא, iii. 2, Ezra גִּזְבָּר, i. 8, vii. 21.

proved to be correct, points to a man well acquainted with this event; so too the communication regarding king Belshazzar, ch. v., whose name occurs only in this book, is nowhere else independently found. An intimate familiarity with the historical relations of the Medo-Persian kingdom is seen in the mention made of the law of the Medes and Persians, ch. vi. 9, 13, since from the time of Cyrus the Persians are always placed before the Medes, and only in the book of Esther do we read of the Persians and Medes (ch. i. 3, 14, 18), and of the law of the Persians and Medes (ch. i. 19). An intimate acquaintance with the state-regulations of Babylon is manifest in the statement made in ch. i. 7 (proved by 2 Kings xxiv. 17 to be a Chaldean custom), that Daniel and his companions, on their being appointed for the king's service, received new names, two of which were names derived from Chaldean idols; in the account of their food being brought from the king's table (ch. i. 5); in the command to turn into a dunghill (ch. ii. 5) the houses of the magicians who were condemned to death; in the death-punishments mentioned in ch. ii. 5 and iii. 6, the being hewn to pieces and cast into a burning fiery furnace, which are shown by Ezek. xvi. 10, xxiii. 47, Jer. xxix. 29, and other proofs, to have been in use among the Chaldeans, while among the Medo-Persians the punishment of being cast into the den of lions is mentioned, ch. vi. 8, 13 ff. The statement made about the clothing worn by the companions of Daniel (ch. iii. 21) agrees with a passage in Herodotus, i. 195; and the exclusion of women from feasts and banquets is confirmed by Xen. *Cyrop.* v. 2, and Curtius, v. 1, 38. As to the account given in ch. ii. 5, 7, of the priests and wise men of Chaldea, Fr. Münter (*Religion der Babyl.* p. 5) has remarked, "What the early Israelitish prophets record regarding the Babylonish religion agrees well with the notices found in Daniel; and the traditions preserved by Ctesias, Herod., Berosus, and Diodor are in perfect accordance therewith." Compare with this what P. F. Stuhr (*Die heidn. Religion. des alt. Orients*, p. 416 ff.) has remarked concerning the Chaldeans as the first class of the wise men of Babylon. A like intimate acquaintance with facts on the part of the author of this book is seen in his statements regarding the government and the state officers of the Chaldean and Medo-Persian kingdom (cf. Hgstb. *Beitr.* i. p. 346 ff.).

The prophetical parts of this book also manifestly prove its origin in the time of the Babylonian exile. The foundation of the world-kingdom by Nebuchadnezzar forms the historical starting-point for the prophecy of the world-kingdoms. "Know, O

king," says Daniel to him in interpreting his dream of the world-monarchies, "thou art the head of gold" (ch. ii. 37). The visions which are vouchsafed to Daniel date from the reign of Belshazzar the Chaldean, Darius the Median, and Cyrus the Persian (ch. vii. 1, viii. 1, ix. 1, x. 1). With this stands in harmony the circumstance that of the four world-kingdoms only the first three are historically explained, viz. besides the first of the monarchy of Nebuchadnezzar (ch. ii. 37), the second of the kingdom of the Medes and Persians, and the third of the kingdom of Javan, out of which, at the death of the first king, four kingdoms shall arise toward the four winds of heaven (ch. viii. 20–22). Of the kings of the Medo-Persian kingdom, only Darius the Median and Cyrus the Persian, during whose reign Daniel lived, are named Moreover the rise of yet four kings of the Persians is announced, and the warlike expedition of the fourth against the kingdom of Javan, as also the breaking up and the division toward the four winds (ch. xi. 5–19) of the kingdom of the victorious king of Javan. Of the four kingdoms arising out of the monarchy of Alexander of Macedon nothing particular is said in ch. viii., and in ch. xi. 5–19 only a series of wars is predicted between the king of the south and the king of the north, and the rise of the daring king who, after the founding of his kingdom by craft, would turn his power against the people of God, lay waste the sanctuary, and put an end to the daily sacrifice, and, according to ch. viii. 23, shall arise at the end of these four kingdoms.

However full and particular be the description given in ch. viii. and ch. xi. of this daring king, seen in ch. viii. as the little horn, yet it nowhere passes over into the prediction of historical particularities, so as to overstep the boundaries of prophecy and become prognostication or the feigned setting forth of the empiric course of history. Now, though the opinion of Kran. p. 58, that "the prophecy of Daniel contains not a single *passus* which might not (leaving the fulfilment out of view) in a simple, self-evident way include the development founded in itself of a theocratic thought, or of such-like thoughts," is not in accordance with the supernatural factor of prophecy, since neither the general prophecy of the unfolding of the world-power in four successive world-kingdoms, nor the special description of the appearance and unfolding of this world-kingdom, can be conceived of or rightly regarded as a mere explication of theocratic thoughts, yet the remark of the same theologian, that the special prophecies in Daniel

viii. and xi. do not abundantly cover themselves with the historical facts in which they found their fulfilment, and are fundamentally different from the later so-called Apocalypse of Judaism in the Jewish Sibyl, the book of Enoch and the book of Ezra (= Esdras), which are appended to the book of Daniel, is certainly well founded.

What Daniel prophesied regarding the kings of Persia who succeeded Cyrus, regarding the kingdom of Javan and its division after the death of the first king into four kingdoms, etc., could not be announced by him by virtue of an independent development of prophetic thoughts, but only by virtue of direct divine revelation; but this revelation is at the same time not immediate prediction, but is an addition to the earlier prophecies of further and more special unveilings of the future, in which the point of connection for the reference of the third world-kingdom to Javan was already given in the prophecy of Balaam, Num. xxiv. 24, cf. Joel iv. 6 (iii. 6). The historical destination of the world-kingdoms does not extend to the kingdom of Javan and the ships of Chittim (ch. xi. 30), pointing back to Num. xxiv. 24, which set bounds to the thirst for conquest of the daring king who arose up out of the third world-kingdom. The fourth world-kingdom, however distinctly it is described according to its nature and general course, lies on the farther side of the historical horizon of this prophet, although in the age of the Maccabees the growth of the Roman power, striving after the mastery of the world, was already so well known that the Alexandrine translators, on the ground of historical facts, interpreted the coming of the ships of Chittim by ἥξουσι Ῥωμαῖοι. The absence of every trace of the historical reference of the fourth world-kingdom, furnishes an argument worthy of notice in favour of the origin of this book of Daniel during the time of the exile. For at the time of the Babylonian exile Rome lay altogether out of the circle of vision opened up to the prophets of Scripture, since it had as yet come into no relation at all to the then dominant nations which were exercising an influence on the fate of the kingdom of God. Altogether different was the state of matters in the age of the Maccabees, for they sent messengers with letters to Rome, proposing to enter into a league with the Romans: cf. 1 Macc. viii. xii.

The contents of Dan. ix. accord with the age of the Maccabees still less than do the visions of the world-kingdoms. Three and a half centuries after the accomplishment of Jeremiah's prophecy of the desolation of Judah, after Jerusalem and the temple had been

long ago rebuilt, it could not come into the mind of any Jew to put into the mouth of the exiled prophet Daniel a penitential prayer for the restoration of the holy city, and to represent Gabriel as having brought to him the prophecy that the seventy years of the desolation of Jerusalem prophesied of by Jeremiah were not yet fulfilled, but should only be fulfilled after the lapse of seventy year-weeks, in contradiction to the testimony of Ezra, or, according to modern critics, of the author of the books of Chronicles and of Ezra, living at the end of the Persian era, that God, in order to fulfil His word spoken by Jeremiah the prophet, had in the first year of Cyrus stirred up the spirit of Cyrus the king of Persia to send forth an edict throughout his whole kingdom, which directed the Jews to return to Jerusalem and commanded them to rebuild the temple (2 Chron. xxxvi. 22 f., Ezra i. 1–4).

3. If now, in conclusion, we take into consideration the religious spirit of this book, we find that the opponents of its genuineness display no special gift of *διάκρισις πνευμάτων* when they place the book of Daniel in the same category with the Sybilline Oracles, the fourth book of Ezra (= 2 Esdras), the book of Enoch, the *Ascensio Jesajæ*, and other pseudepigraphical products of apocryphal literature, and represent the narrative of the events of Daniel's life and his visions as a literary production after the manner of Deuteronomy and the book of Koheleth (Ecclesiastes), which a Maccabean Jew has chosen, in order to gain for the wholesome truths which he wished to represent to his contemporaries the wished-for acceptance (Bleek, p. 593 f.). For this purpose, he must in the historical narratives, "by adducing the example of Daniel and his companions on the one side, and of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar on the other, exhort his fellow-countrymen to imitate the former in the inflexible stedfastness of their faith, in their open, fearless confession of the God of their fathers, and show them how this only true, all-powerful God will know in His own time to humble those who, like Antiochus Epiphanes, raised themselves against Him in presumptuous pride and sought to turn away His people from His service, and, on the other hand, to make His faithful worshippers in the end victorious" (Bleek, p. 601). Hence the tendency is conspicuous, "that the author in his descriptions in ch. iii. and vi. almost always, in whole and in part, has kept before his eye the relations of his time (the land of Judea being then under the oppression of Antiochus Epiphanes) and the surrounding circumstances; and these he brings before his readers in a veiled, yet by them easily recognisable, manner" (p.

602). Wherein, then, does the "easily recognisable" resemblance of these two *facta* consist? Nebuchadnezzar directed a colossal image of threescore cubits in height and six cubits in breadth to be erected on the plain of Dura, and to be solemnly consecrated as a national image, the assembled people falling down before it doing it homage. Antiochus Epiphanes, on the contrary, did not command an idol-image, as has been supposed from a false interpretation of the βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως (1 Macc. i. 54), to be placed on the altar of burnt-offering, but only a small idol-altar (βωμόν, 1 Macc. i. 59) to be built; no mention is made, however, of its being solemnly consecrated. He then commanded the Jews to offer sacrifice month after month on this idol-altar; and because he wished that in his whole kingdom all should form but one people, and that each should leave his laws (ver. 41), he thus sought to constrain the Jews to give up the worship of God inherited from their fathers, and to fall in with the heathen forms of worship. Nebuchadnezzar did not intend to forbid to the nations that became subject to him the worship of their own gods, and to the Jews the worship of Jehovah, but much more, after in the wonderful deliverance of the three friends of Daniel he recognised the omnipotence of the supreme God, he forbade by an edict, on the pain of death, all his subjects from blaspheming this God (Dan. iii. 28–30).

And wherein consists the resemblance between Antiochus Epiphanes and the Median Darius (Dan. vi.)? Darius, it is true, at the instigation of his princes and satraps, issued an ordinance that whoever within thirty days should offer a prayer to any god or man except to the king himself should be cast into the den of lions, but certainly not with the view of compelling the Jews, or any other of his subjects, to apostatize from their ancestral religion, for after the expiry of the appointed thirty days every one might again direct his prayer to his own god. The special instigators of this edict did not contemplate by it the bringing of the Jewish people under any religious restraint, but they aimed only at the overthrow of Daniel, whom Darius had raised to the rank of third ruler in the realm and had thought to set over the whole kingdom. But when Daniel was denounced to him by the authors of this law, Darius became greatly moved, and did all he could to avert from him the threatened punishment. And when, by an appeal of his satraps to the law of the Medes and Persians that no royal edict could be changed, necessity was laid upon him to cause Daniel to be cast into the den of lions, he spent a sleepless night, and was

very glad when, coming to the lions' den early in the morning, he found Daniel uninjured. He then not only commanded Daniel's accusers to be cast to the lions, but he also by a proclamation ordered all his subjects to do homage to the living God who did signs and wonders in heaven and earth. In this conduct of Darius towards Daniel and towards the living God of heaven and earth, whom Daniel and the Jews worshipped, can a single incident be found which will remind us of the rage of Antiochus Epiphanes against the Jews and their worship of God?

Still less can it be conceived that (as Bleek, p. 604, says) the author of this book had "without doubt Antiochus Epiphanes before his eyes" in Nebuchadnezzar, ch. iv., and also in Belshazzar, ch. v. It is true that Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar, according to ch. iv. and v., sin against the Almighty God of heaven and earth and are punished for it, and Antiochus Epiphanes also at last fell under the judgment of God on account of his wickedness. But this general resemblance, that heathen rulers by their contact with the Jews did dishonour to the Almighty God, and were humbled and punished for it, repeats itself at all times, and forms no special characteristic of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. In all the special features of the narratives of Dan. iv. and v., on the other hand, complete differences are met with. Nebuchadnezzar was struck with beast-like madness, not because he had persecuted the Jews, but because in his haughty pride as a ruler he deified himself, because he knew not that the Most High ruleth over the kingdom of men (ch. iv. 14); and when he humbled himself before the Most High, he was freed from his madness and again restored to his kingdom. Belshazzar also did not transgress by persecuting the Jews, but by causing at a riotous banquet, in drunken insolence, the golden vessels which had been brought from the temple in Jerusalem to Babylon to be produced, and by drinking out of these vessels with his captains and his wives amid the singing of songs in praise of the idol-gods; thus, as Daniel represented to him, raising himself up against the Lord of heaven, and not honouring the God in whose hand his breath was and with whom were all his ways, although he knew how his father Nebuchadnezzar had been punished by this God (ch. v. 20–23) for his haughty presumption.

The relation not only of Nebuchadnezzar and of Darius, but also of Belshazzar, to the Jews and their religion is therefore fundamentally different from the tendency of Antiochus Epiphanes to uproot Judaism and the Mosaic worship of God. The Babylonian

kings were indeed heathen, who, according to the common opinion of all heathens, held their national gods to be greater and more powerful than the gods of the nations subdued by them, among whom they also placed the God of Israel; but when they heard of the wonders of His divine omnipotence, they gave honour to the God of Israel as the God of heaven and of earth, partly by express confession of Him, and partly, at least as Belshazzar did, by honouring the true worshippers of this God. Antiochus Epiphanes, on the contrary, persisted in his almost mad rage against the worship of God as practised by the Jews till he was swept away by the divine judgment. If the pretended pseudo-Daniel, therefore, had directed his view to Antiochus Epiphanes in the setting forth of such narratives, we could only imagine the purpose to have been that he might lead this fierce enemy of his people to acknowledge and worship the true God. But with such a supposition not only does the sentiment of the Jews, as it is brought to light in the books of the Maccabees, stand in opposition, but it is also contradicted by the prophecies of this book, which threaten the daring and deceitful king, who would take away the daily sacrifice and lay waste the sanctuary, with destruction without the hand of man, without giving any room for the thought of the possibility of a change of mind, or of his conversion. The author of these prophecies cannot therefore have followed, in the historical narratives of his book, the tendency imputed to him by modern critics.

On the whole, an entire misapprehension of the spirit which pervades the historical parts of the book of Daniel lies at the foundation of the supposition of such a tendency. The narratives regarding Nebuchadnezzar, his dream, the consecration of the golden statue, and his conduct after his recovery from his madness, as well as those regarding Darius, ch. vi., could not be invented, at least could not be invented by a Maccabean Jew, because in the pre-exilian history there are altogether wanting types corresponding to the psychological delineation of these characters. It is true that a Pharaoh raised Joseph, who interpreted his dream, to be the chief ruler in his kingdom, but it does not come into his mind to give honour to the God who revealed in the dream what would befall his kingdom (Gen. xli.). For the other narratives of this book there are wanting in the Old Testament incidents with which they could be connected; and the resemblance between the life-experience of Joseph and that of Daniel extends only to these general matters, that both received from God the gift of interpret-

ing dreams, and by means of this gift brought help and deliverance to their people:[1] in all details, however, Daniel is so different from Joseph, that the delineation of his portrait as found in this book cannot be regarded as a copy of the history of Joseph. Still less can we think of the narratives of Daniel as poetical compositions; for the characters of Nebuchadnezzar and of Darius the Mede are essentially different from the prevailing views of Judaism concerning the heathen. The relation of both of these genuine heathen kings to the revelations of God shows a receptivity for the control of the living God in the lot of men, as is predicated before and after the exile in no Jewish writing of a single heathen. Such representations of character cannot be invented; they are drawn according to life, and can only be understood if the wonders of divine omnipotence and grace which the book of Daniel relates truly happened.

But as in the historical narrations, so also in the visions of Daniel, there is wanting every trace of any tendency pointing to Antiochus Epiphanes. This tendency is derived only from the view already (p. 42) shown to be incorrect, that all the prophecies of Daniel extend only down to this king, and that with his death the destruction of the God-opposing world-power and the setting up of the Messianic kingdom of God is to be expected. But if the opponents of the genuineness of this book derive support for their views from the relation of the prophecies of Daniel to the pseudepigraphic products of the Jewish Apocalyptics, so also, on the other hand, Zündel (*Krit. Unter.* p. 134 ff.) has so conclusively proved the decided difference between the prophecies of Daniel and the Sibylline Oracles, which, according to Bleek, Lücke, and others, must have flowed from one source and are homogeneous, that we may limit ourselves to a brief condensed exhibition of the main results of this proof (p. 165 ff.).

First, the *subject* of the two writings is perfectly different. In Daniel the seer stands in moral connection with the vision; this is not so with the Sibyl. Daniel is a pious Israelite, whose name, as we see from Ezekiel, was well known during the Chaldean exile, and whose life-history is spent in inseparable connection with his prophecies; on the contrary, the Sibyls withdraw their existence from all historical control, for they date back in the times of

[1] Chr. B. Michaelis thus brings together the analogies between the events in the life of Joseph and of Daniel: "*Uterque in peregrinam delatus terram, uterque felix somniorum interpres, uterque familiæ ac populi sui stator, uterque summorum principum administer, uterque sapientum sui loci supremus antistes.*"

hoary antiquity, not only of Israel, but of all nations, viz. in the period of the deluge, and their persons disappear in apocryphal darkness. "While Daniel on his knees prays for the divine disclosure regarding the time of the deliverance of his people, and each of his revelations is at the same time an answer to prayer, the Sibyl in the Maccabean time is represented, in a true heathenish manner, powerfully transported against her will by the word of God as by a madness, and twice she prays that she might rest and cease to prophesy."

Again, the prophetic *situation* is just as different. As is the case with all the earlier prophets, Daniel's prophecy goes forth from a definite historical situation, the growing up of the first great world-power in Assyria-Chaldea; it stands in a moral practical connection with the deliverance of Israel, about which it treats, after the expiry of the seventy years of Jeremiah; the four world-monarchies which were revealed to him take root in the historical ground of the time of Nebuchadnezzar. In the Seleucidan-Jewish Sibyl, on the contrary, there is no mention made of a prophetical situation, nor of a politico-practical tendency; the Sibyl has in a true Alexandrine manner a literary object, viz. this, to represent Judaism as the world-religion. "That life-question for Israel and the world, When comes the kingdom of God? which in Daniel springs up in an actual situation, as it shall also be only answered by divine fact, is in the Alexandrine Sibyllist only a question of doctrine which *he* believes himself called on to solve by making the heathen Jews and associates of the Jews.

Finally, in the Sibyls there is wanting a prophetical *object*. The prophetical object of Daniel is the world-power over against the kingdom of God. This historico-prophetic idea is the determinating, sole, all-penetrating idea in Daniel, and the centre of it lies throughout in the end of the world-power, in its inner development and its inner powerlessness over against the kingdom of God. The four world-forms do not begin with the history of nations and extend over our present time. On the contrary, the creative prophetic spirit is wanting to the Sibyl; not *one* historical thought of deliverance is peculiar to it; it is a genuine Alexandrine compilation of prophetic and Græco-classic thoughts externally conceived. The thought peculiarly pervading it, to raise Judaism to the rank of the world-religion, is only a human reflection of the divine plan, that in Abraham all the nations shall be blessed, which pervades all the prophets as the great thought in the history of the

world; in Daniel it comes out into the greatest clearness, and is realized by Christianity. This prophetic world-thought the Sibyl has destroyed, *i.e.* has religiously spiritualized and politically materialized it. "Not the living and holy covenant God Jehovah, who dwells on high and with the contrite in heart, but Godhead uncreated and creating all things, without distinction in Himself, the invisible God, who sees all things, who is neither male nor female, as He appears at a later period in the teaching of the school of Philo, is He whom the Sibyl in very eloquent language declares to the heathen. But of the God of Israel, who not only created the world, but who also has a divine kingdom on the earth, and will build up this kingdom, in a word, of the God of the history of redemption, as He is seen in His glory in Daniel, we find no trace whatever." The materialistic historic prophecy of the Sibyllist corresponds with this religious spiritualism. He seeks to imitate the prophecies of Daniel, but he does not know the prophetic fundamental thought of the kingdom of God over against the kingdom of the world, and therefore he copies the empirical world-history: "first Egypt will rule, then Assyria, Persia, Media, Macedonia, Egypt again, and then Rome."

Thus the Sibylline Apocalyptic is fundamentally different from the prophecies of Daniel.[1] Whoever has a mind so little disciplined that he cannot perceive this difference, cannot be expected to know how to distinguish between the prophecies of Daniel and the philosophical reflections of the book of Koheleth.[2] If Koheleth brings forward his thoughts regarding the vanity of all things in the name of the wise king Solomon, then is this literary production, which moreover is so very transparent that every reader of the book can see through it, altogether comprehensible. If, on the other hand, a Maccabean Jew clothe his own self-conceived ideas regarding the development of the war of the heathen world-powers against the people of God in revelations from God, which the prophet

[1] This may be said also of the other apocryphal apocalypses of Judaism, which we have no need, however, here specially to consider, because these apocalypses, as is generally acknowledged, originate in a much later time, and therefore have no place in discussions regarding the genuineness of the book of Daniel.

[2] The Deuteronomy which Bleek and others quote along with the book of Koheleth cannot be therefore taken into consideration as capable of supplying analogical proof, because the supposition that this book is not genuine, was not composed by Moses, is no better grounded than is the supposed non-genuineness of the book of Daniel.

living in the Babylonian exile might have received, then this undertaking is not merely literary deception, but at the same time an abuse of prophecy, which, as a prophesying out of one's own heart, is a sin to which God in His law has annexed the punishment of death.

If the book of Daniel were thus a production of a Maccabean Jew, who would bring "certain wholesome truths" which he thought he possessed before his contemporaries as prophecies of a divinely enlightened seer of the time of the exile, then it contains neither prophecy given by God, nor in general wholesome divine truth, but mere human invention, which because it was clothed with falsehood could not have its origin in the truth. Such a production Christ, the eternal personal Truth, never could have regarded as the prophecy of Daniel the prophet, and commended to the observation of His disciples, as He has done (Matt. xxiv. 15, cf. Mark xiii. 14).

This testimony of our Lord fixes on the external and internal evidences which prove the genuineness of the book of Daniel the seal of divine confirmation.

For the exegetical literature of the book of Daniel see in my *Lehrb. der Einl. in d. A. Test.* § 385 f. [The Messrs. T. and T. Clark of Edinburgh have recently published an English translation of this work, under the title of *Manual of Historico-Critical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament*, etc., translated by the Rev. Professor Douglas, D.D., Free Church College, Glasgow. 2 vols., Edinburgh 1869]. To what is there recorded we may add, *Das Buch Daniel erkl.* von Rud. Kranichfeld, Berlin 1868; *Das Buch Daniels uebers. u. erkl.* von Dr. Th. Kliefoth, Schwerin 1868; J. L. Füller, *der Prophet Daniel erkl.*, Basel 1868 (for the educated laity); Pusey, *Daniel the Prophet*, Oxf. 1864; and Mayer (Cath.), *die Messian. Prophezieen des Daniel*, Wien 1866. [*Der Prophet Daniel, theologisch-homiletisch bearbeitet.* von Dr. Zoeckler, Professor der Theologie zu Greifswald (J. P. Lange's *Bibelwerk*, 17er Thiel des A. T.), 1870.]

EXPOSITION.

CHAP. I. HISTORICO-BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION.

WHEN Nebuchadnezzar first besieged Jerusalem he not only took away the holy vessels of the temple, but also commanded that several Israelitish youths of noble lineage, among whom was Daniel, should be carried to Babylon and there educated in the science and wisdom of the Chaldeans for service in his court, which they entered upon when their education was completed. This narrative, in which the stedfast attachment of Daniel and his three friends to the religion of their fathers, and the blessings which flowed to them from this fidelity (vers. 8–17), are particularly set forth, forms the historical introduction to the following book, whilst it shows how Daniel reached the place of influence which he held, a place which was appointed for him according to the divine counsel, during the Babylonish exile, for the preservation and development of the Old Testament kingdom of God. It concludes (ver. 21) with the remark, that Daniel continued to occupy this place till the first year of Cyrus.

Vers. 1 and 2. Of this expedition of Nebuchadnezzar against Jerusalem it is related in the second book of Kings (ch. xxiv. 1): "In his days Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up, and Jehoiakim became his servant three years; then he turned and rebelled against him;" and in the second book of Chronicles (ch. xxxvi. 6): "Against him came up Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and bound him in fetters to carry him to Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar also carried of the vessels of the house of the Lord to Babylon, and put them in his temple at Babylon." That both of these statements refer to the same expedition of Nebuchadnezzar against Jehoiakim mentioned here, appears not only from the statement of the book of Chronicles agreeing with ver. 2 of this chapter,

namely, that Nebuchadnezzar took away a part of the sacred vessels of the temple to Babylon, and there put them in the temple of his god, but also from the circumstance that, beyond all doubt, during the reign of Jehoiakim there was not a second siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. It is true, indeed, that when Jehoiakim threw off the yoke at the end of three years' subjection, Nebuchadnezzar sent Chaldean, Aramæan, Moabitish, and Ammonitish hosts against him for the purpose of bringing him into subjection, but Jerusalem was not again laid siege to by these hosts till the death of Jehoiakim. Not till his son Jehoiachin ascended the throne did the servants of Nebuchadnezzar again come up against Jerusalem and besiege it. When, during the siege, Nebuchadnezzar himself came up, Jehoiachin surrendered to him after three months, and was, along with the chief men of his kingdom, and the strength of the population of Jerusalem and Judah, and the treasures of the royal palace and of the temple, carried down to Babylon (2 Kings xxiv. 2–16). The year, however, in which Nebuchadnezzar, in the reign of Jehoiakim, first took Jerusalem and carried away a part of the treasures of the temple to Babylon, is stated neither in the second book of Kings nor in Chronicles, but may be pretty certainly determined by the statements of Jeremiah (ch. xlvi. 2, xxv. 1 ff., xxxvi. 1 ff.). According to Jer. xlvi. 2, Nebuchadnezzar smote the Egyptian king Pharaoh-Necho with his army at Carchemish in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim. That same year is spoken of (Jer. xxv. 1) as the first year of Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, and is represented by Jeremiah not only as a critical period for the kingdom of Judah; but also, by the prediction that the Lord would bring His servant Nebuchadnezzar against Judah and against its inhabitants, and against all the nations round about, that He would make Judah a desolation, and that these nations would serve the king of Babylon seventy years (vers. 2–11), he without doubt represents it as the beginning of the seventy years of Babylonish exile. In this the fourth year of Jehoiakim, the prophet was also commanded (ch. xxxvi. 1 ff.) to write in a book all the words which the Lord had spoken unto him against Israel, and against Judah, and against all the nations, from the day in which He had spoken to him in the time of Josiah even till then, that the house of Judah might hear all the evil which He purposed to do unto them, and might return every man from his evil way. Jeremiah obeyed this command, and caused these predictions, written in the roll of a book, to be read by Baruch to the people in the temple; for

he himself was a prisoner, and therefore could not go to the temple.

The first capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar cannot therefore have taken place in the third, but must have been in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, *i.e.* in the year 606 B.C. This, however, appears to stand in opposition to the statement of the first verse of this chapter: "In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim בָּא Nebuchadnezzar to Jerusalem." The modern critics accordingly number this statement among the errors which must disprove the genuineness of this book (see above, p. 35 f.). The apparent opposition between the language of Daniel (ch. i. 1) that Nebuchadnezzar undertook his first expedition against Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim, and the affirmation of Jeremiah, according to which not only was Pharaoh-Necho slain by Nebuchadnezzar at the Euphrates in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, but also in this same year Nebuchadnezzar's invasion of Judea is for the first time announced, cannot be resolved either by the hypothesis of a different mode of reckoning the years of the reign of Jehoiakim and of Nebuchadnezzar, nor by the supposition that Jerusalem had been already taken by Nebuchadnezzar before the battle of Carchemish, in the third year of Jehoiakim. The first supposition is set aside by the circumstance that there is no certain analogy for it.[1] The latter supposition is irreconcilable with Jer. xxv. and xxxvi.[2] If Jeremiah in the fourth year of Jehoiakim announced that because Judah did not hearken unto his warnings addressed to them "from the thirteenth year of Josiah even unto this day," that is, for the space of three and twenty years, nor yet to the admonitions of all the other prophets (ch. xxv. 3–7) whom the Lord had sent unto them, therefore the Lord would now send His servant Nebuchad-

[1] The old attempt to reconcile the difference in this way has already been shown by Hengstenberg (*Beit. z. Einl. in d. A. T.* p. 53) to be untenable; and the supposition of Klief. (p. 65 f.), that Jehoiakim entered on his reign near the end of a year, and that Jeremiah reckons the year of his reign according to the calendar year, but that Daniel reckons it from the day of his ascending the throne, by which it is made out that there is no actual difference, is wholly overthrown by the circumstance that in the sacred Scriptures there is no analogy for the reckoning of the year of a king's reign according to the day of the month on which he began to reign. On this supposition we might reconcile the apparent difference only if no other plan of reconciliation were possible. But such is not the actual state of the case.

[2] Following the example of Hofmann (*die 70 Jahre Jer.* p. 13 ff.), Hävernick (*Neue Krit. Unterss. über d. B. Daniel*, p. 62 ff.), Zündel (*Krit. Unterss.* p. 20 ff.), and others have decided in favour of it.

nezzar with all the people of the north against the land and against the inhabitants thereof, and against all these nations round about, utterly to destroy the land and make it desolate, etc.,—then it must be affirmed that he publicly made known the invasion of Judah by the Chaldeans as an event which had not yet taken place, and therefore that the supposition that Jerusalem had already in the preceding year been taken by Nebuchadnezzar, and that Jehoiakim had been brought under his subjection, is entirely excluded. It is true that in ch. xxv. Jeremiah prophesies a judgment of "perpetual desolations against Jerusalem and against all the nations," but it is as unwarrantable to apply, as Klief. does, this prophecy only "to the total destruction of Jerusalem and of Judah, which took place in the eleventh year of Zedekiah," as with older interpreters only to the first expedition of Nebuchadnezzar against Jehoiakim, 2 Kings xxiv. 1 and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6 f. In the words of threatening uttered by the prophet there are included all the expeditions of Nebuchadnezzar against Jerusalem and Judah, from his first against Jehoiakim to the final destruction of Jerusalem under Zedekiah; so that we cannot say that it is not applicable to the first siege of Jerusalem under Jehoiakim, but to the final destruction of Judah and Jerusalem, as this whole prophecy is only a comprehensive intensified summary of all the words of God hitherto spoken by the mouth of the prophet. To strengthen the impression produced by this comprehensive word of God, he was commanded in that same year (ch. xxxvi. 1 f.), as already mentioned, to write out in the roll of a book all the words hitherto spoken by him, that it might be seen whether or not the several words gathered together into a whole might not exert an influence over the people which the separate words had failed to do.

Moreover a destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans before the overthrow of the Egyptian power on the Euphrates, which took place in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, cannot at all be thought of. King Jehoiakim was "put into bands" by Pharaoh-Necho and made a tributary vassal to him (2 Kings xxiii. 33 ff.), and all the land from the river of Egypt even unto the Euphrates was brought under his sway; therefore Nebuchadnezzar could not desolate Judah and Jerusalem before Pharaoh-Necho was slain. Neither could Nebuchadnezzar pass in the presence of the Egyptian host stationed in the stronghold of Carchemish, on the Euphrates, and advance toward Judah, leaving behind him the city of Babylon as a prize to so powerful an enemy, nor would Necho, supposing that

Nebuchadnezzar had done this, have quietly allowed his enemy to carry on his operations, and march against his vassal Jehoiakim, without following in the rear of Egypt's powerful foe.[1]

The statement in the first verse may indeed, literally taken, be interpreted as meaning that Nebuchadnezzar came up against Jerusalem and took it in the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim, because בּוֹא frequently means to come to a place. But it is not necessary always so to interpret the word, because בּוֹא means not only to come, but also to go, to march to a place. The assertion, that in this verse בּוֹא is to be interpreted (Häv. *N. Kr. U.* p. 61, Ew., and others) as meaning to *come* to a place, and not to *march* to it, is as incorrect as the assertion that the translation of בָּא by *he marched* is inadmissible or quite impossible, because עָלָה is generally used of the march of an army (Staeh., Zünd.). The word בּוֹא, from the first book of the Canon (cf. Gen. xiv. 5) to the last, the book of Daniel not excepted (cf. *e.g.* xi. 13, 17, 29, etc.), is used of military expeditions; and regarding the very general opinion, that בּוֹא, in the sense of to march, to go to a place, occurs less frequently, Kran. (p. 21) has rightly remarked, that "it stands always and naturally in this sense whenever the movement has its point of departure from the place of him who observes it, thinks of it, or makes a communication regarding it." Therefore, *e.g.*, it is used "always in a personal verbal command with reference to the movement, not yet undertaken, where naturally the thought as to the beginning or point of departure passes into the foreground; as *e.g.* in Gen. xlv. 17; Ex. vi. 11, vii. 26, ix. 1, x. 1; Num. xxxii. 6; 1 Sam. xx. 19; 2 Kings v. 5. In Jonah i. 3 it is used of the ship that was about to go to Tarshish; and again, in the words לָבוֹא עִמָּהֶם, *ibid.*, it is used when speaking of the conclusion of the journey." "On the contrary, if the speaker or narrator is at the *terminus ad quem* of the movement spoken of, then of course the word בּוֹא is used in the other sense of *to come*, to approach, and the like." Accordingly these words of Daniel, "Nebuchadnezzar בּוֹא to Jerusalem," considered in themselves, may be interpreted without any regard to the point of departure or the termination of

[1] With the above compare my *Lehrb. der Einl.* § 131, and my *Commentary* on 2 Kings xxiv. 1. With this Kran. agrees (p. 17 f.), and in addition remarks: "In any case Necho would at once have regarded with jealousy every invasion of the Chaldean into the region beyond the Euphrates, and would least of all have suffered him to make an extensive western expedition for the purpose of conquering Judea, which was under the sway of Egypt."

the movement. They may mean "Nebuchadnezzar came to Jerusalem," or that "he marched to Jĕrusalem," according as the writer is regarded as writing in Judah or Jerusalem, or in Babylon at the point of departure of Nebuchadnezzar's journey. If the book was composed by a Maccabean Jew in Palestine, then the translation, "he came to Jerusalem," would be the more correct, because such a writer would hardly have spoken of a military movement from its eastern point of departure. The case is altogether different if Daniel, who lived as a courtier in Babylon from his youth up to old age, wrote this account. "For him, a Jew advanced in years, naturally the first movement of the expedition threatening and bringing destruction to his fatherland, whether it moved directly or by a circuitous route upon the capital, would be a significant fact, which he had in every respect a better opportunity of comprehending than his fellow-countrymen living in the remote west, since this expedition was an event which led to the catastrophe of the exile. For the Jew writing in Babylon about the expedition, the fatal commencement of the march of the Chaldean host would have a mournful significance, which it could not have for a writer living in Jerusalem."

In this way Kran. has thoroughly vindicated the rendering of בָּא, "he marched" to Jerusalem, and also the explanation of the word as referring to the setting out of the Chaldean army which Hitz., Hofm., Staeh., Zünd., and others have declared to be opposed to the meaning of the word and "impossible," and at the same time he has set aside as groundless the further remark of Hitzig, that the designation of the time also applies to וַיָּצַר. If בָּא is to be understood of an expedition with reference to its point of departure, then the fixing of its time cannot of course refer also to the time of the arrival of the expedition at its termination and the siege then ensuing. The time of its arrival before Jerusalem, as well as the beginning, duration, and end of the siege, is not defined, and only its result, the taking of Jerusalem, is, according to the object of the author, of sufficient importance to be briefly announced. The period of the taking of the city can only be determined from dates elsewhere given. Thus from the passages in Jeremiah already referred to, it appears that this happened in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, in which year Nebuchadnezzar overcame the army of Necho king of Egypt at the Euphrates (Jer. xlvi. 2), and took all the land which the king of Egypt had subdued, from the river of Egypt to the Euphrates, so that

Pharaoh-Necho came no more out of his land (2 Kings xxiv. 7). With this agrees Berosus in the fragments of his Chaldean history preserved by Josephus (*Ant.* x. 11. 1, and *c. Ap.* i. 19). His words, as found in the latter passage, are these: "When his (Nebuc.) father Nabopolassar heard that the satrap whom he had set over Egypt and over the parts of Cœlesyria and Phœnicia had revolted from him, he was unable to bear the annoyance any longer, but committing a part of his army to his son Nabuchodonosor, who was then a youth, he sent him against the rebel. Nabuchodonosor encountered him in battle and overcame him, and brought the land again under his dominion. It happened that his father Nabopolassar at this time fell sick and died at the city of Babylon, after he had reigned twenty-one years (Berosus says twenty-nine years). But when Nabuchodonosor not long after heard of the death of his father, he set the affairs of Egypt and of the other countries in order, and committed the prisoners he had taken from the Jews, the Phœnicians, and Syrians, and from the nations belonging to Egypt, to some of his friends, that they might conduct the heavy armed troops with the rest of the baggage to Babylonia, while he himself hastened with a small escort through the desert to Babylon. When he came hither, he found that the public affairs had been managed by the Chaldeans, and that the principal persons among them had preserved the kingdom for him. He now obtained possession of all his father's dominions, and gave directions that the captives should be placed as colonies in the most favourably situated districts of Babylonia," etc. This fragment illustrates in an excellent manner the statements made in the Bible, in case one be disposed to estimate the account of the revolt of the satrap placed over Egypt and the countries lying round Cœlesyria and Phœnicia as only the expression of boastfulness on the part of the Babylonish historian, claiming that all the countries of the earth of right belonged to the monarch of Babylon; and it also shows that the rebel satrap could be none other than Pharaoh-Necho. For Berosus confirms not only the fact, as declared in 2 Kings xxiv. 7, that Pharaoh-Necho in the last year of Nabopolassar, after the battle at Megiddo, had subdued Judah, Phœnicia, and Cœlesyria, *i.e.* "all the land from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates," but he also bears witness to the fact that Nebuchadnezzar, after he had slain Pharaoh-Necho (Jer. xlvi. 2) "by the river Euphrates in Carchemish," made Cœlesyria, Phœnicia, and Judah tributary to the Chaldean empire, and consequently that he took Jerusalem

not before but after the battle at Carchemish, in prosecution of the victory he had obtained over the Egyptians.

This does not, however, it must be confessed, prove that Jerusalem had already in the fourth year of Jehoiakim come under the dominion of Nebuchadnezzar. Therefore Hitz. and others conclude from Jer. xxxvi. 9 that Nebuchadnezzar's assault upon Jerusalem was in the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakim as yet only in prospect, because in that month Jeremiah prophesied of the Chaldean invasion, and the extraordinary fast then appointed had as its object the manifestation of repentance, so that thereby the wrath of God might be averted. This Kran. endeavours to prove from 2 Kings xxv. 27, cf. Jer. lii. 31. But in the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakim, Jeremiah caused to be rehearsed to the people in the court of the temple his former prophecies, written by Baruch in a book according to the commandment of the Lord, and pronounced the threatening against Jehoiakim because he had cut to pieces this book and had cast it into the fire, Jer. xxxvi. 29 ff. This threatening, that God would bring upon the seed and upon the servants of Jehoiakim, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, all the evil which He had pronounced against them (ver. 31), does not exclude the previous capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, but announces only the carrying out of the threatened judgment in the destruction of Jerusalem and of the kingdom of Judah to be as yet imminent.

The extraordinary fast of the people also, which was appointed for the ninth month, was not ordained with the view of averting the destruction of Judah and Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, which was then expected, after the battle at Carchemish; for although fasts were sometimes appointed or kept for the purpose of turning away threatened judgment or punishment (*e.g.* 2 Sam. xii. 15 ff.; 1 Kings xxi. 27; Esth. iv. 1, iii. 16), yet, in general, fasts were more frequently appointed to preserve the penitential remembrance of punishments and chastisements which had been already endured: cf. *e.g.* Zech. vii. 5; Ezra x. 6 f.; Neh. i. 4; 1 Sam. xxxi. 13; 2 Sam. i. 12, etc. To ascertain, therefore, what was the object of this fast which was appointed, we must keep in view the character of Jehoiakim and his relation to this fast. The godless Jehoiakim, as he is represented in 2 Kings xxiii. 37; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5, and Jer. xxii. 13 ff., was not the man who would have ordained a fast (or allowed it if the priests had wished to appoint it) to humble himself and his people before

God, and by repentance and prayer to turn away the threatened judgment. Before he could ordain a fast for such a purpose, Jehoiakim must hear and observe the word of the prophet, and in that case he would not have been so enraged at the reading of the prophecies of Jeremiah as to have cut the book to pieces and cast it into the fire. If the fast took place previous to the arrival of the Chaldeans before Jerusalem, then neither the intention of the king nor his conduct in regard to it can be comprehended. On the other hand, as Zünd. p. 21, and Klief. p. 57, have shown, both the ordaining of a general fast, and the anger of the king at the reading of the prophecies of Jeremiah in the presence of the people in the temple, are well explained, if the fast is regarded as designed to keep in remembrance the day of the year on which Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem. As Jehoiakim bore with difficulty the yoke of the Chaldean oppression, and from the first meditated on a revolt, for after three years he did actually revolt, he instituted the fast "to stir up the feelings of the people against the state of vassalage into which they had been brought" (Klief.), "and to call forth a religious enthusiasm among them to resist the oppressor" (Zünd.). This opposition could only, however, result in the destruction of the people and the kingdom. Jeremiah therefore had his prophecies read to the people in the temple on that day by Baruch "as a counterbalance to the desire of the king," and announced to them that Nebuchadnezzar would come again to subdue the land and to destroy from out of it both man and beast. "Therefore the king was angry, and destroyed the book, because he would not have the excitement of the people to be so hindered; and therefore also the princes were afraid (Jer. xxxvi. 16) when they heard that the book of these prophecies was publicly read" (Klief.).

The words of 2 Kings xxv. 27, cf. Jer. lii. 31, do not contradict this conclusion from Jer. xxxvi. 9, even though that drawn by Kran., p. 18, from this passage were adopted, viz. that since almost thirty-seven whole years had passed from the carrying away of Jehoiachin to the end of the forty-three years of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, but Jehoiachin had reigned only for a few months, the beginning of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar must be dated in the sixth of the eleven years' reign of Jehoiakim, the predecessor of Jehoiachin. For since, according to the testimony of Berosus, Nebuchadnezzar conducted the war against Hither Asia, in which he slew king Necho at Carchemish, and as a further consequence of this victory took Jerusalem, before the death of his

father, in the capacity of a commander-in-chief clothed with royal power, and when in Hither Asia, as it seems, and on the confines of Egypt, he then for the first time heard tidings of his father's death, and therefore hastened by the shortest road to Babylon to assume the crown and lay claim to all his father's dominions,—then it follows that his forty-three years' reign begins after the battle of Carchemish and the capture of Jerusalem under Jehoiakim, and might possibly have begun in the sixth year of Jehoiakim, some five months after the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakim (Jer. xxxvi. 9). Against this supposition the circumstance that Nebuchadnezzar, as stated in Jer. xlvi. 2, xxv. 1, and also Dan. i. 1, was called king of Babylon before he had actually ascended the throne is no valid objection, inasmuch as this title is explained as a prolepsis which would be easily understood by the Jews in Palestine. Nabopolassar came into no contact at all with Judah; the Jews therefore knew scarcely anything of his reign and his death; and the year of Nebuchadnezzar's approach to Jerusalem would be regarded in a general way both by Jeremiah and his cotemporaries as the first year of his reign, and the commander of the Chaldean army as the king of Babylon, no matter whether on account of his being actual co-regent with his aged and infirm father, or merely because he was clothed with royal power as the chief commander of the army.[1] In this sense Daniel (ch. i. 1) names him who was afterwards king, at a time when he was not yet the possessor of the throne, the king of Babylon; for he was in effect the king, so far as the kingdom of Judah was concerned, when he undertook the first expedition against it.

But the reckoning of Kran. is also not exact. Nebuchadnezzar's ascending the throne and the beginning of his reign would only happen in the sixth year of Jehoiakim if either the three months of Jehoiachin (37 years' imprisonment of Jehoiachin + 1 year's reign + 5 years of Jehoiakim = 43 years of Nebuchadnezzar) are to be reckoned as 1 year, or at least the 11 years of Jehoiakim as 11 full years, so that $5\frac{3}{4}$ years of Jehoiakim's reign must be added to the 37 years of Jehoiachin's imprisonment and

[1] Thus not only Hgstb. *Beitr.* i. p. 63, Häv., Klief., Kran., etc., but also v. Lengerke, *Dan.* p. 3, and Hitz. *Dan.* p. 3. The latter, *e.g.*, remarks: "The designation as king does not furnish any obvious objection, for Nebuchadnezzar, the commander-in-chief of the army, is to the Jewish writers (thus Jer. xxv. 1) a king when he first comes under their notice. They appear to have had no knowledge whatever of his father"

the 3 months of his reign so as to make up the 43 years of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. Thus Jehoiakim must have reigned 5¼ years at the time when Nebuchadnezzar ascended the throne. Whereas if Jehoiakim's reign extended only to 10½ years, which were reckoned as 11 years in the books of the Kings, according to the general method of recording the length of the reign of kings, then Nebuchadnezzar's ascending the throne took place in the fifth year of Jehoiakim's reign, or, at the furthest, after he had reigned 4¾ years. This latter reckoning, whereby the first year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign is made to coincide with the fifth year of Jehoiakim's, is demanded by those passages in which the years of the reign of the kings of Judah are made parallel with the years of Nebuchadnezzar's reign; viz. 2 Kings xxiv. 12, where it is stated that Jehoiachin was taken prisoner and carried away captive in the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar; also Jer. xxxii. 1, where the tenth year of Zedekiah corresponds with the eighteenth of Nebuchadnezzar; and finally, Jer. lii. 5, 12, and 2 Kings xxv. 2, 8, where the eleventh year of Zedekiah corresponds with the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar. According to all these passages, the death of Jehoiakim, or the end of his reign, happened either in the eighth year, or at all events in the end of the seventh year, of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, for Jehoiachin reigned only three months; so that Nebuchadnezzar reigned six full years, and perhaps a few months longer, as contemporary with Jehoiakim, and consequently he must have mounted the throne in the fifth of the eleven years of Jehoiakim's reign.[1]

The above discussion has at the same time also furnished us with the means of explaining the apparent contradiction which has been found between Dan. i. 1 ff. and Dan. ii. 1 ff., and which has been brought forward as an historical error in argument against the genuineness of the book. According to ch. i. 3 ff., Nebuchadnezzar after the capture of Jerusalem commanded that young Israelites of

[1] The synchronistic statements in the passages, 2 Kings xxiv. 12, xxv. 2, 8, Jer. xxxii. 1 and lii. 5, 12, might indeed be interpreted as meaning, that in them the years of Nebuchadnezzar's reign are reckoned from the time when his father entrusted to him the chief command of the army at the breaking out of the war with Necho (see my *Commentary* on 2 Kings xxiv. 12); but in that case the years of Nebuchadnezzar's reign would amount to 44¼ years, viz. 37 years of Jehoiachin's imprisonment, 3 months of his reign, and 7 years of Jehoiakim's reign. And according to this reckoning, it would also result from the passages referred to, that the beginning of his 43 years' reign happened in the fifth year of Jehoiakim.

noble birth should be carried away to Babylon, and there educated for the space of three years in the literature and wisdom of the Chaldeans; and, according to ch. i. 18, after the expiry of the appointed time, they were brought in before the king that they might be employed in his service. But these three years of instruction, according to ch. ii. 1 ff., expired in the second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, when Daniel and his companions were ranked among the wise men of Babylon, and Daniel interpreted to the king his dream, which his Chaldean magi were unable to do (ch. ii. 13 ff., 19 ff.). If we observe that Nebuchadnezzar dreamed his dream "in the second year of his reign," and that he entered on his reign some time after the destruction of Jerusalem and the captivity of Jehoiakim, then we can understand how the three years appointed for the education of Daniel and his companions came to an end in the second year of his reign; for if Nebuchadnezzar began to reign in the fifth year of Jehoiakim, then in the seventh year of Jehoiakim three years had passed since the destruction of Jerusalem, which took place in the fourth year of this king. For the carrying away of the Israelitish youths followed, without doubt, immediately after the subjugation of Jehoiakim, so that a whole year or more of their period of education had passed before Nebuchadnezzar mounted the throne. This conclusion is not set aside by what Berosus affirms, that Nebuchadnezzar, after he heard of the death of his father, committed the captives he had taken from the Jews to the care of some of his friends that they might be brought after him, while he himself hastened over the desert to Babylon; for that statement refers to the great transport of prisoners who were carried away for the colonization of Central Asia. As little does the consideration that a twofold method of reckoning the year of Nebuchadnezzar's government by Daniel is improbable militate against this reconciliation of the discrepancy, for no such twofold method of reckoning exists. In ch. i. the year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign is not given, but Nebuchadnezzar is only named as being king;[1] while in ch. ii. 1 mention is made not merely of the

[1] If, on the contrary, Bleek understands from Dan. i. 1 that Nebuchadnezzar had become king of Babylon in the third year of Jehoiakim at Jerusalem, whilst, "perhaps only with the design of making the pretended opposition between ch. i. 1 and ii. 1 truly evident, he understands the appositional designation מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל as a more definite determination of the meaning of the verb בָּא, this idea finds recommendation neither in the position of the words, nor in the expression, ch. i. 3, nor in the accents." Kranichfeld, p. 19.

second year of Nebuchadnezzar, but of the second year of his reign, from which it appears that the historian here reckons from the actual commencement of his reign. Also, as Klief., p. 67, has well remarked, one may "easily discover the ground on which Daniel in ch. i. 1 followed a different mode of reckoning from that adopted in ch. ii. 1. In ch. i. Daniel had to do with Israelitish circumstances and persons, and therefore followed, in making reference to Nebuchadnezzar, the general Israelitish mode of contemplation. He reckons his years according to the years of the Israelitish kings, and sees in him already the *king;* on the contrary, in ch. ii. Daniel treats of the relations of the world-power, and he reckons here accurately the year of Nebuchadnezzar, the bearer of the world-power, from the day in which, having actually obtained the possession of the world-power, he became king of Babylon."

'If we now, in conclusion, briefly review the results of the preceding discussions, it will be manifest that the following is the course of events:—Necho the king of Egypt, after he had made Jehoiakim his vassal king, went forth on an expedition against the Assyrian kingdom as far as the Euphrates. Meanwhile, however, with the dissolution of the Assyrian kingdom by the fall of Nineveh, the part of that kingdom lying on this side of the Tigris had come under the dominion of the Chaldeans, and the old and enfeebled king Nabopolassar gave to his son Nebuchadnezzar the chief command of the army, with the commission to check the advance of the Egyptians, and to rescue from them the countries they had occupied and bring them again under the Chaldean rule. In consequence of this, Nebuchadnezzar took the field against Hither Asia in the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim, and in the first month of the fourth year of Jehoiakim slew Pharaoh-Necho at Carchemish and pursued his army to the confines of Egypt, and in the ninth month of the same year took Jerusalem and made king Jehoiakim his subject. While Nebuchadnezzar was busied in Hither Asia with the subjugation of the countries that had been conquered by Pharaoh-Necho, he received the tidings of the death of his father Nabopolassar in Babylon, and hastened forward with a small guard by the nearest way through the desert to Babylon in order to assume the government, giving directions that the army, along with the whole band of prisoners, should follow him by slow marches. But as soon as the Chaldean army had left Judea and returned to Babylon, Jehoiakim sought how he might throw off the Chaldean yoke, and three years after his subjugation he revolted, probably at

a time when Nebuchadnezzar was engaged in establishing his dominion in the East, so that he could not immediately punish this revolt, but contented himself meanwhile with sending against Jehoiakim the armies of Chaldeans, Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites, whom he had left behind on the confines of Judah. They were unable, however, to vanquish him as long as he lived. It was only after his son Jehoiachin had ascended the throne that Nebuchadnezzar, as commander of the army, returned with a powerful host to Jerusalem and besieged the city. While the city was being besieged, Nebuchadnezzar came in person to superintend the war. Jehoiachin with his mother, and his chief officers from the city, went out to surrender themselves to the king of Babylon. But Nebuchadnezzar took him as a prisoner, and commanded that the golden vessels of the temple and the treasures of the royal palace should be taken away, and he carried the king with the great men of the kingdom, the men of war, the smiths and craftsmen, as prisoners to Babylon, and made his vassal Mattaniah, Jehoiachin's uncle, king in Jerusalem, under the name of Zedekiah (2 Kings xxviii. 8–17). This happened in the eighth year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxiv. 12), and thus about six years after Daniel had interpreted his dream (ch. ii.), and had been promoted by him to the rank of president of the wise men in Babylon.

The name נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר is written in ver. 1 with א, as it is uniformly in Jeremiah, *e.g.* xxvii. 6, 8, 20, xxviii. 3, 11, 12, xxix. i. 3, and in the books of the Kings and Chronicles, as 2 Kings xxiv. 1, 10, 11, xxv. 1, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 10, 13; whereas in Dan. i. 18 it is written without the א, as it is also in ch. ii. 1, 28, 46, iii. 1–3, 5 ff., and Ezra i. 7, v. 12, 14, Esth. ii. 6. From this circumstance Hitzig concludes that the statement in Daniel is derived from 2 Kings xxiv. 1, because the manner of writing the name with the א is not peculiar to this book (and is not the latest form), but is that of 2 Kings xxiv. 1. Both statements are incorrect. The writing without the א cannot on this account be taken as the latest form, because it is not found in the Chronicles, and that with the א is not peculiar to the second book of Kings, but is the standing form, along with the more national Babylonian form נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר (with *r*), in Jer. xxi. 2, 7, xxxii. 1, xxxv. 11, xxxix. 11, Ezek. xxvi. 7, xxix. 18, xxx. 10, which, according to Ménant (*Grammaire Assyrienne*, 1868, p. 327), is written in Babylonian inscriptions *Nabukudurriusur* (נבו כדר אצר, *i.e. Nebo coronam servat*), the inscription of *Behistan* having the form *Nabukudratschara*.

Megasthenes and Berosus, in Polyhistor, write the name *Ναβουκοδρόσορος*. The writing *Nebuchadnezar*, with *n* and without the א, appears to be the Aramean form, since it prevails in the Chaldean portions of Daniel and Ezra, and accounts for the Masoretic pronunciation of the word (the נ with *Dagesch forte*). On other forms of the name, cf. Niebuhr, *Gesch. Assurs*, p. 41 f.

Ver. 2. "*The Lord gave Jehoiakim into his hands*" corresponds with the words in 2 Kings xxiv. 1, "he became his servant," and with 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, "and he bound him in fetters." "*And part of the vessels of the house of God.*" מִקְצָת without the *Dag. forte*, meaning properly from the end or extremity, is abbreviated from מִקָּצֶה עַד קָצֶה, cf. Jer. xxv. 33, Gen. xlvii. 21, Ex. xxvi. 28, and shows that "that which was found from end to end contributed its share; meaning that a great part of the whole was taken, although קָצַת of itself never means *a part*" (Kran.). As to the statement of the text, cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. These vessels he brought (commanded to be brought) into the land of Shinar, *i.e.* Babylonia (Gen. x. 10), into the temple of his god, *i.e.* Bel, and indeed into the treasure-house of this temple. Thus we understand the meaning of the two latter clauses of ver. 2, while Hitz. and Kran., with many older interpreters, refer the suffix in יְבִיאֵם to Jehoiakim, and also to the vessels, on account of the express contrast in the following words, וְאֶת־הַכֵּלִים (Kran.), and because, if it is not stated here, it is nowhere else mentioned that Nebuchadnezzar carried away men also (Hitz.). But the latter fact is expressly affirmed in ver. 3, and not only supposed, as Hitz. alleges, and it was not necessary that it should be expressed in ver. 2. The application of the suffix to Jehoiakim or the Jewish youths who were carried captive is excluded by the connection of יְבִיאֵם with בֵּית אֱלֹהָיו, *into the house of his god.* But the assertion that בַּיִת, *house*, here means *country*, is not proved from Hos. viii. 1, ix. 15, nor is warranted by such passages as Ex. xxix. 45, Num. xxxv. 34, Ezek. xxxvii. 27, etc., where mention is made of God's dwelling in the land. For God's dwelling in the land is founded on the fact of His gracious presence in the temple of the land, and even in these passages the word *land* does not stand for the word *house.* Equally unfounded is the further remark, that if by the expression בֵּית אֱלֹהָיו the temple is to be understood, the preposition אֶל would stand before it, for which Zech. xi. 13, Isa. xxxvii. 23, Gen. xlv. 25 are appealed to. But such passages have been referred to without observing that in them the preposition אֶל stands only before living objects, where

it is necessary, but not before inanimate objects, such as בַּיִת, where the special object of the motion is with sufficient distinctness denoted by the accusative. The words following, וְאֶת־הַכֵּלִים, fall in not as adversative, but explicative: *and indeed* (or, *namely*) *the vessels brought he into the treasure-house of his god*—as booty. The carrying away of a part of the vessels of the temple and a number of the distinguished Jewish youth to Babylon, that they might be there trained for service at the royal court, was a sign and pledge of the subjugation of Judah and its God under the dominion of the kings and the gods of Babylon. Both are here, however, mentioned with this design, that it might be known that Daniel and his three friends, of whom this book gives further account, were among these youths, and that the holy vessels were afterwards fatal (ch. v.) to the house of the Babylonian king.

Vers. 3–7. The name אַשְׁפְּנַז, sounding like the Old Persian *Açp*, *a horse*, has not yet received any satisfactory or generally adopted explanation. The man so named was the chief marshal of the court of Nebuchadnezzar. רַב סָרִיסִים (the word רַב used for שַׂר, vers. 7, 9, belongs to the later usage of the language, cf. Jer. xxxix. 3). means chief commander of the eunuchs, *i.e.* overseer of the sérail, the Kislar Aga, and then in a wider sense minister of the royal palace, chief of all the officers; since סָרִים frequently, with a departure from its fundamental meaning, designates only a courtier, chamberlain, attendant on the king, as in Gen. xxxvii. 36. The meaning of לְהָבִיא, more definitely determined by the context, is *to lead*, *i.e.* into the land of Shinar, to Babylon. In בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, *Israel* is the theocratic name of the chosen people, and is not to be explained, as Hitz. does, as meaning that Benjamin and Levi, and many belonging to other tribes, yet formed part of the kingdom of Judah. וּמִן . . . וּמִזֶּרַע, *as well of the seed . . . as also.* פַּרְתֻּמִים is the Zend. *frathema*, Sanscr. *prathama*, *i.e. persons of distinction*, *magnates*. יְלָדִים, the object to לְהָבִיא, designates youths of from fifteen to twenty years of age. Among the Persians the education of boys by the *παιδάγωγαι βασίλειοι* began, according to Plato (*Alcib.* i. 37), in their fourteenth year, and according to Xenophon (*Cyrop.* i. 2), the *ἔφηβοι* were in their seventeenth year capable of entering into the service of the king. In choosing the young men, the master of the eunuchs was commanded to have regard to bodily perfection and beauty as well as to mental endowments. Freedom from blemish and personal beauty were looked upon as a charac-

teristic of moral and intellectual nobility; cf. Curtius, xvii. 5, 29. מאום, *blemish*, is written with an א, as in Job xxxi. 7.

Ver. 4. מַשְׂכִּיל, *skilful, intelligent* in all wisdom, *i.e.* in the subjects of Chaldean wisdom (cf. ver. 17), is to be understood of the ability to apply themselves to the study of wisdom. In like manner the other mental requisites here mentioned are to be understood. יְדֵעֵי דַעַת, *having knowledge, showing understanding*; מְבִינֵי מַדָּע, *possessing a faculty for knowledge, a strength of judgment.* וַאֲשֶׁר כֹּחַ בָּהֶם, *in whom was strength, i.e.* who had the fitness in bodily and mental endowments appropriately to stand in the palace of the king, and as servants to attend to his commands. וּלְלַמְּדָם (*to teach them*) is co-ordinate with לְהָבִיא (*to bring*) in ver. 3, and depends on וַיֹּאמֶר (*and he spake*). For this service they must be instructed and trained in the learning and language of the Chaldeans. סֵפֶר refers to the Chaldee literature, and in ver. 17 בְּכָל־סֵפֶר, and לָשׁוֹן to conversation or the power of speaking in that language. כַּשְׂדִּים, *Chaldeans*, is the name usually given (1) to the inhabitants of the Babylonian kingdom founded by Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar, and (2) in a more restricted sense to the first class of the Babylonish priests and learned men or magi, and then frequently to the whole body of the wise men of Babylon; cf. at ch. ii. 2. In this second meaning the word is here used. The language of the כַּשְׂדִּים is not, as Ros., Hitz., and Kran. suppose, the Eastern Aramaic branch of the Semitic language, which is usually called the Chaldean language; for this tongue, in which the Chaldean wise men answered Nebuchadnezzar (ch. ii. 4 ff.), is called in ch. ii. 4, as well as in Ezra iv. 7 and Isa. xxxvi. 11, the אֲרָמִית, *Aramaic* (*Syriac*), and is therefore different from the language of the כַּשְׂדִּים.

But the question as to what this language used by the Chaldeans was, depends on the view that may be taken of the much controverted question as to the origin of the כַּשְׂדִּים, *Χαλδαῖοι*. The oldest historical trace of the כַּשְׂדִּים lies in the name אוּר כַּשְׂדִּים (*Ur of the Chaldees*, LXX. *χώρα τῶν Χαλδαίων*), the place from which Terah the father of Abraham went forth with his family to Charran in the north of Mesopotamia. The origin of Abraham from Ur of the Chaldees, when taken in connection with the fact (Gen. xxii. 22) that one of the sons of Nahor, Abraham's brother, was called כֶּשֶׂד (*Chesed*), whose descendants would be called כַּשְׂדִּים, appears to speak for the origin of the כַּשְׂדִּים from Shem. In addition to this also, and in support of the same opinion, it has been

noticed that one of Shem's sons was called אַרְפַּכְשַׁד (*Arphaxad*). But the connection of ארפכשד with כֶּשֶׂד is unwarrantable; and that Nahor's son כֶּשֶׂד was the father of a race called כשדים, is a supposition which cannot be established. But if a race actually descended from this כשד, then they could be no other than the Bedouin tribe the כַּשְׂדִּים, which fell upon Job's camels (Job i. 17), but not the people of the Chaldees after whom, in Terah's time, Ur was already named. The sojourn of the patriarch Abraham in Ur of the Chaldees finally by no means proves that Terah himself was a Chaldean. He may have been induced also by the advance of the Chaldeans into Northern Mesopotamia to go forth on his wanderings.

This much is at all events unquestionable, and is now acknowledged, that the original inhabitants of Babylonia were of Semitic origin, as the account of the origin of the nations in Gen. x. shows. According to Gen. x. 22, Shem had five sons, Elam, Asshur, Arphaxad, Lud, and Aram, whose descendants peopled and gave name to the following countries:—The descendants of Elam occupied the country called Elymais, between the Lower Tigris and the mountains of Iran; of Asshur, Assyria, lying to the north—the hilly country between the Tigris and the mountain range of Iran; of Arphaxad, the country of *Arrapachitis* on the Upper Tigris, on the eastern banks of that river, where the highlands of Armenia begin to descend. Lud, the father of the Lydians, is the representative of the Semites who went westward to Asia Minor; and Aram of the Semites who spread along the middle course of the Euphrates to the Tigris in the east, and to Syria in the west. From this M. Duncker (*Gesch. des Alterth.*) has concluded: "According to this catalogue of the nations, which shows the extension of the Semitic race from the mountains of Armenia southward to the Persian Gulf, eastward to the mountains of Iran, westward into Asia Minor, we follow the Semites along the course of the two great rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris, to the south. Northwards from Arphaxad lie the mountains of the Chasdim, whom the Greeks call Chaldæi, Carduchi, Gordiæi, whose boundary toward Armenia was the river Centrites."

"If we find the name of the Chaldeans also on the Lower Euphrates, if in particular that name designates a region on the western bank of the Euphrates to its mouth, the extreme limit of the fruitful land watered by the Euphrates towards the Arabian desert, then we need not doubt that this name was brought from the

Armenian mountains to the Lower Euphrates, and that it owes its origin to the migration of these Chaldeans from the mountains.—Berosus uses as interchangeable the names Chaldea and Babylonia for the whole region between the Lower Euphrates and the Tigris down to the sea. But it is remarkable that the original Semitic name of this region, *Shinar*, is distinct from that of the Chaldeans; remarkable that the priests in Shinar were specially called Chaldeans, that in the fragments of Berosus the patriarchs were already designated Chaldeans of this or that city, and finally that the native rulers were particularly known by this name. We must from all this conclude, that there was a double migration from the north to the regions on the Lower Euphrates and Tigris; that they were first occupied by the Elamites, who came down along the Tigris; and that afterwards a band came down from the mountains of the Chaldeans along the western bank of the Tigris, that they kept their flocks for a long time in the region of Nisibis, and finally that they followed the Euphrates and obtained superiority over the earlier settlers, who had sprung from the same stem (?), and spread themselves westward from the mouth of the Euphrates. The supremacy which was thus established was exercised by the chiefs of the Chaldeans; they were the ruling family in the kingdom which they founded by their authority, and whose older form of civilisation they adopted."

If, according to this, the Chaldeans are certainly not Semites, then it is not yet decided whether they belonged to the Japhetic race of Aryans, or, as C. Sax[1] has recently endeavoured to make probable, to the Hamitic race of Cushites, a nation belonging to the Tartaric (Turamic) family of nations. As to the Aryan origin,

[1] In the *Abhdl.* "on the ancient history of Babylon and the nationality of the Cushites and the Chaldeans," in the *Deutsch. morg. Ztschr.* xxii. pp. 1-68. Here Sax seeks to prove "that the Chaldeans, identical with the biblical Chasdim, were a tribe ruling from ancient times from the Persian Gulf to the Black Sea, and particularly in Babylonia, which at length occupied the southern region from the mouth of the Euphrates to the Armeneo-Pontine range of mountains, but was in Babylonia especially represented by the priest caste and the learned." This idea the author grounds on the identification of the Bible Cushites with the Scythians of the Greeks and Romans, the evidence for which is for the most part extremely weak, and consists of arbitrary and violent combinations, the inconsistency of which is at once manifest, as *e.g.* the identification of the כַּשְׂדִּים with the כַּסְלֻחִים, Gen. x. 14, the conclusions drawn from Ezek. xxix. 10 and xxxviii. 5 f. of the spread of the Cushites into Arabia and their reception into the Scythian army of the northern Gog, etc. In general, as Sax presents it, this supposition is untenable, yet it contains elements of truth which are not to be overlooked.

besides the relation of the Chaldeans, the Gordiæi, and the Carduchi to the modern Kurds, whose language belongs to the Indo-Germanic, and indeed to the Aryan family of languages, the further circumstance may be referred to: that in Assyria and Babylonia the elements of the Aryan language are found in very ancient times. Yet these two facts do not furnish any conclusive evidence on the point. From the language of the modern Kurds being related to the Aryan language no certain conclusion can be drawn as to the language of the ancient Chaldees, Gordiæi, and Carduchi; and the introduction of Aryan words and appellations into the language of the Semitic Assyrians and Babylonians is fully explained, partly from the intercourse which both could not but maintain with Iranians, the Medes and Persians, who were bordering nations, partly from the dominion exercised for some time over Babylonia by the Iranian race, which is affirmed in the fragments of Berosus, according to which the second dynasty in Babylon after the Flood was the Median. Notwithstanding we would decide in favour of the Aryan origin of the Chaldeans, did not on the one side the biblical account of the kingdom which Nimrod the Cushite founded in Babel and extended over Assyria (Gen. x. 8–12), and on the other the result to which the researches of the learned into the antiquities of Assyria regarding the development of culture and of writing in Babylonia,[1] make this view very doubtful.

[1] The biblical tradition regarding the kingdom founded by Nimrod in Babel, Duncker (p. 204) has with arbitrary authority set aside, because it is irreconcilable with his idea of the development of Babylonian culture. It appears, however, to receive confirmation from recent researches into the ancient monuments of Babylonia and Assyria, which have led to the conclusion, that of the three kinds of cuneiform letters that of the Babylonian bricks is older than the Assyrian, and that the oldest form originated in an older hieroglyphic writing, of which isolated examples are found in the valley of the Tigris and in Susiana; whence it must be concluded that the invention of cuneiform letters did not take place among the Semites, but among a people of the Tauranian race which probably had in former times their seat in Susiana, or at the mouth of the Euphrates and the Tigris on the Persian Gulf. Cf. Spiegel in Herz.'s *Realencyclop.*, who, after stating this result, remarks: "Thus the fact is remarkable that a people of the Turko-Tartaric race appear as the possessors of a high culture, while people of this tribe appear in the world's history almost always as only destitute of culture, and in many ways hindering civilisation; so that it cannot but be confessed that, so far as matters now are, one is almost constrained to imagine that the state of the case is as follows," and thus he concludes his history of cuneiform writing:—"Cuneiform writing arose in ancient times, several thousand years before the birth of Christ, very probably from an ancient hieroglyphic system of writing, in the region about the mouths of the Euphrates and the

If, then, for the present no certain answer can be given to the question as to the origin of the Chaldeans and the nature of their language and writing, yet this much may be accepted as certain, that the language and writing of the כַּשְׂדִּים was not Semitic or Aramaic, but that the Chaldeans had in remote times migrated into Babylonia, and there had obtained dominion over the Semitic inhabitants of the land, and that from among this dominant race the Chaldees, the priestly and the learned caste of the Chaldeans, arose. This caste in Babylon is much older than the Chaldean monarchy founded by Nebuchadnezzar.

Daniel and his companions were to be educated in the wisdom of the Chaldean priests and learned men, which was taught in the schools of Babylon, at Borsippa in Babylonia, and Hipparene in Mesopotamia (Strab. xvi. 1, and Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vi. 26). Ver. 5. To this end Nebuchadnezzar assigned to them for their support provision from the king's household, following Oriental custom, according to which all officers of the court were fed from the king's table, as Athen. iv. 10, p. 69, and Plut. *probl.* vii. 4, testify regarding the Persians. This appears also (1 Kings v. 2, 3) to have been the custom in Israel. דְּבַר יוֹם בְּיוֹמוֹ, *the daily portion*, cf. Ex. v. 13, 19; Jer. lii. 34, etc. פַּתְבַּג comes from *path*, in Zend. *paiti*, Sanscr. *prati* = προτί, πρός, and *bag*, in Sanscr. *bhâga*, portion, provision, cf. Ezek. xxv. 7. With regard to the composition, cf. the Sanscr. *pratibhâga*, a portion of fruits, flowers, etc., which the *Rajah* daily requires for his household; cf. Gildemeister in Lassen's *Zeits. f. d. Kunde des Morg.* iv. 1, p. 214. פַּתְבַּג therefore means neither ambrosia, nor dainties, but generally food, victuals,

Tigris on the Persian Gulf. It was found existing by a people of a strange race, belonging neither to the Semites nor to the Indo-Germans. It was very soon, however, adopted by the Semites. The oldest monuments of cuneiform writing belong to the extreme south of the Mesopotamian plain. In the course of time it pressed northward first to Babylon, where it assumed a more regular form than among the Assyrians. From Assyria it may have come among the Indo-Germans first to Armenia; for the specimens of cuneiform writing found in Armenia are indeed in syllabic writing, but in a decidedly Indo-Germanic language. How the syllabic writing was changed into letter- (of the alphabet) writing is as yet obscure. The most recent kind of cuneiform writing which we know, the Old Persian, is decidedly letter-writing." Should this view of the development of the cuneiform style of writing be confirmed by further investigations, then it may be probable that the Chaldeans were the possessors and cultivators of this science of writing, and that their language and literature belonged neither to the Semitic nor yet to the Indo-Germanic or Aryan family of languages.

food of flesh and meal in opposition to wine, drink (מִשְׁתִּיו is singular), and vegetables (ver. 12).

The king also limits the period of their education to three years, according to the Persian as well as the Chaldean custom. וּלְגַדְּלָם does not depend on וַיֹּאמֶר (ver. 3), but is joined with וַיְמַן, and is the final infinitive with ו explicative, meaning, *and that he may nourish them.* The infinitive is expressed by the fin. verb יַעַמְדוּ, to stand before (the king). The carrying out of the king's command is passed over as a matter of course, yet it is spoken of as obeyed (cf. ver. 6ff.).

Ver. 6. Daniel and his three friends were among the young men who were carried to Babylon. They were of the sons of Judah, *i.e.* of the tribe of Judah. From this it follows that the other youths of noble descent who had been carried away along with them belonged to other tribes. The name of none of these is recorded. The names only of Daniel and his three companions belonging to the same tribe are mentioned, because the history recorded in this book specially brings them under our notice. As the future servants of the Chaldean king, they received as a sign of their relation to him other names, as the kings Eliakim and Mattaniah had their names changed (2 Kings xxiii. 34, xxiv. 17) by Necho and Nebuchadnezzar when they made them their vassals. But while these kings had only their paternal names changed for other Israelitish names which were given to them by their conquerors, Daniel and his friends received genuine heathen names in exchange for their own significant names, which were associated with that of the true God. The names given to them were formed partly from the names of Babylonish idols, in order that thereby they might become wholly naturalized, and become estranged at once from the religion and the country of their fathers.[1] Daniel, *i.e.* God will judge, received the name *Belteshazzar*, formed from *Bel*, the name of the chief god of the Babylonians. Its meaning has not yet been determined. *Hananiah*, *i.e.* the Lord is gracious, received the name *Shadrach*, the origin of which is wholly unknown; *Mishael*, *i.e.* who is what the Lord is, was called *Meshach*, a name yet undeciphered; and *Azariah*, *i.e.* the Lord helps, had his name changed into *Abednego*, *i.e.* slave, servant of *Nego* or *Nebo*, the name of the second god of the

1 "The design of the king was to lead these youths to adopt the customs of the Chaldeans, that they might have nothing in common with the chosen people."—CALVIN.

Babylonians (Isa. xlvi. 1), the ב being changed by the influence of ב in עבר into נ (*i.e. Nego* instead of *Nebo*).

Vers. 8–16. The command of the king, that the young men should be fed with the food and wine from the king's table, was to Daniel and his friends a test of their fidelity to the Lord and to His law, like that to which Joseph was subjected in Egypt, corresponding to the circumstances in which he was placed, of his fidelity to God (Gen. xxxix. 7 f.). The partaking of the food brought to them from the king's table was to them contaminating, because forbidden by law; not so much because the food was not prepared according to the Levitical ordinance, or perhaps consisted of the flesh of animals which to the Israelites were unclean, for in this case the youths were not under the necessity of refraining from the wine, but the reason of their rejection of it was, that the heathen at their feasts offered up in sacrifice to their gods a part of the food and the drink, and thus consecrated their meals by a religious rite; whereby not only he who participated in such a meal participated in the worship of idols, but the meat and the wine as a whole were the meat and the wine of an idol sacrifice, partaking of which, according to the saying of the apostle (1 Cor. x. 20 f.), is the same as sacrificing to devils. Their abstaining from such food and drink betrayed no rigorism going beyond the Mosaic law, a tendency which first showed itself in the time of the Maccabees. What, in this respect, the pious Jews did in those times, however (1 Macc. i. 62 f.; 2 Macc. v. 27), stands on the ground of the law; and the aversion to eat anything that was unclean, or to defile themselves at all in heathen lands, did not for the first time spring up in the time of the Maccabees, nor yet in the time of the exile, but is found already existing in these threatenings in Hos. ix. 3 f., Amos vii. 17. Daniel's resolution to refrain from such unclean food flowed therefore from fidelity to the law, and from stedfastness to the faith that "man lives not by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord" (Deut. viii. 3), and from the assurance that God would bless the humbler provision which he asks for himself, and would by means of it make him and his friends as strong and vigorous as the other youths who did eat the costly provision from the king's table. Firm in this conviction, he requested the chief chamberlain to free him and his three friends from the use of the food and drink brought from the royal table. And the Lord was favourable to him, so that his request was granted.

Ver. 9. נָתַן לְחֶסֶד, *to procure favour* for any one, cf. 1 Kings viii. 30, Ps. cvi. 46, Neh. i. 11. The statement that God gave Daniel favour with the chief chamberlain, refers to the fact that he did not reject the request at once, as one not to be complied with, or as punishable, but, esteeming the religious conviction out of which it sprang, pointed only to the danger into which a disregard of the king's command would bring him, thus revealing the inclination of his heart to grant the request. This willingness of the prince of the eunuchs was the effect of divine grace.

Ver. 10. The words אֲשֶׁר לָמָּה = שֶׁלָּמָּה (Song i. 7), *for why should he see?* have the force of an emphatic denial, as לָמָּה in Gen. xlvii. 15, 19, 2 Chron. xxxii. 4, and as דִּי לָמָּה in Ezra vii. 23, and are equivalent to "he must not indeed see." זֹעֲפִים, *morose*, disagreeable, looking sad, here, a pitiful look in consequence of inferior food, corresponding to *σκυθρωπός* in Matt. vi. 16. פְּנֵי is to be understood before הַיְלָדִים, according to the *comparatio decurtata* frequently found in Hebrew; cf. Ps. iv. 8, xviii. 34, etc. וְחַיַּבְתֶּם with ו *relat.* depends on לָמָּה: *and ye shall bring into danger*, so that ye bring into danger. חַיֵּב אֶת־רֹאשׁ, *make the head guilty*, *i.e.* make it that one forfeits his head, his life.

Vers. 11–16. When Daniel knew from the answer of the chief that he would grant the request if he were only free from personal responsibility in the matter, he turned himself to the officer who was under the chief chamberlain, whom they were immediately subject to, and entreated him to make trial for ten days, permitting them to use vegetables and water instead of the costly provision and the wine furnished by the king, and to deal further with them according as the result would be. הַמֶּלְצַר, having the article, is to be regarded as an appellative, expressing the business or the calling of the man. The translation, *steward* or chief cook, is founded on the explanation of the word as given by Haug (Ewald's *bibl. Jahrbb.* v. p. 159 f.) from the New Persian word *mel*, spirituous liquors, wine, corresponding to the Zend. *madhu* (*μεθυ*), intoxicating drink, and צַר = *çara*, Sanscr. *çiras*, the head; hence overseer over the drink, synonymous with רַבְשָׁקֵה, Isa. xxxvi. 2.—נָא נַסֵּה, *try, I beseech thee, thy servants*, *i.e.* try it with us, ten days. Ten, in the decimal system the number of completeness or conclusion, may, according to circumstances, mean a long time or only a proportionally short time. Here it is used in the latter sense, because ten days are sufficient to show the effect of the kind of food on the appearance. זֵרְעִים, food from the vegetable kingdom, *vegetables*,

leguminous fruit. Ver. 13. מַרְאֵינוּ is singular, and is used with יֵרָאוּ in the plural because two subjects follow. כַּאֲשֶׁר תִּרְאֶה, *as thou shalt see*, viz. our appearance, *i.e.* as thou shalt then find it, act accordingly. In this proposal Daniel trusted in the help of God, and God did not put his confidence to shame.[1] The youths throve so visibly on the vegetables and water, that the steward relieved them wholly from the necessity of eating from the royal table. Ver. 15. בְּרִיאֵי בָשָׂר, *fat, well nourished in flesh*, is grammatically united to the suffix of מַרְאֵיהֶם, from which the pronoun is easily supplied in thought. Ver. 16. נָשָׂא, *took away* = no more gave.

Vers. 17–21. *The progress of the young men in the wisdom of the Chaldeans, and their appointment to the service of the king.*

As God blessed the resolution of Daniel and his three friends that they would not defile themselves by the food, He also blessed the education which they received in the literature (סֵפֶר, ver. 17 as ver. 4) and wisdom of the Chaldeans, so that the whole four made remarkable progress therein. But besides this, Daniel obtained an insight into all kinds of visions and dreams, *i.e.* he attained great readiness in interpreting visions and dreams. This is recorded regarding him because of what follows in this book, and is but a simple statement of the fact, without any trace of vainglory. Instruction in the wisdom of the Chaldeans was, besides, for Daniel and his three friends a test of their faith, since the wisdom of the Chaldeans, from the nature of the case, was closely allied to the Chaldean idolatry and heathen superstition, which the learners of this wisdom might easily be led to adopt. But that Daniel and his friends learned only the Chaldean wisdom without adopting the heathen element which was mingled with it, is evidenced from the stedfastness in the faith with which at a later period, at the danger of their lives (cf. Dan. iii. 6), they stood aloof from all participation in idolatry, and in regard to Daniel in particular, from the deep glance into the mysteries of the kingdom of God which lies before us in his prophecies, and bears witness of the clear

[1] The request is perfectly intelligible from the nature of living faith, without our having recourse to Calvin's supposition, that Daniel had received by secret revelation the assurance that such would be the result if he and his companions were permitted to live on vegetables. The confidence of living faith which hopes in the presence and help of God is fundamentally different from the eager expectation of miraculous interference of a Maccabean Jew, which C. v. Lengerke and other deists and atheists wish to find here in Daniel.

separation between the sacred and the profane. But he needed to be deeply versed in the Chaldean wisdom, as formerly Moses was in the wisdom of Egypt (Acts vii. 22), so as to be able to put to shame the wisdom of this world by the hidden wisdom of God.

Ver. 18. After the expiry of the period of three years the youths were brought before the king. They were examined by him, and these four were found more intelligent and discriminating than all the others that had been educated along with them (מִכֻּלָּם, "than all," refers to the other Israelitish youths, ver. 3, that had been brought to Babylon along with Daniel and his friends), and were then appointed to his service. יַעַמְדוּ, as in ver. 5, of *standing as a servant before his master*. The king found them indeed, in all matters of wisdom about which he examined them, to excel all the wise men in the whole of his kingdom. Of the two classes of the learned men of Chaldea, who are named *instar omnium* in ver. 20, see at ch. ii. 2.

In ver. 21 the introduction to the book is concluded with a general statement as to the period of Daniel's continuance in the office appointed to him by God. The difficulty which the explanation of וַיְהִי offers is not removed by a change of the reading into וַיֶּחִי, since Daniel, according to ch. x. 1, lived beyond the first year of Cyrus and received divine revelations. עַד marks the *terminus ad quem* in a wide sense, *i.e.* it denotes a termination without reference to that which came after it. The first year of king Cyrus is, according to 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, Ezra i. 1, vi. 3, the end of the Babylonish exile, and the date, "to the first year of king Cyrus," stands in close relation to the date in ver. 1, Nebuchadnezzar's advance against Jerusalem and the first taking of the city, which forms the commencement of the exile; so that the statement, "Daniel continued unto the first year of king Cyrus," means only that he lived and acted during the whole period of the exile in Babylon, without reference to the fact that his work continued after the termination of the exile. Cf. the analogous statement, Jer. i. 2 f., that Jeremiah prophesied in the days of Josiah and Jehoiakim to the end of the eleventh year of Zedekiah, although his book contains prophecies also of a date subsequent to the taking of Jerusalem. וַיְהִי stands neither for וַיֶּחִי, *he lived*, nor absolutely in the sense of *he existed, was present*; for though הָיָה means *existere, to be*, yet it is never used absolutely in this sense, as חָיָה, *to live*, but always only so that the "how" or "where" of the being or existence is either expressly stated, or at least is implied in the

connection. Thus here also the qualification of the "being" must be supplied from the context. The expression will then mean, not that he lived at the court, or in Babylon, or in high esteem with the king, but more generally, in the place to which God had raised him in Babylon by his wonderful endowments.

PART FIRST.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD-POWER.

CHAP. II.–VII.

This Part contains in six chapters as many reports regarding the successive forms and the natural character of the world-power. It begins (ch. ii.) and ends (ch. vii.) with a revelation from God regarding its historical unfolding in four great world-kingdoms following each other, and their final overthrow by the kingdom of God, which shall continue for ever. Between these chapters (ii. and vii.) there are inserted four events belonging to the times of the first and second world-kingdom, which partly reveal the attempts of the rulers of the world to compel the worshippers of the true God to pray to their idols and their gods, together with the failure of this attempt (ch. iii. and vi.), and partly the humiliations of the rulers of the world, who were boastful of their power, under the judgments of God (ch. iv. and v.), and bring under our consideration the relation of the rulers of this world to the Almighty God of heaven and earth and to the true fearers of His name. The narratives of these four events follow each other in chronological order, because they are in actual relation bound together, and therefore also the occurrences (ch. v. and vi.) which belong to the time subsequent to the vision in ch. vii. are placed before this vision, so that the two revelations regarding the development of the world-power form the frame within which is contained the historical section which describes the character of that world-power.

CHAP. II. NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S VISION OF THE WORLD-MONARCHIES, AND ITS INTERPRETATION BY DANIEL.

When Daniel and his three friends, after the completion of their education, had entered on the service of the Chaldean king, Nebuchadnezzar dreamed a dream which so greatly moved him, that he called all the wise men of Babylon that they might make

known to him the dream and give the interpretation of it; and when they were not able to do this, he gave forth the command (vers. 1–13) that they should all be destroyed. But Daniel interceded with the king and obtained a respite, at the expiry of which he promised (vers. 14–18) to comply with his demand. In answer to his prayers and those of his friends, God revealed the secret to Daniel in a vision (vers. 19–23), so that he was not only able to tell the king his dream (vers. 24–36), but also to give him its interpretation (vers. 37–45); whereupon Nebuchadnezzar praised the God of Daniel as the true God, and raised him to high honours and dignities (vers. 46–49). It has justly been regarded as a significant thing, that it was Nebuchadnezzar, the founder of the world-power, who first saw in a dream the whole future development of the world-power. "The world-power," as Auberlen properly remarks, "must itself learn in its first representative, who had put an end to the kingdom of God [the theocracy], what its own final destiny would be, that, in its turn overthrown, it would be for ever subject to the kingdom of God." This circumstance also is worthy of notice, that Nebuchadnezzar did not himself understand the revelation which he received, but the prophet Daniel, enlightened by God, must interpret it to him.[1]

[1] According to Bleek, Lengerke, Hitz., Ew., and others, the whole narrative is to be regarded as a pure invention, as to its plan formed in imitation of the several statements of the narrative in Gen. xli. of Pharaoh's dream and its interpretation by Joseph the Hebrew, when the Egyptian wise men were unable to do so. Nebuchadnezzar is the copy of Pharaoh, and at the same time the type of Antiochus Epiphanes, who was certainly a half-mad despot, as Nebuchadnezzar is here described to be, although he was not so in reality. But the resemblance between Pharaoh's dream and that of Nebuchadnezzar consists only in that (1) both kings had significant dreams which their own wise men could not interpret to them, but which were interpreted by Israelites by the help of God; (2) Joseph and Daniel in a similar manner, but not in the same words, directed the kings to God (cf. Gen. xli. 16, Dan. ii. 27, 28); and (3) that in both narratives the word פָּעַם [*was disquieted*] is used (Gen. xli. 8, Dan. ii. 1, 3). In all other respects the narratives are entirely different. But "the resemblance," as Hengst. has already well remarked (*Beitr.* i. p. 82), "is explained partly from the great significance which in ancient times was universally attached to dreams and their interpretation, partly from the dispensations of divine providence, which at different times has made use of this means for the deliverance of the chosen people." In addition to this, Kran., p. 70, has not less appropriately said: "But that only one belonging to the people of God should in both cases have had communicated to him the interpretation of the dream, is not more to be wondered at than that there is a true God who morally and spiritually supports and raises those who know and acknowledge Him,

Vers. 1–13. *The dream of Nebuchadnezzar and the inability of the Chaldean wise men to interpret it.*—By the ו copulative standing at the commencement of this chapter the following narrative is connected with ch. i. 21. "We shall now discover what the youthful Daniel became, and what he continued to be to the end of the exile" (Klief.). The plur. חֲלֹמוֹת (dreams, vers. 1 and 2), the singular of which occurs in ver. 3, is not the plur. of definite universality (Häv., Maur., Klief.), but of intensive fulness, implying that the dream in its parts contained a plurality of subjects. הִתְפָּעֵם (from פָּעַם, *to thrust, to strike*, as פַּעַם, an anvil, teaches, *to be tossed hither and thither*) marks great internal disquietude. In ver. 3 and in Gen. xli. 8, as in Ps. lxxvii. 5, it is in the Niphal form, but in ver. 1 it is in Hithp., on which Kran. finely remarks: "The Hithpael heightens the conception of internal unquiet lying in the Niphal to the idea that it makes itself outwardly manifest." His sleep was gone. This is evidenced without doubt by the last clause of ver. 1, נִהְיְתָה עָלָיו. These interpretations are altogether wrong:—"His sleep came upon him, *i.e.* he began again to sleep" (Calvin); or "his sleep was against him," *i.e.* was an aversion to him, was troublesome (L. de Dieu); or, as Häv. also interprets it, "his sleep offended him, or was like a burden heavy upon him;" for נִהְיְתָה does not mean *to fall*, and thus does not agree with the thought expressed. The Niph. נִהְיָה means *to have become, been, happened.* The meaning has already been rightly expressed by Theodoret in the words ἐγένετο ἀπ' αὐτοῦ,

according to psychological laws, even in a *peculiar* way." Moreover, if the word פעם was really borrowed from Gen. xli. 8, that would prove nothing more than that Daniel had read the books of Moses. But the grounds on which the above-named critics wish to prove the unhistorical character of this narrative are formed partly from a superficial consideration of the whole narrative and a manifestly false interpretation of separate parts of it, and partly from the dogmatic prejudice that "a particular foretelling of a remote future is not the nature of Hebrew prophecy," *i.e.* in other words, that there is no prediction arising from a supernatural revelation. Against the other grounds Kran. has already very truly remarked: "That the narrative of the actual circumstances wants (cf. Hitz. p. 17) proportion and unity, is not corroborated by a just view of the situation; the whole statement rather leaves the impression of a lively, fresh immediateness, in which a careful consideration of the circumstances easily furnishes the means for filling up the details of the brief sketch." Hence it follows that the contents of the dream show not the least resemblance to Pharaoh's dream, and in the whole story there is no trace seen of a hostile relation of Nebuchadnezzar and his courtiers to Judaism; nay rather Nebuchadnezzar's relation to the God of Daniel presents a decided contrast to the mad rage of Antiochus Epiphanes against the Jewish religion.

and in the Vulgate by the words "*fugit ab illo;*" and Berth., Ges., and others have with equal propriety remarked, that שְׁנָתוֹ נִהְיְתָה corresponds in meaning with שִׁנְתֵּהּ נַדַּת, ch. vi. 19 (18), and נָדְדָה שְׁנַת, Esth. vi. 1. This sense, *to have been*, however, does not conduct to the meaning given by Klief.: *his sleep had been upon him;* it was therefore no more, it had gone; for "to have been" is not "to be no more," but "to be finished," past, gone. This meaning is confirmed by נִהְיֵיתִי, ch. viii. 27: *it was done with me, I was gone.* The עָלָיו stands not for the dative, but retains the meaning, *over, upon,* expressing the influence on the mind, as *e.g.* Jer. viii. 18, Hos. xi. 8, Ps. xlii. 6, 7, 12, xliii. 5, etc., which in German we express by the word *bei* or *für*.

The reason of so great disquietude we may not seek in the circumstance that on awaking he could not remember the dream. This follows neither from ver. 3, nor is it psychologically probable that so impressive a dream, which on awaking he had forgotten, should have yet sorely disquieted his spirit during his waking hours. "The disquiet was created in him, as in Pharaoh (Gen. xli.), by the specially striking incidents of the dream, and the fearful, alarming apprehensions with reference to his future fate connected therewith" (Kran.).

Ver. 2. In the disquietude of his spirit the king commanded all his astrologers and wise men to come to him, four classes of whom are mentioned in this verse. 1. The חַרְטֻמִּים, who were found also in Egypt (Gen. xli. 24). They are so named from חֶרֶט, a "stylus"—*those who went about with the stylus,* the priestly class of the ἱερογραμματεῖς, those learned in the sacred writings and in literature. 2. The אַשָּׁפִים, *conjurers,* from שָׁאַף or נָשַׁף, to breathe, to blow, to whisper; for they practised their incantations by movements of the breath, as is shown by the Arabic نفث, *flavit ut præstigiator in nexos a se nodos, incantavit,* with which it is compared by Hitz. and Kran. 3. The מְכַשְּׁפִים, *magicians,* found also in Egypt (Ex. vii. 11), and, according to Isa. xlvii. 9, 12, a powerful body in Babylon. 4. The כַּשְׂדִּים, *the priest caste of the Chaldeans,* who are named, vers. 4, 10, and ch. i. 4, *instar omnium* as the most distinguished class among the Babylonian wise men. According to Herod. i. 171, and Diod. Sic. ii. 24, the *Chaldeans* appear to have formed the priesthood in a special sense, or to have attended to the duties specially devolving on the priests. This circumstance, that amongst an *Aramaic* people the priests in a stricter sense were called Chaldeans,

is explained, as at p. 78, from the fact of the ancient supremacy of the Chaldean people in Babylonia.

Besides these four classes there is also a fifth, ver. 27, ch. iv. 4 (7), v. 7, 11, called the גָּזְרִין, the *astrologers*, not *haruspices*, from גָּזַר, "to cut flesh to pieces," but the *determiners* of the גְּזֵרָה, the *fatum* or the *fata*, who announced events by the appearances of the heavens (cf. Isa. xlvii. 13), the forecasters of nativities, horoscopes, who determined the fate of men from the position and the movement of the stars at the time of their birth. These different classes of the priests and the learned are comprehended, ver. 12 ff., under the general designation of חַכִּימִין (cf. also Isa. xliv. 25, Jer. l. 35), and they formed a *σύστημα*, *i.e. collegium* (Diod. Sic. ii. 31), under a president (רַב סַגְּנִין, ver. 48), who occupied a high place in the state; see at ver. 48. These separate classes busied themselves, without doubt, with distinct branches of the Babylonian wisdom. While each class cultivated a separate department, yet it was not exclusively, but in such a manner that the activities of the several classes intermingled in many ways. This is clearly seen from what is said of Daniel and his companions, that they were trained in *all* the wisdom of the Chaldeans (ch. i. 17), and is confirmed by the testimony of Diod. Sic. (ii. 29), that the Chaldeans, who held almost the same place in the state that the priests in Egypt did, while applying themselves to the service of the gods, sought their greatest glory in the study of astrology, and also devoted themselves much to prophecy, foretelling future things, and by means of lustrations, sacrifices, and incantations seeking to turn away evil and to secure that which was good. They possessed the knowledge of divination from omens, of expounding of dreams and prodigies, and of skilfully casting horoscopes.

That he might receive an explanation of his dream, Nebuchadnezzar commanded all the classes of the priests and men skilled in wisdom to be brought before him, because in an event which was to him so weighty he must not only ascertain the facts of the case, but should the dream announce some misfortune, he must also adopt the means for averting it. In order that the correctness of the explanation of the dream might be ascertained, the stars must be examined, and perhaps other means of divination must be resorted to. The proper priests could by means of sacrifices make the gods favourable, and the conjurers and magicians by their arts endeavour to avert the threatened misfortune.

Ver. 3. As to the king's demand, it is uncertain whether he

wished to know the dream itself or its import. The wise men (ver. 4) understood his words as if he desired only to know the meaning of it; but the king replied (ver. 5 ff.) that they must tell him both the dream and its interpretation. But this request on the part of the king does not quite prove that he had forgotten the dream, as Bleek, v. Leng., and others maintain, founding thereon the objection against the historical veracity of the narrative, that Nebuchadnezzar's demand that the dream should be told to him was madness, and that there was no sufficient reason for his rage (ver. 12). On the contrary, that the king had not forgotten his dream, and that there remained only some oppressive recollection that he had dreamed, is made clear from ver. 9, where the king says to the Chaldeans, "If ye cannot declare to me the dream, ye have taken in hand to utter deceitful words before me; therefore tell me the dream, that I may know that ye will give to me also the interpretation." According to this, Nebuchadnezzar wished to hear the dream from the wise men that he might thus have a guarantee for the correctness of the interpretation which they might give. He could not thus have spoken to them if he had wholly forgotten the dream, and had only a dark apprehension remaining in his mind that he had dreamed. In this case he would neither have offered a great reward for the announcement of the dream, nor have threatened severe punishment, or even death, for failure in announcing it. For then he would only have given the Chaldeans the opportunity, at the cost of truth, of declaring any dream with an interpretation. But as threatening and promise on the part of the king in that case would have been unwise, so also on the side of the wise men their helplessness in complying with the demand of the king would have been incomprehensible. If the king had truly forgotten the dream, they had no reason to be afraid of their lives if they had given some self-conceived dream with an interpretation of it; for in that case he could not have accused them of falsehood and deceit, and punished them on that account. If, on the contrary, he still knew the dream which so troubled him, and the contents of which he desired to hear from the Chaldeans, so that he might put them to the proof whether he might trust in their interpretation, then neither his demand nor the severity of his proceeding was irrational. "The magi boasted that by the help of the gods they could reveal deep and hidden things. If this pretence is well founded—so concluded Nebuchadnezzar—then it must be as easy for them to make known to

me my dream as its interpretation; and since they could not do the former, he as rightly held them to be deceivers, as the people did the priests of Baal (1 Kings xviii.) because their gods answered not by fire." Hengst.

Ver. 4. The Chaldeans, as speaking for the whole company, understand the word of the king in the sense most favourable for themselves, and they ask the king to tell them the dream. וַיְדַבְּרוּ for וַיֹּאמְרוּ, which as a rule stands before a quotation, is occasioned by the addition of אֲרָמִית, and the words which follow are zeugmatically joined to it. *Aramaic, i.e.* in the native language of Babylonia, where, according to Xenoph. (*Cyrop.* vii. 5), the *Syriac, i.e.* the Eastern Aramaic dialect, was spoken. From the statement here, that the Chaldeans spoke to the king in Aramaic, one must not certainly conclude that Nebuchadnezzar spoke the Aryan-Chaldaic language of his race. The remark refers to the circumstance that the following words are recorded in the Aramaic, as Ezra iv. 7. Daniel wrote this and the following chapters in Aramaic, that he might give the prophecy regarding the world-power in the language of the world-power, which under the Chaldean dynasty was native in Babylon, the Eastern Aramaic. The formula, "O king, live for ever," was the usual salutation when the king was addressed, both at the Chaldean and the Persian court (cf. ch. iii. 9, v. 10, vi. 7, 22 [6, 21]; Neh. ii. 3). In regard to the Persian court, see Ælian, *var. hist.* i. 32. With the kings of Israel this form of salutation was but rarely used: 1 Sam. x. 24; 1 Kings i. 31. The *Kethiv* (text) לְעַבְדָיךְ, with Jod before the suffix, supposes an original form לְעַבְדַיִךְ here, as at ver. 26, ch. iv. 16, 22, but it is perhaps only the etymological mode of writing for the form with *ā* long, analogous to the Hebr. suffix form עָיו for עָו, since the Jod is often wanting; cf. ch. iv. 24, v. 10, etc. A form ־ָאיָא lies at the foundation of the form כַּשְׂדָּיֵא; the *Keri* (margin) substitutes the usual Chaldee form כַּשְׂדָּאֵי from כַּשְׂדָּאֵא, with the insertion of the *litera quiescib.* י, homog. to the quies. *ē*, while in the *Kethiv* the original Jod of the sing. כַּשְׂדַּי is retained instead of the substituted א, thus כַּשְׂדָּיֵא. This reading is perfectly warranted (cf. ch. iii. 2, 8, 24; Ezra iv. 12, 13) by the analogous method of formation of the *stat. emphat. plur.* in existing nouns in ־ַי in biblical Chaldee.

Ver. 5. The meaning of the king's answer shapes itself differently according to the different explanations given of the words מִלְּתָה מִנִּי אַזְדָּא. The word אַזְדָּא, which occurs only again in the same

phrase in ver. 8, is regarded, in accordance with the translations of Theodot., ὁ λόγος ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀπέστη, and of the Vulg., "*sermo recessit a me*," as a verb, and as of like meaning with אָזַל, "to go away or depart," and is therefore rendered by M. Geier, Berth., and others in the sense, "the dream has escaped from me;" but Ges., Häv., and many older interpreters translate it, on the contrary, "the command is gone out from me." But without taking into account that the punctuation of the word אֲזָדָא is not at all that of a verb, for this form can neither be a particip. nor the 3d pers. pret. fem., no acknowledgment of the dream's having escaped from him is made; for such a statement would contradict what was said at ver. 3, and would not altogether agree with the statement of ver. 8. מִלְּתָה is not *the dream*. Besides, the supposition that אָזַד is equivalent to אָזַל, to go away, depart, is not tenable. The change of the ל into ד is extremely rare in the Semitic, and is not to be assumed in the word אזל, since Daniel himself uses אָזַל, ch. ii. 17, 24, vi. 19, 20, and also Ezra, iv. 23, v. 8, 15. Moreover אזל has not the meaning of יָצָא, to go out, to take one's departure, but corresponds with the Hebr. הָלַךְ, to go. Therefore Winer, Hengst., Ibn Esr. [Aben Ezra], Saad., and other rabbis interpret the word as meaning *firmus*: "the word stands firm;" cf. ch. vi. 13 (12), יַצִּיבָה מִלְּתָא ("the thing is true"). This interpretation is justified by the actual import of the words, as it also agrees with ver. 8; but it does not accord with ver. 5. Here (in ver. 5) the declaration of the certainty of the king's word was superfluous, because all the royal commands were unchangeable. For this reason also the meaning σπουδαιῶς, studiously, earnestly, as Hitz., by a fanciful reference to the Persian, whence he has derived it, has explained it, is to be rejected. Much more satisfactory is the derivation from the Old Persian word found on inscriptions, *âzanda*, "science," "that which is known," given by Delitzsch (Herz.'s *Realenc.* iii. p. 274), and adopted by Kran. and Klief.[1] Accordingly Klief. thus interprets the phrase: "let the word from me be known," "be it known to you;" which is more suitable obviously than that of Kran.: "the command is, so far as regards

[1] In regard to the explanation of the word אֲזָדָא as given above, it is, however, to be remarked that it is not confirmed, and Delitzsch has for the present given it up, because—as he has informed me—the word *azdâ*, which appears once in the large inscription of Behistan (Bisutun) and twice in the inscription of Nakhschi-Rustam, is of uncertain reading and meaning. Spiegel explains it "unknown," from *zan*, to know, and *a privativum*.

me, made public." For the king now for the first time distinctly and definitely says that he wishes not only to hear from the wise men the interpretation, but also the dream itself, and declares the punishment that shall visit them in the event of their not being able to comply. עֲבַד הַדְמִין, *μέλη ποιεῖν*, 2 Macc. i. 16, LXX. in Dan. iii. 39, *διαμελίζεσθαι, to cut in pieces*, a punishment that was common among the Babylonians (ch. iii. 39, cf. Ezek. xvi. 40), and also among the Israelites in the case of prisoners of war (cf. 1 Sam. xv. 33). It is not, however, to be confounded with the barbarous custom which was common among the Persians, of mangling particular limbs. נְוָלִי, in Ezra vi. 11 נְוָלוּ, *dunghill, sink.* The changing of their houses into dunghills is not to be regarded as meaning that the house built of clay would be torn down, and then dissolved by the rain and storm into a heap of mud, but is to be interpreted according to 2 Kings x. 27, where the temple of Baal is spoken of as having been broken down and converted into private closets; cf. Häv. *in loco.* The *Keri* תִּתְעֲבְדוּן without the Dagesh in ב might stand as the *Kethiv* for Ithpaal, but is apparently the Ithpeal, as at ch. iii. 29, Ezra vi. 11. As to בָּתֵּיכוֹן, it is to be remarked that Daniel uses only the suffix forms כוֹן and הוֹן, while with Ezra כֹּם and כֹּן are interchanged (see above, p. 45), which are found in the language of the Targums and might be regarded as Hebraisms, while the forms כוֹן and הוֹן are peculiar to the Syriac and the Samaritan dialects. This distinction does not prove that the Aramaic of Daniel belongs to a period later than that of Ezra (Hitz., v. Leng.), but only that Daniel preserves more faithfully the familiar Babylonian form of the Aramaic than does the Jewish scribe Ezra.

Ver. 6. The rigorous severity of this edict accords with the character of Oriental despots and of Nebuchadnezzar, particularly in his dealings with the Jews (2 Kings xxv. 7, 18 ff.; Jer. xxxix. 6 f., lii. 10 f., 24–27). In the promise of rewards the explanation of נְבִזְבָּה (in the plur. נְבִזְבָּן, ch. v. 17) is disputed; its rendering by "money," "gold" (by Eichh. and Berth.), has been long ago abandoned as incorrect. The meaning *gift, present*, is agreeable to the context and to the ancient versions; but its derivation formed from the Chald. בזבז, Pealp. of בָּזַז, *erogavit, expendit*, by the substitution of נ for מ and the excision of the second ז from מְבַזְבְּזָה, in the meaning *largitio amplior*, the Jod in the plural form being explained from the affinity of verbs ע״ע and ל״ה (Ges. *Thes.* p. 842, and Kran.), is highly improbable. The derivation from the Persian *nuvâzan, nuvâzisch*, to caress, to flatter, then to make a

present to (P. v. Bohlen), or from the Sanscr. *namas*, present, gift (Hitz.), or from the Vedish *bag'*, to give, to distribute, and the related New Persian *bâj* (*bash*), a present (Haug), are also very questionable. לָהֵן, *on that account, therefore* (cf. ver. 9 and ch. iv. 24), formed from the prepos. לְ and the demonstrative adverb הֵן, has in negative sentences (as the Hebr. כִּי and לָהֵן) the meaning *but, rather* (ch. ii. 30), and in a pregnant sense, *only* (ch. ii. 11, iii. 28, vi. 8), without לָהֵן being derived in such instances from לָא and הֵן = אִם לָא

Ver. 7. The wise men repeat their request, but the king persists that they only justify his suspicion of them by pressing such a demand, and that he saw that they wished to deceive him with a self-conceived interpretation of the dream. וּפִשְׁרָה is not, as Hitz. proposes, to be changed into וּפִשְׁרֵהּ. The form is a Hebr. *stat. emphat.* for וּפִשְׁרָא, as *e.g.* מִלְּתָה, ver. 5, is changed into מִלְּתָא in vers. 8 and 11, and in biblical Chaldee, in final syllables ה is often found instead of א.—Ver. 8. מִן יַצִּיב, an adverbial expression, to be sure, certainly, as מִן קְשֹׁט, truly, ver. 47, and other adverbial forms. The words דִּי עִדָּנָא אַנְתּוּן זָבְנִין do not mean either "that ye wish to use or seize the favourable time" (Häv., Kran.), or "that ye wish to buy up the present perilous moment," *i.e.* bring it within your power, become masters of the time (Hitz.), but simply, *that ye buy*, that is *wish to gain time* (Ges., Maur., etc.). זְבַן עִדָּן = *tempus emere* in Cicero. Nothing can be here said of a favourable moment, for there was not such a time for the wise men, either in the fact that Nebuchadnezzar had forgotten his dream (Häv.), or in the curiosity of the king with reference to the interpretation of the dream, on which they could speculate, expecting that the king might be induced thereby to give a full communication of the dream (Kran.). But for the wise men, in consequence of the threatening of the king, the crisis was indeed full of danger; but it is not to be overlooked that they appeared to think that they could control the crisis, bringing it under their own power, by their willingness to interpret the dream if it were reported to them. Their repeated request that the dream should be told to them shows only their purpose to gain time and save their lives, if they now truly believed either that the king could not now distinctly remember his dream, or that by not repeating it he wished to put them to the test. Thus the king says to them: I see from your hesitation that ye are not sure of your case; and since ye at the same time think that I have forgotten the dream,

therefore ye wish me, by your repeated requests to relate the dream, only to gain time, to extend the case, because ye fear the threatened punishment (Klief.). בָּל־קָבֵל דִּי, *wholly because;* not, *notwithstanding that* (Hitz.). As to the last words of ver. 8, see under ver. 5.

Ver. 9. דִּי הֵן is equivalent to אֲשֶׁר אִם, *quodsi.* "The דִּי supposes the fact of the foregoing passage, and brings it into express relation to the conditional clause" (Kran.). דָּתְכוֹן does not mean, your design or opinion, or your lot (Mich., Hitz., Maur.), but דַּת is *law, decree, sentence;* דָּתְכוֹן, *the sentence that is going forth* or has gone forth against you, *i.e.* according to ver. 5, the sentence of death. חֲדָה, *one,* or the one and no other. This judgment is founded on the following passage, in which the cop. ו is to be explained as equivalent to *namely.* כִּדְבָה וּשְׁחִיתָה, *lies and pernicious words,* are united together for the purpose of strengthening the idea, in the sense of *wicked lies* (Hitz.). הזמנתון is not to be read, as Häv., v. Leng., Maur., and Kran. do, as the Aphel הַזְמִנְתּוּן: *ye have prepared* or resolved to say; for in the Aphel this word (זְמַן) means *to appoint* or *summon a person,* but not to prepare or appoint a thing (see Buxt. *Lex. Tal. s. v.*). And the supposition that the king addressed the Chaldeans as the speakers appointed by the whole company of the wise men (Kran.) has no place in the text. The *Kethiv* הִזְדַּמְנְתּוּן is to be read as Ithpa. for הִזְדַּמְּנְתּוּן according to the *Keri* (cf. הִזְדַּכּוּ for הִזְדַּכּוּ, Isa. i. 16), meaning *inter se convenire,* as the old interpreters rendered it. "Till the time be changed," *i.e.* till the king either drop the matter, or till they learn something more particular about the dream through some circumstances that may arise. The lies which Nebuchadnezzar charged the wise men with, consisted in the explanation which they promised if he would tell them the dream, while their desire to hear the dream contained a proof that they had not the faculty of revealing secrets. The words of the king clearly show that he knew the dream, for otherwise he would not have been able to know whether the wise men spoke the truth in telling him the dream (Klief.).

Ver. 10. Since the king persisted in his demand, the Chaldeans were compelled to confess that they could not tell the dream. This confession, however, they seek to conceal under the explanation that compliance with the king's request was beyond human power, —a request which no great or mighty king had ever before made of any magician or astrologer, and which was possible only with the gods, who however do not dwell among mortals. בָּל־קָבֵל דִּי does

not mean *quam ob rem*, wherefore, as a particle expressive of a consequence (Ges.), but is here used in the sense of *because*, assigning a reason. The thought expressed is not: because the matter is impossible for men, therefore no king has ever asked any such thing; but it is this: because it has come into the mind of no great and mighty king to demand any such thing, therefore it is impossible for men to comply with it. They presented before the king the fact that no king had ever made such a request as a proof that the fulfilling of it was beyond human ability. The epithets great and mighty are here not mere titles of the Oriental kings (Häv.), but are chosen as significant. The mightier the king, so much the greater the demand, he believed, he might easily make upon a subject.

Ver. 11. לָהֵן, *but only*, see under ver. 6. In the words, *whose dwelling is not with flesh*, there lies neither the idea of higher and of inferior gods, nor the thought that the gods only act among men in certain events (Häv.), but only the simple thought of the essential distinction between gods and men, so that one may not demand anything from weak mortals which could be granted only by the gods as celestial beings. בִּשְׂרָא, *flesh*, in opposition to רוּחַ, marks the human nature according to its weakness and infirmity; cf. Isa. xxxi. 3, Ps. lvi. 5. The king, however, does not admit this excuse, but falls into a violent passion, and gives a formal command that the wise men, in whom he sees deceivers abandoned by the gods, should be put to death. This was a dreadful command; but there are illustrations of even greater cruelty perpetrated by Oriental despots before him as well as after him. The edict (דָּתָא) is carried out, but not fully. Not "all the wise men," according to the terms of the decree, were put to death, but חַכִּימַיָּא מִתְקַטְּלִין, *i.e. the wise men were put to death.*

Ver. 13. While it is manifest that the decree was not carried fully out, it is yet clearer from what follows that the participle מִתְקַטְּלִין does not stand for the preterite, but has the meaning: *the work of putting to death was begun.* The participle also does not stand as the gerund: they were to be put to death, *i.e.* were condemned (Kran.), for the use of the passive participle as the gerund is not made good by a reference to מהימן, ch. ii. 45, and דחיל, ch. ii. 31. Even the command to kill all the wise men of Babylon is scarcely to be understood of all the wise men of the whole kingdom. The word Babylon may represent the Babylonian empire, or the province of Babylonia, or the city of Babylon only.

In the city of Babylon a college of the Babylonian wise men or Chaldeans was established, who, according to Strabo (xv. 1. 6), occupied a particular quarter of the city as their own; but besides this, there were also colleges in the province of Babylon at *Hipparenum*, *Orchœ*, which Plin. *hist. nat.* vi. 26 (30) designates as *tertia Chaldœorum doctrina*, at *Borsippa*, and other places. The wise men who were called (ver. 2) into the presence of the king, were naturally those who resided in the city of Babylon, for Nebuchadnezzar was at that time in his palace. Yet of those who had their residence there, Daniel and his companions were not summoned, because they had just ended their noviciate, and because, obviously, only the presidents or the older members of the several classes were sent for. But since Daniel and his companions belonged to the whole body of the wise men, they also were sought out that they might be put to death.

Vers. 14–30. *Daniel's willingness to declare his dream to the king; his prayer for a revelation of the secret, and the answer to his prayer; his explanation before the king.*

Ver. 14. Through Daniel's judicious interview with Arioch, the further execution of the royal edict was interrupted. הֲתִיב עֵטָא וּטְעֵם, *he answered, replied, counsel and understanding, i.e.* the words of counsel and understanding; cf. Prov. xxvi. 16. The name *Arioch* appears in Gen. xiv. 1 as the name of the king of Ellasar, along with the kings of Elam and Shinar. It is derived not from the Sanscr. *ârjaka*, *venerabilis*, but is probably formed from אֲרִי, a lion, as נִסְרֹךְ from *nisr* = נֶשֶׁר. רַב־טַבָּחַיָּא is *the chief of the bodyguard*, which was regarded as the highest office of the kingdom (cf. Jer. xxxix. 9, 11, xl. 1 ff.). It was his business to see to the execution of the king's commands; see 1 Kings ii. 25, 2 Kings xxv. 8.

Ver. 15. The partic. Aph. מְהַחְצָפָה standing after the noun in the *stat. absol.* is not predicative: "on what account is the command so hostile on the part of the king?" (Kran.), but it stands in apposition to the noun; for with participles, particularly when further definitions follow, the article, even in union with substantives defined by the article, may be and often is omitted; cf. Song vii. 5, and Ew. § 335 *a*. חֲצַף, *to be hard, sharp*, hence *to be severe*. Daniel showed understanding and counsel in the question he put as to the cause of so severe a command, inasmuch as he thereby gave Arioch to understand that there was a possibility of obtaining a fulfilment of the royal wish. When Arioch informed him of the state of the

matter, Daniel went in to the king—*i.e.*, as is expressly mentioned in ver. 24, was introduced or brought in by Arioch—and presented to the king the request that time should be granted, promising that he would show to the king the interpretation of the dream.

Ver. 16. With וּפִשְׁרָא לְהַחֲוָיָה the construction is changed. This passage does not depend on דִּי, *time*, namely, to show the interpretation (Hitz.), but is co-ordinate with the foregoing relative clause, and like it is dependent on וּבְעָא. The change of the construction is caused by the circumstance that in the last passage another subject needed to be introduced: The king should give him time, and Daniel will show the interpretation. The copulative וְ before פִּשְׁרָא (interpretation) is used neither explicatively, *namely, and indeed*, nor is it to be taken as meaning *also;* the simple *and* is sufficient, although the second part of the request contains the explanation and reason of the first; *i.e.* Daniel asks for the granting of a space, not that he might live longer, but that he might be able to interpret the dream to the king. Besides, that he merely speaks of the meaning of the dream, and not also of the dream itself, is, as vers. 25 ff. show, to be here explained (as in ver. 24) as arising from the brevity of the narrative. For the same reason it is not said that the king granted the request, but ver. 17 f. immediately shows what Daniel did after the granting of his request. He went into his own house and showed the matter to his companions, that they might entreat God of His mercy for this secret, so that they might not perish along with the rest of the wise men of Babylon.

Ver. 18*a*. The final clause depends on הוֹדַע (v. 17). The וְ is to be interpreted as explicative: *and indeed*, or *namely*. Against this interpretation it cannot be objected, with Hitz., that Daniel also prayed. He and his friends thus prayed to God that He would grant a revelation of the secret, *i.e.* of the mysterious dream and its interpretation. The designation "God of heaven" occurs in Gen. xxiv. 7, where it is used of Jehovah; but it was first commonly used as the designation of the almighty and true God in the time of the exile (cf. vers. 19, 44; Ezra i. 2, vi. 10, vii. 12, 21; Neh. i. 5, ii. 4; Ps. cxxxvi. 26), who, as Daniel names Him (ch. v. 23), is the Lord of heaven; *i.e.* the whole heavens, with all the stars, which the heathen worshipped as gods, are under His dominion.

Ver. 19. In answer to these supplications, the secret was revealed to Daniel in a night-vision. A vision of the night is not necessarily to be identified with a dream. In the case before us,

Daniel does not speak of a dream; and the idea that he had dreamed precisely the same dream as Nebuchadnezzar is arbitrarily imported into the text by Hitz. in order to gain a "psychological impossibility," and to be able to cast suspicion on the historical character of the narrative. It is possible, indeed, that dreams may be, as the means of a divine revelation, dream-visions, and as such may be called visions of the night (cf. vii. 1, 13); but in itself a vision of the night is a vision simply which any one receives during the night whilst he is awake.[1]

Ver. 20. On receiving the divine revelation, Daniel answered (עֲנָה) with a prayer of thanksgiving. The word עֲנָה retains its proper meaning. The revelation is of the character of an address from God, which Daniel answers with praise and thanks to God. The forms לְהֵוֵא, and in the plur. לְהֵוֹן and לְהֵוְיִן, which are peculiar to the biblical Chaldee, we regard, with Maur., Hitz., Kran., and others, as the imperfect or future forms, 3d pers. sing. and plur., in which the ל instead of the י is to be explained perhaps from the Syriac præform. ܠ, which is frequently found also in the Chaldee Targums (cf. Dietrich, *de sermonis chald. proprietate*, p. 43), while the Hebrew exiles in the word הֲוָא used ל instead of נ as more easy of utterance. The doxology in this verse reminds us of Job i. 21. The expression "*for ever and ever*" occurs here in the O. T. for the first time, so that the solemn liturgical Beracha (*Blessing*) of the second temple, Neh. ix. 5, 1 Chron. xvi. 36, with which also the first (Ps. xlv. 14) and the fourth (Ps. cvi. 48) books of the Psalter conclude, appears to have been composed after this form of praise used by Daniel. "The name of God" will be praised, *i.e.* the manifestation of the existence of God in the world; thus, God so far as He has anew given manifestation of His glorious existence, and continually bears witness that He it is who possesses

[1] "*Dream* and *vision* do not constitute two separate categories. The dream-*image* is a vision, the vision while awake is a dreaming—only that in the latter case the consciousness of the relation between the inner and the outer maintains itself more easily. Intermediate between the two stand the *night-visions*, which, as in Job iv. 13, either having risen up before the spirit, fade away from the mind in after-thought, or, as in the case of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. ii. 29), are an image before the imagination into which the thoughts of the night run out. Zechariah saw a number of visions in one night, ch. i. 7, vi. 15. Also these which, according to ch. i. 8, are called visions of the night are not, as Ew. and Hitz. suppose, dream-images, but are waking perceptions in the night. Just because the prophet did not sleep, he says, ch. iv., 'The angel awaked me *as one is awaked out of sleep*.'"—THOLUCK'S *Die Propheten*, u.s.w., p. 52.

wisdom and strength (cf. Job xii. 13). The דִּי before the לֵהּ is the emphatic re-assumption of the preceding confirmatory דִּי, *for*.

Vers. 21, 22. The evidence of the wisdom and power of God is here unfolded; and first the manifestation of His power. *He changes times and seasons.* LXX., Theodot., *καιροὺς καὶ χρόνους*, would be more accurately *χρόνους καὶ καιρούς*, as in Acts i. 7, 1 Thess. v. 1; for the Peschito in these N. T. passages renders *χρόνοι* by the Syriac word which is equivalent to זְמַנַּיָּא, according to which עִדָּן is the more general expression for time = circumstance of time, זְמָן for measured time, the definite point of time. The uniting together of the synonymous words gives expression to the thought: *ex arbitrio Dei pendere revolutiones omnium omnino temporum, quæcunque et qualia-cunque illa fuerint.* C. B. Mich. God's unlimited control over seasons and times is seen in this, that He sets up and casts down kings. Thus Daniel explains the revelation regarding the dream of Nebuchadnezzar made to him as announcing great changes in the kingdoms of the world, and revealing God as the Lord of time and of the world in their developments. All wisdom also comes from God. He gives to men disclosures regarding His hidden counsels. This Daniel had just experienced. Illumination dwells with God as it were a person, as Wisdom, Prov. viii. 30. The *Kethiv* נְהִירָא is maintained against the *Keri* by נַהִירוּ, ch. v. 11, 14. With the perf. שְׁרָא the participial construction passes over into the *temp. fin.*; the perfect stands in the sense of the completed act. Therefore (ver. 23) praise and thanksgiving belong to God. Through the revelation of the secret hidden to the wise men of this world He has proved Himself to Daniel as the God of the fathers, as the true God in opposition to the gods of the heathen. וּכְעַן = וְעַתָּה, *and now.*

Vers. 24 ff. Hereupon Daniel announced to the king that he was prepared to make known to him the dream with its interpretation. בָּל־קֳבֵל דְּנָה, *for that very reason*, viz. because God had revealed to him the king's matter, Daniel was brought in by Arioch before the king; for no one had free access to the king except his immediate servants. אֲזַל, *he went*, takes up *inconsequenter* the עַל (*intravit*), which is separated by a long sentence, so as to connect it with what follows. Arioch introduced (ver. 25) Daniel to the king as a man from among the captive Jews who could make known to him the interpretation of his dream. Arioch did not need to take any special notice of the fact that Daniel had already (ver. 16) spoken with the king concerning it, even if he had knowledge of it. In

the form הַנְעֵל, ver. 25, also ch. iv. 3 (6) and vi. 19 (18), the Dagesch lying in הָעֵל, ver. 24, is compensated by an epenthetic נ: cf. Winer, *Chald. Gram.* § 19, 1. בְּהִתְבְּהָלָה, *in haste*, for the matter concerned the further execution of the king's command, which Arioch had suspended on account of Daniel's interference, and his offer to make known the dream and its interpretation. הַשְׁבַּחַת for אַשְׁבְּחַת, cf. Winer, § 15, 3. The relative דִּי, which many *Codd.* insert after גְּבַר, is the circumstantially fuller form of expression before prepositional passages. Cf. ch. v. 13, vi. 14; Winer, § 41, 5.

Vers. 26, 27. To the question of the king, whether he was able to show the dream with its interpretation, Daniel replies by directing him from man, who is unable to accomplish such a thing, to the living God in heaven, who alone reveals secrets: The expression, *whose name was Belteshazzar* (ver. 26), intimates in this connection that he who was known among the Jews by the name Daniel was known to the Chaldean king only under the name given to him by the conqueror—that Nebuchadnezzar knew of no Daniel, but only of Belteshazzar. The question, "*art thou able?*" *i.e.* hast thou ability? does not express the king's ignorance of the person of Daniel, but only his amazement at his ability to make known the dream, in the sense, "art thou really able?" This amazement Daniel acknowledges as justified, for he replies that no wise man was able to do this thing. In the enumeration of the several classes of magicians the word חַכִּימִין is the general designation of them all. "But there is a God in heaven." Daniel "declares in the presence of the heathen the existence of God, before he speaks to him of His works." Klief. But when he testifies of a God in heaven as One who is able to reveal hidden things, he denies this ability *eo ipso* to all the so-called gods of the heathen. Thereby he not only assigns the reason of the inability of the heathen wise men, who knew not the living God in heaven, to show the divine mysteries, but he refers also all the revelations which the heathen at any time receive to the one true God. The ו in וְהוֹדַע introduces the development of the general thought. That there is a God in heaven who reveals secrets, Daniel declares to the king by this, that he explains his dream as an inspiration of this God, and shows to him its particular circumstances. God made known to him in a dream "what would happen in the end of the days." אַחֲרִית יָמִים = אַחֲרִית יוֹמָיָא designates here not the future generally (Häv.), and still less "that which comes after the days, a time which follows after another time, compre-

hended under the הַיָּמִים" (Klief.), but the concluding future or the Messianic period of the world's time; see Gen. xlix. 1.

From אַחֲרֵי דְנָה in ver. 29 that general interpretation of the expression is not proved. The expression בְּאַחֲרִית יוֹמַיָּא of ver. 28 is not explained by the מָה דִּי לֶהֱוֵא אַחֲרֵי דְנָה of ver. 29, but this אחרי דנה relates to Nebuchadnezzar's thoughts of a future in the history of the world, to which God, the revealer of secrets, unites His Messianic revelations; moreover, every Messianic future event is also an אַחֲרֵי דְנָה (cf. ver. 45), without, however, every אַחֲרֵי דְנָה being also Messianic, though it may become so when at the same time it is a constituent part of the future experience and the history of Israel, the people of the Messianic promise (Kran.). "The visions of thy head" (cf. iv. 2 [5], 7 [10], 10 [13], vii. 1) are not dream-visions because they formed themselves in the head or brains (v. Leng., Maur., Hitz.), which would thus be only phantoms or fancies. The words are not a poetic expression for dreams hovering about the head (Häv.); nor yet can we say, with Klief., that "the visions of thy head upon thy bed, the vision which thou sawest as thy head lay on thy pillow," mean only dream-visions. Against the former interpretation this may be stated, that dreams from God do not hover about the head; and against the latter, that the mention of the head would in that case be superfluous. The expression, peculiar to Daniel, designates much rather the divinely ordered visions as such, "as were perfectly consistent with a thoughtfulness of the head actively engaged" (Kran.). The singular דְנָה הוּא goes back to חֶלְמָךְ (thy dream) as a fundamental idea, and is governed by וְחֶזְוֵי רֵאשָׁךְ in the sense: "thy dream with the visions of thy head;" cf. Winer, § 49, 6. The plur. חֶזְוֵי is used, because the revelation comprehends a series of visions of future events.

Ver. 29. The pronoun אַנְתָּה (*as for thee*), as Daniel everywhere writes it, while the *Keri* substitutes for it the later Targ. form אַנְתְּ, is absolute, and forms the contrast to the וַאֲנָה (*as for me*) of ver. 30. The thoughts of the king are not his dream (Hitz.), but thoughts about the future of his kingdom which filled his mind as he lay upon his bed, and to which God gave him an answer in the dream (v. Leng., Maur., Kran., Klief.). Therefore they are to be distinguished from *the thoughts of thy heart*, ver. 30, for these are the thoughts that troubled the king, which arose from the revelations of the dream to him. The contrast in ver. 30*a* and 30*b* is not this: "not for my wisdom before all that live to show," but "for the

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sake of the king to explain the dream;" for ב is not the preposition of the object, but of the means, thus: "not by the wisdom which might be in me." The supernatural revelation (גְּלִי לִי) forms the contrast, and the object to which עַל־דִּבְרַת דִּי points is comprehended *implicite* in מִן־כָּל־חַיָּיא, for in the words, "the wisdom which may be in me before all living," lies the unexpressed thought: that I should be enlightened by such superhuman wisdom. יְהוֹדְעוּן, "*that they might make it known:*" the plur. of undefined generality, cf. Winer, § 49, 3. The impersonal form of expression is chosen in order that his own person might not be brought into view. The idea of Aben Ezra, Vatke, and others, that angels are the subject of the verb, is altogether untenable.

Vers. 31–45. *The Dream and its Interpretation.*—Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dream a great metallic image which was terrible to look upon. אֲלוּ (*behold*), which Daniel interchanges with אֲרוּ, corresponds with the Hebrew words רְאֵה, רְאוּ, or הִנֵּה. צֶלֶם is not an idol-image (Hitz.), but *a statue*, and, as is manifest from the following description, *a statue in human form.* חַד is not the indefinite article (Ges., Win., Maur.), but the numeral. "The world-power is in all its phases one, therefore all these phases are united in the vision in *one* image" (Klief.). The words from צַלְמָא to יַתִּיר contain two parenthetical expressions, introduced for the purpose of explaining the conception of שַׂגִּיא (*great*). קָאֵם is to be united with וְאַלוּ. דֵּכֵן here and at ch. vii. 20 f. is used by Daniel as a peculiar form of the demonstrative pronoun, for which Ezra uses דֵּךְ. The appearance of the colossal image was terrible, not only on account of its greatness and its metallic splendour, but because it represented the world-power of fearful import to the people of God (Klief.).

Vers. 32, 33. The description of the image according to its several parts is introduced with the absolute הוּא צַלְמָא, *concerning this image*, not: "this was the image." The pronoun הוּא is made prominent, as דְּנָה, ch. iv. 15, and the Hebr. זֶה more frequently, *e.g.* Isa. xxiii. 13. חֲדוֹהִי, plur. חֲדִין—its singular occurs only in the Targums—corresponding with the Hebr. חָזֶה, *the breast.* מְעַיִן, the bowels, here the abdomen enclosing the bowels, *the belly.* יַרְכָה, the *thighs* (*hüfte*) and upper part of the loins. Ver. 33. שָׁק, *the leg*, including the upper part of the thigh. מִנְהוֹן is partitive: part *of it of iron.* Instead of מִנְהוֹן the *Keri* prefers the fem. מִנְהֶן here and at vers. 41 and 42, with reference to this, that רַגְלַיו is usually

the *gen. fem.*, after the custom of nouns denoting members of the body that are double. The *Kethiv* unconditionally deserves the preference, although, as the apparently anomalous form, which appears with this suffix also in ch. vii. 8, 20, after substantives of seemingly feminine meaning, where the choice of the masculine form is to be explained from the undefined conception of the subjective idea apart from the sex; cf. Ewald's *Lehr. d. hebr. Sp.* § 319.

The image appears divided as to its material into four or five parts—the head, the breast with the arms, the belly with the thighs, and the legs and feet. "Only the first part, the head, constitutes in itself a united whole; the second, with the arms, represents a division; the third runs into a division in the thighs; the fourth, bound into one at the top, divides itself in the two legs, but has also the power of moving in itself; the fifth is from the first divided in the legs, and finally in the ten toes runs out into a wider division. The material becomes inferior from the head downward—gold, silver, copper, iron, clay; so that, though on the whole metallic, it becomes inferior, and finally terminates in clay, losing itself in common earthly matter. Notwithstanding that the material becomes always the harder, till it is iron, yet then suddenly and at last it becomes weak and brittle clay."—Klief. The fourth and fifth parts, the legs and the feet, are, it is true, externally separate from each other, but inwardly, through the unity of the material, iron, are bound together; so that we are to reckon only four parts, as afterwards is done in the interpretation. This image Nebuchadnezzar was contemplating (ver. 34), *i.e.* reflected upon with a look directed toward it, until a stone moved without human hands broke loose from a mountain, struck against the lowest part of the image, broke the whole of it into pieces, and ground to powder all its material from the head even to the feet, so that it was scattered like chaff of the summer thrashing-floor. דִּי לָא בִידַיִן does not mean: "which was not in the hands of any one" (Klief.), but the words are a prepositional expression for *without*; לָא בְ, *not with* = *without*, and דִּי expressing the dependence of the word on the foregoing noun. *Without hands*, without human help, is a litotes for: *by a higher, a divine providence*; cf. ch. viii. 25; Job xxxiv. 20; Lam. iv. 6. כַּחֲדָה, *as one* = *at once*, with one stroke. דֶּקוּ for דֶּקוּ is not intransitive or passive, but with an indefinite plur. subject: *they crushed*, referring to the supernatural power by which the crushing was

effected. The destruction of the statue is so described, that the image passes over into the matter of it. It is not said of the parts of the image, the head, the breast, the belly, and the thighs, that they were broken to pieces by the stone, "for the forms of the world-power represented by these parts had long ago passed away, when the stone strikes against the last form of the world-power represented by the feet," but only of the materials of which these parts consist, the silver and the gold, is the destruction predicated; "for the material, the combinations of peoples, of which these earlier forms of the world-power consist, pass into the later forms of it, and thus are all destroyed when the stone destroys the last form of the world-power" (Klief.). But the stone which brought this destruction itself became a great mountain which filled the whole earth. To this Daniel added the interpretation which he announces in ver. 36. נֵאמַר, *we will tell*, is "a generalizing form of expression" (Kran.) in harmony with ver. 30. Daniel associates himself with his companions in the faith, who worshipped the same God of revelation; cf. ver. 23*b*.

Vers. 37, 38. The interpretation begins with the golden head. מַלְכָּא מַלְכַיָּא, the usual title of the monarchs of the Oriental world-kingdoms (*vid.* Ezek. xxvi. 7), is not the predicate to אַנְתָּה, but stands in apposition to מַלְכָּא. The following relative passages, vers. 37*b* and 38, are only further explications of the address *King of Kings*, in which אַנְתָּה is again taken up to bring back the predicate. בְּכָל־דִּי, *wherever, everywhere*. As to the form דָּאֲרִין, see the remarks under קָאֲמִין at ch. iii. 3. The description of Nebuchadnezzar's dominion over men, beasts, and birds, is formed after the words of Jer. xxvii. 6 and xxviii. 14; the mention of the beasts serves only for the strengthening of the thought that his dominion was that of a world-kingdom, and that God had subjected all things to him. Nebuchadnezzar's dominion did not, it is true, extend over the whole earth, but perhaps over the whole civilised world of Asia, over all the historical nations of his time; and in this sense it was a world-kingdom, and as such, "the prototype and pattern, the beginning and primary representative of all world-powers" (Klief.). רֵאשָׁה, *stat. emphat.* for רֵאשָׁא; the reading רֵאשֵׁה defended by Hitz. is senseless. If Daniel called him (Nebuchadnezzar) the golden head, the designation cannot refer to his person, but to the world-kingdom founded by him and represented in his person, having all things placed under his sway by God. Hitzig's idea, that Nebuchadnezzar is the golden head as distinguished

from his successors in the Babylonian kingdom, is opposed by ver. 39, where it is said that after him (not another king, but) "another kingdom" would arise. That "Daniel, in the words, 'Thou art the golden head,' speaks of the Babylonian kingdom as of Nebuchadnezzar personally, while on the contrary he speaks of the other world-kingdoms impersonally only as of kingdoms, has its foundation in this, that the Babylonian kingdom personified in Nebuchadnezzar stood before him, and therefore could be addressed by the word *thou*, while the other kingdoms could not" (Klief.).

Ver. 39. In this verse the second and third parts of the image are interpreted of the second and third world-kingdoms. Little is said of these kingdoms here, because they are more fully described in ch. vii. viii. and x. That the first clause of ver. 39 refers to the second, the silver part of the image, is apparent from the fact that ver. 38 refers to the golden head, and the second clause of ver. 39 to the belly of brass. According to this, the breast and arms of silver represent another kingdom which would arise after Nebuchadnezzar, *i.e.* after the Babylonian kingdom. This kingdom will be אַרְעָא מִנָּךְ, *inferior to thee, i.e.* to the kingdom of which thou art the representative. Instead of the adjective אַרְעָא, here used adverbially, the Masoretes have substituted the adverbial form אַרַע, in common use in later times, which Hitz. incorrectly interprets by the phrase "downwards from thee." Since the other, *i.e.* the second kingdom, as we shall afterwards prove, is the Medo-Persian world-kingdom, the question arises, in how far was it inferior to the Babylonian? In outward extent it was not less, but even greater than it. With reference to the circumstance that the parts of the image representing it were silver, and not gold as the head was, Calv., Aub., Kran., and others, are inclined to the opinion that the word "inferior" points to the moral condition of the kingdom. But if the successive deterioration of the inner moral condition of the four world-kingdoms is denoted by the succession of the metals, this cannot be expressed by אַרְעָא מִנָּךְ, because in regard to the following world-kingdoms, represented by copper and iron, such an intimation or declaration does not find a place, notwithstanding that copper and iron are far inferior to silver and gold. Klief., on the contrary, thinks that the Medo-Persian kingdom stands inferior to, or is smaller than, the Babylonian kingdom in respect of universality; for this element is exclusively referred to in the text, being not only attributed to the Babylonian kingdom, ver. 37, in the widest extent, but also

to the third kingdom, ver. 39, and not less to the fourth, ver. 40. The universality belonging to a world-kingdom does not, however, require that it should rule over all the nations of the earth to its very end, nor that its territory should have a defined extent, but only that such a kingdom should unite in itself the *οἰκουμένη*, *i.e.* the civilised world, the whole of the historical nations of its time. And this was truly the case with the Babylonian, the Macedonian, and the Roman world-monarchies, but it was not so with the Medo-Persian, although perhaps it was more powerful and embraced a more extensive territory than the Babylonian, since Greece, which at the time of the Medo-Persian monarchy had already decidedly passed into the rank of the historical nations, as yet stood outside of the Medo-Persian rule. But if this view is correct, then would universality be wanting to the third, *i.e.* to the Græco-Macedonian world-monarchy, which is predicated of it in the words "That shall bear rule over the whole earth," since at the time of this monarchy Rome had certainly passed into the rank of historical nations, and yet it was not incorporated with the Macedonian empire.

The Medo-Persian world-kingdom is spoken of as "inferior" to the Babylonian perhaps only in this respect, that from its commencement it wanted inner unity, since the Medians and Persians did not form a united people, but contended with each other for the supremacy, which is intimated in the expression, ch. vii. 5, that the bear "raised itself up on one side:" see under that passage. In the want of inward unity lay the weakness or the inferiority in strength of this kingdom, its inferiority as compared with the Babylonian. This originally divided or separated character of this kingdom appears in the image in the circumstance that it is represented by the breast and the arms. "Medes and Persians," as Hofm. (*Weiss. u. Erf.* i. S. 279) well remarks, "are the two sides of the breast. The government of the Persian kingdom was not one and united as was that of the Chaldean nation and king, but it was twofold. The Magi belonged to a different race from Cyrus, and the Medes were regarded abroad as the people ruling with and beside the Persians." This two-sidedness is plainly denoted in the two horns of the ram, ch. viii.

Ver. 39*b* treats of the third world-kingdom, which by the expression אַחֲרִי, "another," is plainly distinguished from the preceding; as to its quality, it is characterized by the predicate "of copper, brazen." In this chapter it is said only of this kingdom that "it shall rule over the whole earth," and thus be superior in

point of extent and power to the preceding kingdoms. Cf. vii. 6, where it is distinctly mentioned that "power was given unto it." Fuller particulars are communicated regarding the second and third world-kingdoms in ch. viii. and x. f.

Vers. 40–43. The interpretation of the fourth component part of the image, the legs and feet, which represent a fourth world-kingdom, is more extended. That kingdom, corresponding to the legs of iron, shall be hard, firm like iron. Because iron breaks all things in pieces, so shall this kingdom, which is like to iron, break in pieces and destroy all these kingdoms.

Ver. 40. Instead of רְבִיעָיָא, which is formed after the analogy of the Syriac language, the *Keri* has the usual Chaldee form רְבִיעָאָה, which shall correspond to the preceding תְּלִיתָאָה, ver. 39. See the same *Keri* ch. iii. 25, vii. 7, 23. כָּל־קָבֵל דִּי does not mean *just as* (Ges., v. Leng., Maur., Hitz.), but *because*, and the passage introduced by this particle contains the ground on which this kingdom is designated as hard like iron. חָשֵׁל, *breaks in pieces*, in Syriac to forge, *i.e.* to break by the hammer, cf. חוּשְׁלָא, *bruised* grain, and thus separated from the husks. כָּל־אִלֵּין is referred by Kran., in conformity with the accents, to the relative clause, "because by its union with the following verbal idea a blending of the image with the thing indicated must first be assumed; also nowhere else, neither here nor in ch. vii., does the non-natural meaning appear, *e.g.*, that by the fourth kingdom only the first and second kingdoms shall be destroyed; and finally, in the similar expression, ch. vii. 7, 19, the הָדַק stands likewise without an object." But all the three reasons do not prove much. A mixing of the figure with the thing signified does not lie in the passage: "the fourth (kingdom) shall, like crushing iron, crush to pieces all these" (kingdoms). But the "non-natural meaning," that by the fourth kingdom not only the third, but also the second and the first, would be destroyed, is not set aside by our referring כָּל־אִלֵּין to the before-named metals, because the metals indeed characterize and represent kingdoms. Finally, the expressions in ch. vii. 7, 19 are not analogous to those before us. The words in question cannot indeed be so understood as if the fourth kingdom would find the three previous kingdoms existing together, and would dash them one against another; for, according to the text, the first kingdom is destroyed by the second, and the second by the third; but the materials of the first two kingdoms were comprehended in the third. "The elements out of which the Babylonian world-kingdom was constituted, the countries, peoples,

and civilisation comprehended in it, as its external form, would be destroyed by the Medo-Persian kingdom, and carried forward with it, so as to be constituted into a new external form. Such, too, was the relation between the Medo-Persian and the Macedonian world-kingdom, that the latter assumed the elements and component parts not only of the Medo-Persian, but also therewith at the same time of the Babylonian kingdom" (Klief.). In such a way shall the fourth world-kingdom crush "all these" past kingdoms as iron, *i.e.* will not assume the nations and civilisations comprehended in the earlier world-kingdoms as organized formations, but will destroy and break them to atoms with iron strength. Yet will this world-kingdom not throughout possess and manifest the iron hardness. Only the legs of the image are of iron (ver. 41), but the feet and toes which grow out of the legs are partly of clay and partly of iron.

Regarding מְנָהוֹן, see under ver. 33. חֶסֶף means *clay, a piece of clay*, then *an earthly vessel*, 2 Sam. v. 20. פֶּחָר in the Targums means *potter*, also *potter's earth, potsherds*. The דִּי פֶּחָר serves to strengthen the חֶסֶף, as in the following the addition of טִינָא, *clay*, in order the more to heighten the idea of brittleness. This two-fold material denotes that it will be a divided or severed kingdom, not because it separates into several (two to ten) kingdoms, for this is denoted by the duality of the feet and by the number of the toes of the feet, but inwardly divided; for פְּלַג always in Hebr., and often in Chald., signifies the unnatural or violent division arising from *inner disharmony or discord;* cf. Gen. x. 25, Ps. lv. 10, Job xxxviii. 25; and Levy, *chald. Worterb. s. v.* Notwithstanding this inner division, there will yet be in it the firmness of iron. נִצְבָא, *firmness*, related to יָצַב, Pa. *to make fast*, but in Chald. generally *plantatio*, properly a slip, a plant.

Vers. 42, 43. In ver. 42 the same is said of the toes of the feet, and in ver. 43 the comparison to iron and clay is defined as the mixture of these two component parts. As the iron denotes the firmness of the kingdom, so the clay denotes its brittleness. The mixing of iron with clay represents the attempt to bind the two distinct and separate materials into one combined whole as fruitless, and altogether in vain. The mixing of themselves with the seed of men (ver. 43), most interpreters refer to the marriage politics of the princes. They who understand by the four kingdoms the monarchy of Alexander and his followers, think it refers to the marriages between the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies, of

which indeed there is mention made in ch. xi. 6 and 17, but not here; while Hofm. thinks it relates to marriages, such as those of the German Kaiser Otto II. and the Russian Grand-Duke Wladimir with the daughters of the Kaiser of Eastern Rome. But this interpretation is rightly rejected by Klief., as on all points inconsistent with the text. The subject to מִתְעָרְבִין is not the kings, of whom mention is made neither in ver. 43 nor previously. For the two feet as well as the ten toes denote not kings, but parts of the fourth kingdom; and even in ver. 44, by מַלְכֻיָּא, not kings in contradistinction to the kingdoms, but the representatives of the parts of the kingdom denoted by the feet and the toes as existing contemporaneously, are to be understood, from which it cannot rightly be concluded in any way that kings is the subject to מִתְעָרְבִין (*shall mingle themselves*).

As, in the three preceding kingdoms, gold, silver, and brass represent the material of these kingdoms, *i.e.* their peoples and their culture, so also in the fourth kingdom iron and clay represent the material of the kingdoms arising out of the division of this kingdom, *i.e.* the national elements out of which they are constituted, and which will and must mingle together in them. If, then, the "mixing themselves with the seed of men" points to marriages, it is only of the mixing of different tribes brought together by external force in the kingdom by marriages as a means of amalgamating the diversified nationalities. But the expression is not to be limited to this, although הִתְעָרֵב, Ezra ix. 2, occurs of the mixing of the holy nation with the heathen by marriage. The peculiar expression זֶרַע אֲנָשָׁא, *the seed of men*, is not of the same import as שִׁכְבַת זֶרַע, but is obviously chosen with reference to the following contrast to the divine Ruler, ver. 44 f., so as to place (Kran.) the vain human endeavour of the heathen rulers in contrast with the doings of the God of heaven; as in Jer. xxxi. 27 זֶרַע אָדָם is occasioned by the contrast of זֶרַע בְּהֵמָה. The figure of mixing by seed is derived from the sowing of the field with mingled seed, and denotes all the means employed by the rulers to combine the different nationalities, among which the *connubium* is only spoken of as the most important and successful means.

But this mixing together will succeed just as little as will the effort to bind together into one firm coherent mass iron and clay. The parts mixed together will not cleave to each other. Regarding לֶהֱוֹן, see under ver. 20.

Ver. 44. The world-kingdom will be broken to pieces by the

kingdom which the God of heaven will set up. "In the days of these kings," *i.e.* of the kings of the world-kingdoms last described; at the time of the kingdoms denoted by the ten toes of the feet of the image into which the fourth world-monarchy extends itself; for the stone (ver. 34) rolling against the feet of the image, or rather against the toes of the feet, breaks and destroys it. This kingdom is not founded by the hands of man, but is erected by the God of heaven, and shall for ever remain immoveable, in contrast to the world-kingdoms, the one of which will be annihilated by the other. Its dominion will not be given to another people. מַלְכוּתֵהּ, *his dominion, i.e.* of the kingdom. This word needs not to be changed into מַלְכוּתָה, which is less suitable, since the mere *status absol.* would not be here in place. Among the world-kingdoms the dominion goes from one people to another, from the Babylonians to the Persians, etc. On the contrary, the kingdom of God comprehends always the same people, *i.e.* the people of Israel, chosen by God to be His own, only not the Israel *κατὰ σάρκα*, but the Israel of God (Gal. vi. 16). But the kingdom of God will not merely exist eternally without change of its dominion, along with the world-kingdoms, which are always changing and bringing one another to dissolution, it will also break in pieces and destroy all these kingdoms (תְּסֵף, from סוף, *to bring to an end, to make an end to them*), but itself shall exist for ever. This is the meaning of the stone setting itself free without the hands of man, and breaking the image in pieces.

Ver. 45. The מְטוּרָא before אִתְגְּזָרַת, which is wanting in ver. 34, and without doubt is here used significantly, is to be observed, as in ver. 42 "the toes of the feet," which in ver. 33 were also not mentioned. As it is evident that a stone, in order to its rolling without the movement of the human hand, must be set free from a mountain, so in the express mention of the mountain there can be only a reference to Mount Zion, where the God of heaven has founded His kingdom, which shall from thence spread out over the earth and shall destroy all the world-kingdoms. Cf. Ps. l. 2, Isa. ii. 3, Mic. iv. 2.

The first half of the 45th verse (down to וְרַהֲבָא) gives the confirmation of that which Daniel in ver. 44 said to the king regarding the setting up and the continuance of the kingdom of God, and essentially belongs to this verse. On the other hand, Hitz. (and Kran. follows him) wishes to unite this confirmatory passage with the following: "because thou hast seen that the stone, setting

itself free from the mountain, breaks in pieces the iron, etc., thus has God permitted thee a glimpse behind the veil that hides the future,"—in order that he may conclude from it that the writer, since he notes only the vision of the stone setting itself free as an announcement of the future, betrayed his real standpoint, *i.e.* the standpoint of the Maccabean Jew, for whom only this last catastrophe was as yet future, while all the rest was already past. This conclusion Kran. has rejected, but with the untenable argument that the expression, "what shall come to pass hereafter," is to be taken in agreement with the words, "what should come to pass," ver. 29, which occur at the beginning of the address. Though this may in itself be right, yet it cannot be maintained if the passage ver. 45*a* forms the antecedent to ver. 45*b*. In this case דְּנָה (*this*), in the phrase "*after this*" (=hereafter, ver. 45), can be referred only to the setting loose of the stone. But the reasons which Hitz. adduces for the uniting together of the passages as adopted by him are without any importance. Why the long combined passage cannot suitably conclude with וְדַהֲבָא there is no reason which can be understood; and that it does not round itself is also no proof, but merely a matter of taste, the baselessness of which is evident from ver. 10, where an altogether similar long passage, beginning with בָּל־קֳבֵל דִּי (*forasmuch as*), ends in a similar manner, without formally rounding itself off. The further remark also, that the following new passage could not so unconnectedly and baldly begin with רַב אֱלָהָא, is no proof, but a mere assertion, which is set aside as groundless by many passages in Daniel where the connection is wanting; cf. *e.g.* iv. 16*b*, 27. The want of the copula before this passage is to be explained on the same ground on which Daniel uses אֱלָהָא רַב (*stat. absol.*, *i.e.* without the article) instead of רַבָּא אֱלָהָא, Ezra v. 8. For that רב אלה means, not "a (undefined) great God," but *the great God* in heaven, whom Daniel had already (ver. 28) announced to the king as the revealer of secrets, is obvious. Kran. has rightly remarked, that רב אלה may stand "in elevated discourse without the article, instead of the prosaic רבא אלהא, Ezra v. 8." The elevated discourse has occasioned also the absence of the copula, which will not be missed if one only takes a pause at the end of the interpretation, after which Daniel then in conclusion further says to the king, "The great God has showed to the king what will be hereafter." אַחֲרֵי דְנָה, *after this* which is now, does not mean "at some future time" (Hitz.), but after that which is at present, and it embraces the future denoted in the dream, from the time of Nebuchad-

nezzar till the setting up of the kingdom of God in the time of the Messiah.

Ver. 45*b*. The word with which Daniel concludes his address, יַצִּיב, *firm, sure*, is the dream, and certain its interpretation, is not intended to assure the king of the truth of the dream, because the particulars of the dream had escaped him, and to certify to him the correctness of the interpretation (Kran.), but the importance of the dream should put him in mind to lay the matter to heart, and give honour to God who imparted to him these revelations; but at the same time also the word assures the readers of the book of the certainty of the fulfilment, since it lay far remote, and the visible course of things in the present and in the proximate future gave no indication or only a very faint prospect of the fulfilment. For other such assurances see ch. viii. 26, x. 21, Rev. xix. 9, xxi. 5, xxii. 6.

We shall defer a fuller consideration of the fulfilment of this dream or the historical references of the four world-kingdoms, in order to avoid repetition, till we have expounded the vision which Daniel received regarding it in ch. vii.

Vers. 46–49. *The impression which this interpretation of the dream made upon Nebuchadnezzar, and the consequences which thence arose for Daniel.*

The announcement and the interpretation of the remarkable dream made so powerful an impression on Nebuchadnezzar, that he fell down in supplication before Daniel and ordered sacrifice to be offered to him. Falling prostrate to the earth is found as a mark of honour to men, it is true (1 Sam. xx. 41, xxv. 28; 2 Sam. xiv. 4), but סְגִד is used only of *divine homage* (Isa. xliv. 15, 17, 19, xlvi. 6, and Dan. iii. 5 ff.). To the Chaldean king, Daniel appeared as a man in whom the gods manifested themselves; therefore he shows to him divine honour, such as was shown by Cornelius to the Apostle Peter, and at Lystra was shown to Paul and Barnabas, Acts x. 25, xiv. 13. מִנְחָה, *an unbloody sacrifice*, and נִיחֹחִין, are not burnt sacrifices or offerings of pieces of fat (Hitz.), but *incensings, the offering of incense*; cf. Ex. xxx. 9, where the קְטֹרֶת is particularly mentioned along with the עֹלָה and the מִנְחָה. נַסְּכוּ is, with Hitz., to be taken after the Arabic in the general signification *sacrificare*, but is transferred zeugmatically from the pouring out of a drink-offering to the offering of a sacrifice. Ver. 47, where Nebuchadnezzar praises the God of the Jews as the God of gods, does not stand in contradiction to the rendering of divine honour to Daniel in such a way

that, with Hitz., in the conduct of the king we miss consistency and propriety, and find it improbable. For Nebuchadnezzar did not pray to the man Daniel, but in the person of Daniel to his God, *i.e.* to the God of the Jews; and he did this because this God had manifested Himself to him through Daniel as the supreme God, who rules over kings, and reveals hidden things which the gods of the Chaldean wise men were not able to reveal. Moreover, in this, Nebuchadnezzar did not abandon his heathen standpoint. He did not recognise the God of the Jews as the only, or the alone true God, but only as God of gods, as the highest or the most exalted of the gods, who excelled the other gods in might and in wisdom, and was a Lord of kings, and as such must be honoured along with the gods of his own country. מִן־קְשׁט דִּי, *of truth* (it is) *that*, stands adverbially for *truly*.

Ver. 48. After Nebuchadnezzar had given honour to the God of the Jews, he rewarded Daniel, the servant of this God, with gifts, and by elevating him to high offices of state. רַבִּי, *to make great*, is more fully defined by the following passages. הַשְׁלְטֵהּ, *he made him a man of power*, ruler over the province of Babylon, *i.e.* vicegerent, governor of this province. According to ch. iii. 2, the Chaldean kingdom consisted of several מְדִינָתָא, each of which had its own שִׁלְטוֹן. The following וְרַב סַגְנִין depends zeugmatically, however, on הַשְׁלְטֵהּ: *and* (made him) *president over all the wise men.* סַגְנִין, Hebr. סְגָנִים, *vicegerent*, prefect, is an Aryan word incorporated into the Hebrew, ζωγάνης in Athen., but not yet certainly authenticated in Old Persian; *vide* Spiegel in *Delitzsch* on Isa. xli. 25. The wise men of Babylon were divided into classes according to their principal functions, under סַגְנִין, *chiefs*, whose president (= רַב־מָג, Jer. xxxix. 3) Daniel was.

Ver. 49. At Daniel's request the king made his three friends governors of the province. וּמַנִּי is not, with Häv. and other older writers, to be translated *that he should ordain;* this sense must be expressed by the imperfect. The matter of the prayer is not specially given, but is to be inferred from the granting of it. But this prayer is not, with Hitz. and older interpreters, to be understood as implying that Daniel entreated the king to release him from the office of vicegerent, and that the king entrusted that office to his three friends; for if Daniel wished to retain this dignity, but to transfer the duty to his friends, there was no need, as Hitz. thinks, for this purpose, for the express appointment of the king; his mere permission was enough. But whence did

Hitz. obtain this special information regarding the state arrangements of Babylon? and how does he know that מַנְּי, *to decree*, means an express appointment in contradistinction to a royal permission? The true state of the matter Häv. has clearly explained. The chief ruler of the province had a number of *ὕπαρχοι, under-officers*, in the province for the various branches of the government. To such offices the king appointed Daniel's three friends at his request, so that he might be able as chief ruler to reside continually at the court of the king. עֲבִידְתָּא, *rendering of service* = עֲבֹדַת הַמֶּלֶךְ, *service of the king*, 1 Chron. xxvi. 30, according as the matter may be: the management of business. בִּתְרַע מַלְכָּא, *near the gate, i.e.* at the court of the king, for the gate, the door, is named for the building to which it formed the entrance; cf. שַׁעַר הַמֶּלֶךְ, Esth. ii. 19, 21, iii. 2 ff. Gesenius is in error when he explains the words there as meaning that Daniel was made prefect of the palace.

CHAP. III. 1–30. DANIEL'S THREE FRIENDS IN THE FIERY FURNACE.

Nebuchadnezzar commanded a colossal golden image to be set up in the plain of Dura at Babylon, and summoned all his high officers of state to be present at its consecration. He caused it to be proclaimed by a herald, that at a given signal all should fall down before the image and do it homage, and that whosoever refused to do so would be cast into a burning fiery furnace (vers. 1–7). This ceremony having been ended, it was reported to the king by certain Chaldeans that Daniel's friends, who had been placed over the province of Babylon, had not done homage to the image; whereupon, being called to account by the king, they refused to worship the image because they could not serve his gods (vers. 8–18). For this opposition to the king's will they were cast, bound in their clothes, into the burning fiery furnace. They were uninjured by the fire; and the king perceived with terror that not three, but four men, were walking unbound and uninjured in the furnace (vers. 19–27). Then he commanded them to come out; and when he found them wholly unhurt, he not only praised their God who had so wonderfully protected them, but also commanded, on the pain of death, all the people of his kingdom not to despise this God (vers. 28–30).

The LXX. and Theodotion have placed the date of this event

in the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, apparently only because they associated the erection of this statue with the taking of Jerusalem under Zedekiah, although that city was not taken and destroyed till the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxv. 8 ff.). But though it is probable that Nebuchadnezzar, after he had firmly established his world-kingdom by the overthrow of all his enemies, first felt himself moved to erect this image as a monument of his great exploits and of his world-power; yet the destruction of the capital of Judea, which had been already twice destroyed, can hardly be regarded as having furnished a sufficient occasion for this. This much, however, is certain, that the event narrated in this chapter occurred later than that of the 2d chapter, since ch. iii. 12 and 30 refer to ch. ii. 49; and on the other hand, that they occurred earlier than the incident of the 4th chapter, in which there are many things which point to the last half of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, while the history recorded in the chapter before us appertains more to the middle of his reign, when Nebuchadnezzar stood on the pinnacle of his greatness. The circumstance that there is no longer found in the king any trace of the impression which the omnipotence and infinite wisdom of the God of the Jews, as brought to view in the interpretation of his dream by Daniel, made upon his mind (ch. ii.), affords no means of accurately determining the time of the occurrence here narrated. There is no need for our assuming, with Jerome, a *velox oblivio veritatis*, or with Calvin, the lapse of a considerable interval between the two events. The deportment of Nebuchadnezzar on this occasion does not stand in opposition to the statements made at the close of ch. ii. The command that all who were assembled at the consecration of the image should fall down before it and worship it, is to be viewed from the standpoint of the heathen king. It had no reference at all to the oppression of those who worshipped the God of the Jews, nor to a persecution of the Jews on account of their God. It only demanded the recognition of the national god, to whom the king supposed he owed the greatness of his kingdom, as the god of the kingdom, and was a command which the heathen subjects of Nebuchadnezzar could execute without any violence to their consciences. The Jews could not obey it, however, without violating the first precept of their law. But Nebuchadnezzar did not think on that. Disobedience to his command appeared to him as culpable rebellion against his majesty. As such also the conduct of Daniel's friends is represented to him by the Chaldean informers in ver. 12. The

words of the informers, "The Jews whom thou hast set over the affairs of the province of Babylon have not regarded thee, O king; they serve not thy gods," etc., clearly show that they were rightly named (ver. 8) "accusers of the Jews," and that by their denunciation of them they wished only to expel the foreigners from their places of influence; and for this purpose they made use of the politico-national festival appointed by Nebuchadnezzar as a fitting opportunity. Hence we can understand Nebuchadnezzar's anger against those who disregarded his command; and his words, with which he pronounced sentence against the accused—"who is that God that shall deliver you out of my hand?"—are, judged of from the religious point of view of the Israelites, a blaspheming of God, but considered from Nebuchadnezzar's heathen standpoint, are only an expression of proud confidence in his own might and in that of his gods, and show nothing further than that the revelation of the living God in ch. ii. had not permanently impressed itself on his heart, but had in course of time lost much of its influence over him.

The conduct of Nebuchadnezzar toward the Jews, described in this chapter, is accordingly fundamentally different from the relation sustained by Antiochus Epiphanes towards Judaism; for he wished entirely to put an end to the Jewish form of worship. In the conduct of Daniel's friends who were accused before the king there is also not a single trace of the religious fanaticism prevalent among the Jews in the age of the Maccabees, who were persecuted on account of their fidelity to the law. Far from trusting in the miraculous help of God, they regarded it as possible that God, whom they served, would not save them, and they only declare that in no case will they reverence the heathen deities of the king, and do homage to the image erected by him (ver. 16 ff.).

The right apprehension of the historical situation described in this chapter is at complete variance with the supposition of the modern critics, that the narrative is unhistorical, and was invented for the purpose of affording a type for the relation of Antiochus Epiphanes to Judaism. The remarkable circumstance, that Daniel is not named as having been present at this festival (and he also would certainly not have done homage to the image), can of itself alone furnish no argument against the historical accuracy of the matter, although it cannot be explained on the supposition made by Hgstb., that Daniel, as president over the wise men, did not belong to the

class of state-officers, nor by the assertion of Hitz., that Daniel did not belong to the class of chief officers, since according to ch. ii. 49 he had transferred his office to his friends. Both suppositions are erroneous; cf. under ch. ii. 49. But many other different possibilities may be thought of to account for the absence of all mention of Daniel's name. Either he may have been prevented for some reason from being present on the occasion, or he may have been present and may have refused to bow down before the image, but yet may only not have been informed against. In the latter case, the remark of Calvin, *ut abstinuerint a Daniele ad tempus, quem sciebant magnifieri a Rege*, would scarcely suffice, but we must suppose that the accusers had designed first only the overthrow of the three rulers of the province of Babylon.[1] But the circumstance that Daniel, if he were present, did not employ himself in behalf of his friends, may be explained from the quick execution of Babylonish justice, provided some higher reason did not determine him confidently to commit the decision of the matter to the Lord his God.[2]

Vers. 1–18. *The erection and consecration of the golden image, and the accusation brought against Daniel's friends, that they had refused to obey the king's command to do homage to this image.*

Ver. 1. Nebuchadnezzar commanded a golden image to be erected, of threescore cubits in height and six cubits in breadth.

[1] Kran.'s supposition also (p. 153), that Daniel, as president over the class of the wise men, claimed the right belonging to him as such, while in his secular office he could be represented by his Jewish associates, and thus was withdrawn from the circle of spectators and from the command laid upon them of falling down before the image, has little probability; for although it is not said that this command was laid upon the caste of the wise men, and even though it should be supposed that the priests were present at this festival as the directors of the religious ceremonial, and thus were brought under the command to fall down before the image, yet this can scarcely be supposed of the whole caste. But Daniel could not in conscience take part in this idolatrous festival, nor associate himself with the priests, nor as president of all the Magi withdraw into the background, so as to avoid the ceremony of doing homage to the image.

[2] We have already in part noticed the arguments against the historical accuracy of the narrative presented by the opponents of the genuineness of the book, such as the giving of Greek names to the musical instruments, and the conduct of Antiochus Epiphanes in placing an idol-image on the altar of burnt-offering (pp. 34, 50). All the others are dealt with in the Exposition. The principal objection adduced is the miracle, on account of which alone Hitz. thinks himself warranted in affirming that the narrative has no historical reality.

צֶלֶם is properly *an image in human likeness* (cf. ch. ii. 31), and excludes the idea of a mere pillar or an obelisk, for which מַצֵּבָה would have been the appropriate word. Yet from the use of the word צֶלֶם it is not by any means to be concluded that the image was in all respects perfectly in human form. As to the upper part—the head, countenance, arms, breast—it may have been in the form of a man, and the lower part may have been formed like a pillar. This would be altogether in accordance with the Babylonian art, which delighted in grotesque, gigantic forms; cf. Hgstb. *Beitr.* i. p. 96 f. The measure, in height threescore cubits, in breadth six cubits, is easily explained, since in the human figure the length is to the breadth in the proportion of about six to one. In the height of threescore cubits the pedestal of the image may be regarded as included, so that the whole image according to its principal component part (*a potiori*) was designated as צֶלֶם; although the passage Judg. xviii. 30, 31, adduced by Kran., where mention is made of the image alone which was erected by Micah, without any notice being taken of the pedestal belonging to it (cf. vers. 17 and 18), furnishes no properly authentic proof that פֶּסֶל in vers. 30 and 31 denotes the image with the pedestal. The proportion between the height and the breadth justifies, then, in no respect the rejection of the historical character of the narrative. Still less does the mass of gold necessary for the construction of so colossal an image, since, as has been already mentioned (p. 39), according to the Hebrew modes of speech, we are not required to conceive of the figure as having been made of solid gold, and since, in the great riches of the ancient world, Nebuchadnezzar in his successful campaigns might certainly accumulate an astonishing amount of this precious metal. The statements of Herodotus and Diodorus regarding the Babylonian idol-images,[1] as well as the description in Isa. xl. 19 of the construction of idol-images, lead us to think of the image as merely overlaid with plates of gold.

The king commanded this image to be set up in the plain of *Dura* in the province of Babylon. The ancients make mention

[1] According to Herod. i. 183, for the great golden image of Belus, which was twelve cubits high, and the great golden table standing before it, the golden steps and the golden chair, only 800 talents of gold were used; and according to Diod. Sic. ii. 9, the golden statue, forty feet high, placed in the temple of Belus consisted of 1000 talents of gold, which would have been not far from sufficient if these objects had been formed of solid gold. Diod. also expressly says regarding the statue, that it was made with the hammer, and therefore was not solid. Cf. Hgstb. *Beitr.* i. p. 98, and Kran. *in loco.*

of two places of the name of *Dura*, the one at the mouth of the Chaboras where it empties itself into the Euphrates, not far from Carchemish (Polyb. v. 48; Ammian. Marc. xxiii. 5, 8, xxiv. 1, 5), the other beyond the Tigris, not far from Apollonia (Polyb. v. 52; Amm. Marc. xxv. 6, 9). Of these the latter has most probability in its favour, since the former certainly did not belong to the province of Babylon, which according to Xenophon extended 36 miles south of Tiphsach (cf. Nieb. *Gesch. Assurs*, S. 421). The latter, situated in the district of Sittakene, could certainly be reckoned as belonging to the province of Babylon, since according to Strabo, Sittakene, at least in the Old Parthian time, belonged to Babylon (Nieb. p. 420). But even this place lay quite too far from the capital of the kingdom to be the place intended. We must, without doubt, much rather seek for this plain in the neighbourhood of Babylon, where, according to the statement of Jul. Oppert (*Expéd. Scientif. en Mésopotamie*, i. p. 238 ff.), there are at present to be found in the S.S.E. of the ruins representing the former capital a row of mounds which bear the name of *Dura*, at the end of which, along with two larger mounds, there is a smaller one which is named *el Mokattat* (=*la colline alignée*), which forms a square six metres high, with a basis of fourteen metres, wholly built *en briques crues* (لبن), which shows so surprising a resemblance to a colossal statue with its pedestal, that Oppert believes that this little mound is the remains of the golden statue erected by Nebuchadnezzar.[1]

There is a difference of opinion as to the signification of this image. According to the common view (cf. *e.g.* Hgstb. *Beitr.* i. p. 97), Nebuchadnezzar wished to erect a statue as an expression of his thanks to his god Bel for his great victories, and on that account also to consecrate it with religious ceremonies. On the

[1] "On seeing this mound," Oppert remarks (*l. c.* p. 239), "one is immediately struck with the resemblance which it presents to the pedestal of a colossal statue, as, for example, that of Bavaria near Münich, and everything leads to the belief that the statue mentioned in the book of Daniel (ch. iii. 1) was set up in this place. The fact of the erection by Nebuchadnezzar of a colossal statue has nothing which can cause astonishment, however recent may have been the Aramean form of the account of Scripture." Oppert, moreover, finds no difficulty in the size of the statue, but says regarding it: "There is nothing incredible in the existence of a statue sixty cubits high and six cubits broad; moreover the name of the plain of Dura, in the province (מְדִינָה) of Babylon, agrees also with the actual conformation of the ruin."

other hand, Hofm. (*Weiss. u. Erf.* i. p. 277) remarks, that the statue was not the image of a god, because a distinction is made between falling down to it and the service to his god which Nebuchadnezzar required (vers. 12, 14, 18) from his officers of state. This distinction, however, is not well supported; for in these verses praying to the gods of Nebuchadnezzar is placed on an equality with falling down before the image. But on the other hand, the statue is not designated as the image of a god, or the image of Belus; therefore we agree with Klief. in his opinion, that the statue was a symbol of the world-power established by Nebuchadnezzar, so that falling down before it was a manifestation of reverence not only to the world-power, but also to its gods; and that therefore the Israelites could not fall down before the image, because in doing so they would have rendered homage at the same time also to the god or gods of Nebuchadnezzar, in the image of the world-power. But the idea of representing the world-power founded by him as a צֶלֶם דִּי־דַהַב was probably suggested to Nebuchadnezzar by the צֶלֶם seen (ch. ii.) by him in a dream, whose head of gold his world-kingdom was described to him as being. We may not, however, with Klief., seek any sanction for the idea that the significance of the image is in its size, 6, 10, and six multiplied by ten cubits, because the symbolical significance of the number 6 as the *signature* of human activity, to which the divine completion (7) is wanting, is not a Babylonian idea. Still less can we, with Zündel (p. 13), explain the absence of Daniel on this occasion as arising from the political import of the statue, because the supposition of Daniel's not having been called to be present is a mere conjecture, and a very improbable conjecture; and the supposition that Daniel, as being chief of the Magi, would not be numbered among the secular officers of state, is decidedly erroneous.

Ver. 2. Nebuchadnezzar commanded all the chief officers of the kingdom to be present at the solemn dedication of the image. שְׁלַח, *he sent*, viz. מַלְאָכִים or רָצִים, *messengers*, 1 Sam. xi. 7; 2 Chron. xxx. 6, 10; Esth. iii. 15. Of the great officers of state, seven classes are named:—1. אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנַיָּא, *i.e. administrators* of the *Khshatra*, in Old Pers. *dominion*, *province*, and *pâvan* in Zend., *guardians*, *watchers*, in Greek Σατράπης, the chief representatives of the king in the provinces. 2. סְגָנַיָּא, Hebr. סְגָנִים, from the Old Pers. (although not proved) *çakana*, *to command* (see under ch. ii. 48), *commanders*, probably *the military chiefs of the provinces*. 3. פַּחַוָתָא, Hebr. פַּחָה,

פַּחוֹת, also an Old Pers. word, whose etymon and meaning have not yet been established (see under Hag. i. 1), denotes *the presidents of the civil government, the guardians of the country;* cf. Hag. i. 1, 14, Neh. v. 14, 18. 4. אֲדַרְגָּזְרַיָּא, *chief judges*, from the Sem. גזר, to distinguish, and אדר, dignity (cf. אֲדַרְפַּלְכָּה), properly, *chief arbitrators, counsellors of the government.* 5. גְּדַבְרַיָּא, a word of Aryan origin, from גַּדְבָּר, identical with גִּזְבַּר (see note, p. 45), *masters of the treasury, superintendents of the public treasury.* 6. דְּתָבְרַיָּא, the Old Pers. *dâta-bara* (p. 45), *guardians of the law, lawyers* (cf. דָּת, law). 7. תִּפְתַּיָּא, Semitic, from פתי IV. *to give a just sentence,* thus *judges* in the narrower sense of the word. Finally, all שִׁלְטֹנֵי, *rulers, i.e. governors of provinces,* prefects, who were subordinate to the chief governor, cf. ch. ii. 48, 49.

All these officers were summoned "to come (מֵתָא from אֲתָא, with the rejection of the initial א) to the dedication of the image." The objection of v. Leng. and Hitz., that this call would "put a stop to the government of the country," only shows their ignorance of the departments of the state-government, and by no means makes the narrative doubtful. The affairs of the state did not lie so exclusively in the hands of the presidents of the different branches of the government, as that their temporary absence should cause a suspension of all the affairs of government. חֲנֻכָּה is used of the dedication of a house (Deut. xx. 5) as well as of the temple (1 Kings viii. 63; 2 Chron. vii. 5; Ezra vi. 16), and here undoubtedly denotes an act connected with religious usages, by means of which the image, when the great officers of the kingdom fell down before it, was solemnly consecrated as the symbol of the world-power and (in the heathen sense) of its divine glory. This act is described (vers. 3–7) in so far as the object contemplated rendered it necessary.

When all the great officers of state were assembled, a herald proclaimed that as soon as the sound of the music was heard, all who were present should, on pain of death by being cast into the fire, fall down before the image and offer homage to it; which they all did as soon as the signal was given. The form קָאמִין, ver. 3, corresponds to the sing. קָאֵם (ch. ii. 31) as it is written in Syr., but is read קָיְמִין. The Masoretes substitute for it in the Talm. the common form קָיְמִין; cf. Fürst, *Lehrgb. der aram. Idiom.* p. 161, and Luzzatto, *Elem. Gram.* p. 33. The expression לְקָבֵל, ver. 3, and Ezra iv. 16, is founded on קָבֵל, the semi-vowel of the preceding sound being absorbed, as in the Syr. ܠܩܒܠ. On פָּרוֹזָא, *herald,* see note 1, p.

45, and on the form לָכוֹן, see under ch. ii. 5. אָמְרִין, *they say*, for "it is said to you." The expression of the passive by means of a plural form of the active used impersonally, either participially or by 3d pers. perf. plur., is found in Hebr., but is quite common in Chald.; cf. Ewald, *Lehr. d. hebr. Spr.* § 128, *b*, and Winer, *Chald. Gram.* § 49, 3. The proclamation of the herald refers not only to the officers who were summoned to the festival, but to all who were present, since besides the officers there was certainly present a great crowd of people from all parts of the kingdom, as M. Geier has rightly remarked, so that the assembly consisted of persons of various races and languages. אַמַּיָא denotes *tribes of people*, as the Hebr. אֻמָּה, אֻמּוֹת Gen. xxv. 16, denotes the several tribes of Ishmael, and Num. xxv. 15 the separate tribes of the Midianites, and is thus not so extensive in its import as עַמִּין, *peoples*. לִשָּׁנַיָא, corresponding to הַלְּשׁוֹנוֹת, Isa. lxvi. 18, designates (*vide* Gen. x. 5, 20, 31) *communities of men of the same language*, and is not a tautology, since the distinctions of nation and of language are in the course of history frequently found. The placing together of the three words denotes all nations, however they may have widely branched off into tribes with different languages, and expresses the sense that no one in the whole kingdom should be exempted from the command. It is a mode of expression (cf. vers. 7, 29, 31 [iv. 1], and vi. 26 [25]) specially characterizing the pathetic style of the herald and the official language of the world-kingdom, which Daniel also (ch. v. 19, vii. 14) makes use of, and which from the latter passage is transferred to the Apocalypse, and by the union of these passages in Daniel with Isa. lxvi. 18 is increased to ἔθνη (גּוֹיִם in Isa.), φυλλαί, λαοὶ καὶ γλῶσσαι (Rev. v. 9, vii. 9, xiii. 7, xiv. 6, xvii. 15).

In the same passage בֶּהּ זִמְנָא, ver. 7 (cf. also ver. 8), is interchanged with בְּעִדָּנָא, *at the time* (vers. 5 and 15); but it is to be distinguished from בֶּהּ־שָׁעְתָּא, *at the same moment*, vers. 6 and 15; for שָׁעְיָא or שָׁעָה has in the Bib. Chald. only the meaning *instant, moment*, cf. ch. iv. 16, 30, v. 5, and acquires the signification *short time, hour*, first in the Targ. and Rabbin. In the enumeration also of the six names of the musical instruments with the addition: *and all kinds of music*, the pompous language of the world-ruler and of the herald of his power is well expressed. Regarding the Greek names of three of these instruments see p. 34. The great delight of the Babylonians in music and stringed instruments appears from Isa. xiv. 11 and Ps. cxxxvii. 3, and is confirmed by the testimony of Herod. i. 191, and Curtius, v. 3. קַרְנָא, *horn*, is the far-sounding

tuba of the ancients, the קֶרֶן or שׁוֹפָר of the Hebr.; see under Josh. vi. 5. מַשְׁרוֹקִיתָא, from שָׁרַק, *to hiss, to whistle*, is the *reed-flute*, translated by the LXX. and Theodot. *σύριγξ*, the *shepherd's* or *Pan's pipes*, which consisted of several reeds of different thicknesses and of different lengths bound together, and, according to a Greek tradition (Pollux, iv. 9, 15), was invented by two Medes. קִיתָרוֹס (according to the *Kethiv;* but the *Keri* and the Targ. and Rabbin. give the form קַתְרוֹס) is the Greek *κιθάρα* or *κίθαρις*, *harp*, for the Greek ending ις becomes ος in the Aramaic, as in many similar cases; cf. Ges. *Thes.* p. 1215. סַבְּכָא, corresponding to the Greek *σαμβύκη*, but a Syrian invention, see p. 34, is, according to Athen. iv. p. 175, a *four-stringed instrument*, having a sharp, clear tone; cf. Ges. *Thes.* p. 935. פְּסַנְתֵּרִין (in ver. 7 written with a ט instead of ת, and in vers. 10 and 15 pointed with a Tsere under the ת) is the Greek *ψαλτήριον*, of which the Greek ending *ιον* becomes abbreviated in the Aram. into ִין (cf. Ges. *Thes.* p. 1116). The word has no etymology in the Semitic. It was an instrument like a harp, which according to Augustin (on Ps. xxxii. [xxxiii.] 2 and Ps. xlii. [xliii.] 4) was distinguished from the *cithara* in this particular, that while the strings of the *cithara* passed over the sounding-board, those of the *psalterium* (or *organon*) were placed under it. Such harps are found on Egyptian (see Rosellini) and also on Assyrian monuments (cf. Layard, *Ninev. and Bab.*, Table xiii. 4). סוּמְפֹנְיָה, in ver. 10 סִיפֹנְיָה, is not derived from סָפַן, *contignare*, but is the Aramaic form of *συμφωνία*, *bag-pipes*, which is called in Italy at the present day *sampogna*, and derives its Greek name from the accord of two pipes placed in the bag; cf. Ges. *Thes.* p. 941. זְמָרָא signifies, not "song," but *musical playing*, from זָמַר, *to play the strings*, *ψάλλειν*; and because the music of the instrument was accompanied with song, it means also *the song accompanying the music*. The explanation of זְמָרָא by singing stands here in opposition to the כָּל זְנֵי, since all sorts of songs could only be sung after one another, but the herald speaks of the simultaneous rise of the sound. The limiting of the word also to the playing on a stringed instrument does not fit the context, inasmuch as wind instruments are also named. Plainly in the words כָּל זְנֵי זְמָרָא all the other instruments not particularly named are comprehended, so that זְמָרָא is to be understood generally of *playing on musical instruments*. בַּהּ־שַׁעֲתָא, *in the same instant*. The frequent pleonastic use in the later Aramaic of the union of the preposition with a suffix anticipating the following noun, whereby the preposition is frequently

repeated before the noun, as *e.g.* בֵּה בְּרַנְיֵאל, ch. v. 12, cf. ch. v. 30, has in the Bib. Chald. generally a certain emphasis, for the pronominal suffix is manifestly used demonstratively, in the sense *even* this, *even* that.

Homage was commanded to be shown to the image under the pain of death to those who refused. Since "the dominion of Nebuchadnezzar was founded not by right, but by the might of conquest" (Klief.), and the homage which he commanded to be shown to the image was regarded not only as a proof of subjection under the power of the king, but comprehended in it also the recognition of his gods as the gods of the kingdom, instances of refusal were to be expected. In the demand of the king there was certainly a kind of religious oppression, but by no means, as Bleek, v. Leng., and other critics maintain, a religious persecution, as among heathen rulers Antiochus Epiphanes practised it. For so tolerant was heathenism, that it recognised the gods of the different nations; but all heathen kings required that the nations subdued by them should also recognise the gods of their kingdom, which they held to be more powerful than were the gods of the vanquished nations. A refusal to yield homage to the gods of the kingdom they regarded as an act of hostility against the kingdom and its monarch, while every one might at the same time honour his own national god. This acknowledgment, that the gods of the kingdom were the more powerful, every heathen could grant; and thus Nebuchadnezzar demanded nothing in a religious point of view which every one of his subjects could not yield. To him, therefore, the refusal of the Jews could not but appear as opposition to the greatness of his kingdom. But the Jews, or Israelites, could not do homage to the gods of Nebuchadnezzar without rejecting their faith that Jehovah alone was God, and that besides Him there were no gods. Therefore Nebuchadnezzar practised towards them, without, from his polytheistic standpoint, designing it, an intolerable religious coercion, which, however, is fundamentally different from the persecution of Judaism by Antiochus Epiphanes, who forbade the Jews on pain of death to serve their God, and endeavoured utterly to destroy the Jewish religion.—Regarding the structure of the fiery furnace, see under ver. 22.

Ver. 8. ff. The Chaldeans immediately denounced Daniel's three friends as transgressors of the king's command. כָּל־קֳבֵל דְּנָה, *therefore*, viz. because the friends of Daniel who were placed over the province of Babylon had not, by falling down before the golden

image, done it homage. That they did not do so is not expressly said, but is expressed in what follows. גְּבְרִין כַּשְׂדָּאִין are not Chaldeans as astrologers or magi (כַּשְׂדִּים), but members of the Chaldean nation, in contrast to יְהוּדָיֵא, the Jews. קִרְבוּ, *they came near to the king.* אֲכַל קַרְצֵי דִי, literally, *to eat the flesh of any one*, is in Aramaic the common expression for *to calumniate, to denounce.* That which was odious in their report was, that they used this instance of disobedience to the king's command on the part of the Jewish officers as an occasion of removing them from their offices,—that their denunciation of them arose from their envying the Jews their position of influence, as in ch. vi. 5 (4) f. Therefore they give prominence to the fact that the king had raised these Jews to places of rule in the province of Babylon.

With this form of address in ver. 9, cf. ch. ii. 4. שִׂים טְעֵם signifies in ver. 12 *rationem reddere*, to attend to, to have regard for. In ver. 10, as frequently, the expression signifies, on the contrary, *to give an opinion, a judgment, i.e. to publish a command.* The *Keth.* לֵאלָהָיִךְ (ver. 12), for which the *Keri* prefers the sing. form לֵאלָהָךְ, in sound the same as the contracted plur., is to be maintained as correct; for the *Keri* here, as in ver. 18, supporting itself on לֵאלָהִי, ver. 14, rests on the idea that by the honouring of his god only the doing of homage to the image is meant, while the not doing homage to the image only gives proof of this, that they altogether refused to honour the gods of Nebuchadnezzar. This is placed in the foreground by the accusers, so as to arouse the indignation of the king. "These Chaldeans," Hitz. remarks quite justly, "knew the three Jews, who were so placed as to be well known, and at the same time envied, before this. They had long known that they did not worship idols; but on this occasion, when their religion made it necessary for the Jews to disobey the king's command, they make use of their knowledge."

Ver. 13. That they succeeded in their object, Nebuchadnezzar shows in the command given in anger and fury to bring the rebels before him. הֵיתָיו, notwithstanding its likeness to the Hebr. Hiphil form הֲתָיו, Isa. xxi. 14, is not the Hebraizing Aphel, but, as הֵיתִית, ch. vi. 18, shows, is a Hebraizing passive form of the Aphel, since the active form is הַיְתִיו, ch. v. 3, and is a passive formation peculiar to the Bib. Chald., for which in the Targg. Ittaphal is used.

Vers. 14–18. *The trial of the accused.*

Ver. 14. The question הַצְדָּא the old translators incorrectly explain by *Is it true?* In the justice of the accusation Nebuchad-

nezzar had no doubt whatever, and צְדָא has not this meaning. Also the meaning, *scorn*, which אֲצַדִּי in Aram. has, and L. de Dieu, Häv., and Kran. make use of, does not appear to be quite consistent, since Nebuchadnezzar, if he had seen in the refusal to do homage to the image a despising of his gods, then certainly he would not have publicly repeated his command, and afforded to the accused the possibility of escaping the threatened punishment, as he did (ver. 15). We therefore agree with Hitz. and Klief., who interpret it, after the Hebr. צָדִיָּה, Num. xxxv. 20 f., of *malicious resolution*, not merely intention, according to Gesen., Winer, and others. For all the three could not unintentionally or accidentally have made themselves guilty of transgression. The form הַצְדָא we regard as a noun form with ה *interrog.* prefixed in adverbial cases, and not an Aphel formation: *Scorning, Shadrach, etc., do ye not serve?* (Kran.) The affirmative explanation of the verse, according to which the king would suppose the motive of the transgression as decided, does not agree with the alternative which (ver. 15) he places before the accused. But if הַצְדָא is regarded as a question, there is no need for our supplying the conjunction דִּי before the following verb, but we may unite the הַצְדָא in one sentence with the following verb: "*are ye of design . . . not obeying?*" Nebuchadnezzar speaks of his god in contrast to the God of the Jews.

Ver. 15. עָתִידִין taken with the following clause, תִּפְלֹחוּן . . . דִּי, is not a circumlocution for the future (according to Winer, *Chald. Gram.* § 45, 2). This does not follow from the use of the simple future in the contrast, but it retains its peculiar meaning *ready*. The conclusion to the first clause is omitted, because it is self-evident from the conclusion of the second, opposed passage: *then ye will not be cast into the fiery furnace.* Similar omissions are found in Ex. xxxii. 32, Luke xiii. 9. For the purpose of giving strength to his threatening, Nebuchadnezzar adds that no god would deliver them out of his hand. In this Hitz. is not justified in supposing there is included a blaspheming of Jehovah like that of Sennacherib, Isa. xxxvii. 10. The case is different. Sennacherib raised his gods above Jehovah, the God of the Jews; Nebuchadnezzar only declares that deliverance out of the fiery furnace is a work which no god can accomplish, and in this he only indirectly likens the God of the Jews to the gods of the heathen.

Ver. 16. In the answer of the accused, נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר is not, contrary to the accent, to be placed in apposition to לְמַלְכָּא; for, as Kran.

has rightly remarked, an intentional omission of מַלְכָּא in addressing Nebuchadnezzar is, after ver. 18, where מַלְכָּא occurs in the address, as little likely as that the Athnach is placed under לְמַלְכָּא only on account of the apposition going before, to separate from it the *nomen propr.*; and an error in the placing of the *distinctivus*, judging from the existing accuracy, is untenable. "The direct address of the king by his name plainly corresponds to the king's address to the three officers in the preceding words, ver. 14." We are not to conclude from it, as Hitz. supposes, "that they address him as a plebeian," but much rather, as in the corresponding address, ver. 14, are to see in it an evidence of the deep impression sought to be produced in the person concerned.

Ver. 16. פִּתְגָם is the accus., and is not to be connected with עַל דְּנָה: *as to this command* (Häv.). If the demonstrative were present only before the noun, then the noun must stand in the *status absol.* as ch. iv. 15 (18). פִּתְגָם, from the Zend. *paiti* = πρός, and *gâm*, to go, properly, "the going to," therefore *message*, *edict*, then generally *word* (as here) and *matter* (Ezra vi. 11), as frequently in the Targ., corresponding to the Hebr. דָּבָר.

Ver. 17. יָכִיל denotes the *ethical ability*, *i.e.* the ability limited by the divine holiness and righteousness, not the omnipotence of God as such. For this the accused did not doubt, nor will they place in question the divine omnipotence before the heathen king. The conclusion begins after the Athnach, and הֵן means, not *see! lo!* (according to the old versions and many interpreters), for which Daniel constantly uses אֱלוּ or אֲרוּ, but it means *if*, as here the contrast וְהֵן לָא, *and if not* (ver. 18), demands. There lies in the answer, "If our God will save us, then . . . and if not, know, O king, that we will not serve thy gods," neither audacity, nor a superstitious expectation of some miracle (ver. 17), nor fanaticism (ver. 18), as Berth., v. Leng., and Hitz. maintain, but only the confidence of faith and a humble submission to the will of God. "The three simply see that their standpoint and that of the king are altogether different, also that their standpoint can never be clearly understood by Nebuchadnezzar, and therefore they give up any attempt to justify themselves. But that which was demanded of them they could not do, because it would have been altogether contrary to their faith and their conscience. And then without fanaticism they calmly decline to answer, and only say, 'Let him do according to his own will;' thus without superstitiousness committing their deliverance to God" (Klief.).

Vers. 19–27. *The judgment pronounced on the accused, their punishment, and their miraculous deliverance.*

After the decided refusal of the accused to worship his gods, Nebuchadnezzar changed his countenance toward them. Full of anger at such obstinacy, he commanded that the furnace should be heated seven times greater than was usual (ver. 19), and that the rebels should be bound in their clothes by powerful men of his army, and then cast into the furnace (vers. 20, 21). The form of his countenance changed, and his wrath showed itself in the lineaments of his face. The *Kethiv* אֶשְׁתַּנִּו (*plur.*) refers to the genitive [אַנְפּוֹהִי, plur., "of his countenances"] as the chief idea, and is not, after the *Keri*, to be changed into the *sing.* לְמֵזָא for לְמֵאזָא. On חַד־שִׁבְעָה, *sevenfold*, cf. Winer, *Chald. Gram.* § 59, 5. עַל דִּי חֲזֵה, *beyond that which was fit, i.e.* which was necessary. Seven is used as expressive of an exceedingly great number, with reference to the religious meaning of the punishment.

Ver. 21. Of the different parts of clothing named, סַרְבָּלִין are not hose, short stockings, from which Hitz. concludes that the enumeration proceeds from the inner to the outer clothing. This remark, correct in itself, proves nothing as to the covering for the legs. This meaning is given to the word only from the New Persian *shalwâr*, which in the Arabic is سراويل; cf. Haug in Ew.'s *bibl. Jahrbb.* v. p. 162. But the word corresponds with the genuine Semitic word سربل, which means *tunica* or *indusium;* cf. Ges. *Thes.*[1] p. 970, and *Heb. Lex. s. v.* Accordingly, סַרְבָּלִין denotes *underclothing* which would be worn next the body as our shirt. פַּטְשֵׁיהוֹן, for which the *Keri* uses the form פַּטְשֵׁיהוֹן, corresponding to the Syriac ܦܛܫܝܗܘܢ, is explained in the Hebr. translation of the

[1] The LXX. have omitted סַרְבָּלִין in their translation. Theodot. has rendered it by σαράβαρα, and the third-named piece of dress כַּרְבְּלָן by περικνημῖδες, which the LXX. have rendered by τιάρας ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν. Theodoret explains it: περικνημῖδας δὲ τὰς καλουμένας ἀναξυρίδας λέγει. These are, according to Herod. vii. 161, the ἀναξυρίδες, *i.e. braccæ*, worn by the Persians περὶ τὰ σκέλεα. Regarding Σαράβαρα Theodoret remarks: ἔστι Περσικῶν περιβολαίων εἶδη. Thus Theodot. and Theodor. expressly distinguish the σαράβαρα (סַרְבָּלִין) from the περικνημῖδες; but the false interpretation of סַרְבָּלִין by *breeches* has given rise to the confounding of that word with כַּרְבְּלָן, and the identification of the two, the περικνημῖδες being interpreted of *coverings for the feet;* and the Vulg. translates the passage: "*cum braccis suis et tiaris et calceamentis et vestibus,*" while

Chald. portions of Daniel by כְּתֹנֶת, *tunica*, and is de[illegible] פשׁ, *expandit* (by the transposition of the second and thi[illegible] Thus the Syriac word is explained by Syr. lexicographers[illegible] dotion's translation, *τιάραι*, is probably only hit upon from the [illegible] rity of the sound of the Greek *πέτασος*, the *covering for the* [illegible] worn by the *ἔφηβοι*. כַּרְבְּלָן are *mantles*, from כַּרְבֵּל, R. כְּבַל, *to bind*, [illegible] *ay around*, with *r* intercalated, which occurs 1 Chron. xv. 27 of the putting around or putting on of the מְעִיל (upper garment). לְבוּשֵׁיהוֹן are *the other pieces of clothing* (Aben Ezra and others), not *mantle*[illegible] For that לְבוּשׁ was specially used of over-clothes (Hitz.) cannot b[illegible] proved from Job xxiv. 7 and 2 Kings x. 22. We have here, then, the threefold clothing which, according to Herodotus, i. 195, the Babylonians wore, namely, the סַרְבָּלִין, the *κιθῶν ποδηνεκὴς λίνεος*, the פְּטִישָׁא worn above it, *ἄλλον εἰρίνεον κιθῶνα*, and the כַּרְבְּלָא thrown above that, *χλανίδιον λευκόν*; while under the word לְבוּשֵׁיהוֹן the other articles of clothing, coverings for the feet and the head, are to be understood.[1] The separate articles of clothing, consisting of easily inflammable material, are doubtlessly mentioned with reference to the miracle that followed, that even these remained unchanged (ver. 27) in the fiery furnace. In the easily inflammable nature of these materials, namely, of the fine *κιθῶν ποδηνεκὴς λίνεος*, we have perhaps to seek the reason on account of which the accused were bound in their clothes, and not, as Theodoret and most others think, in the haste with which the sentence against them was carried out.

Ver. 22. מִן דִּי (*because that*), a further explanatory expression added to כָּל־קְבֵל דְּנָה (*wholly for this cause*): because the word of the king was sharp, and in consequence of it (ו), the furnace was heated beyond measure for that reason. The words גֻּבְרַיָּא אִלֵּךְ

[illegible]er has "cloaks, shoes, and hats." This confounding of the two words [illegible] authorized by the Greek scholiasts, to which the admission of the Persian [illegible] into the Arabic *saravilu* may have contributed. In Suidas we find the [illegible] interpretation along with the false one when he says: Σαράβαρα ἐσθὴς [illegible] ἔνιοι δὲ λέγουσι βρακία. Hesychius, on the other hand, briefly explains [illegible]βαρα by βρακία, κνημῖδες, σκελέαι. Hence the word in the forms *sarabara*, [illegible]*ara*, *saravara* or *saraballa*, *sarabela*, is commonly used in the middle ages [illegible]*ose*, and has been transferred into various modern languages; cf. Gesen. [illegible] p. 971.

[illegible] With the setting aside of the false interpretation we have disposed of the [illegible]tion against the historical character of the narrative which v. Leng. and [illegible] have founded on the statement of Herodotus *l.c.*, that the Babylonians [illegible] no hose, but that they were first worn by the Persians, who adopted them [illegible] the Medes.

y men) stand here in the *status absol.*, and are again h the pronoun הִמּוּן after the verb קְטַל. If the three ought up to the furnace, it must have had a mouth above, gh which the victims could be cast into it. When heated to ordinary degree, this could be done without danger to the men who performed this service; but in the present case the heat of he fire was so great, that the servants themselves perished by it. This circumstance also is mentioned to show the greatness of the iracle by which the three were preserved unhurt in the midst of he furnace. The same thing is intended by the repetition of the word מְכַפְּתִין, *bound*, ver. 23, which, moreover, is purposely placed at the close of the passage to prepare for the contrast שָׁרְיִן, *at liberty*, free from the bonds,[1] ver. 25.

Ver. 24 ff. The king, who sat watching the issue of the matter, looked through the door into the furnace, and observed that the three who had been cast into it bound, walked about freed from their bonds and unhurt; and, in truth, he saw not the three only, but also a fourth, "like to a son of the gods," beside them. At this sight he was astonished and terrified. He hastily stood up; and having assured himself by a consultation with his counsellors that three men had indeed been cast bound into the furnace, while he saw four walking in the midst of it, he approached the mouth of the furnace and cried to the three to come forth. They immediately came out, and were inspected by the assembled officers of state, and found to be wholly uninjured as to their bodies, their clothes being unharmed also, and without even the smell of fire upon them. הַדִּבְרִין refers, without doubt, to the officers of the kingdom, *ministers* or *counsellors of state* standing very near the king, since they are named in ver. 27 and ch. vi. 8 (7) along with the first three ranks of officers, and (ch. iv. 23 [26]) during Nebuchadnezzar's madness they conducted the affairs of government. The literal meaning of the word, however, is not quite obvious. Its derivation from the Chald. דִּבְרִין, *duces*, with the Hebr. article (Gesen.), which can only be supported by מִדְבָּרָא, Prov. xi. 14

[1] Between vers. 23 and 24 the LXX. have introduced the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the three men in the fiery furnace; and these two hymns are connected together by a narrative which explains the death of the Chaldæans who threw the three into the furnace, and the miracle of the deliverance of Daniel's friends. Regarding the apocryphal origin of these additions, composed in the Greek language, which Luther in his translation has rightly placed in the Apocrypha, see my *Lehr. der Einl. in d. A. Test.* § 251.

(Targ.), is decidedly opposed by the absence of all anal[illegible] blending into one word of the article with a noun in t[illegible] language. The *Alkoran* offers no corresponding analog[illegible] this word with the article is found only in the more modern di[illegible] But the meaning which P. v. Bohlen (*Symbolæ ad interp. s. Cod[illegible] ex ling. pers.* p. 26) has sought from the Persian word which is translated by *simul judex, i.e. socius in judicio*, is opposed not only by the fact that the compensation of the *Mim* by the Dagesch, but also the composition and the meaning, has very little probability.

The fourth whom Nebuchadnezzar saw in the furnace was like in his appearance, *i.e.* as commanding veneration, to a son of the gods, *i.e.* to one of the race of the gods. In ver. 28 the same personage is called an angel of God, Nebuchadnezzar there following the religious conceptions of the Jews, in consequence of the conversation which no doubt he had with the three who were saved. Here, on the other hand, he speaks in the spirit and meaning of the Babylonian doctrine of the gods, according to the theogonic representation of the *συζυγία* of the gods peculiar to all Oriental religions, whose existence among the Babylonians the female divinity Mylitta associated with Bel places beyond a doubt; cf. Hgst. *Beitr.* i. p. 159, and Häv., Kran., and Klief. *in loc.*

Acting on this assumption, which did not call in question the deliverance of the accused by the miraculous interposition of the Deity, Nebuchadnezzar approached the door of the furnace and cried to the three men to come out, addressing them as the servants (worshippers) of the most high God. This address does not go beyond the circle of heathen ideas. He does not call the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego the only true God, but only the most high God, the chief of the gods, just as the Greeks called their Zeus ὁ ὕψιστος θεός. The *Kethiv* עִלָּיָא (in Syr. ܥܠܝܐ, *to preserve*) is here and everywhere in Daniel (ver. 32, ch. iv. 14, 21, etc.) pointed by the Masoretes according to the form עִילָאָה (with ה) prevailing in the Targg. The forms גְּשֵׁם, גִּשְׁמָא, are peculiar to Daniel (ver. 27 f., ch. iv. 30, v. 21, vii. 11). The Targg. have גּוּשְׁמָא instead of it.

Vers. 28–30. *The impression made by this event on Nebuchadnezzar.*

The marvellous deliverance of the three from the flames of the furnace produced such an impression on Nebuchadnezzar, that he

earlier and humbler judgment (ver. 15) regarding the Jews, and spoke now in praise of the might of this or at the same time he not only openly announced that He ved (ver. 28) His servants, but also by an edict, issued to all peoples of his kingdom, he forbade on pain of death the doing any dishonour to the God of the Jews (ver. 29). Nebuchadnezzar, however, did not turn to the true God. He neither acknowledged Jehovah as the only, or the alone true God, nor did he command Him to be worshipped. He only declared Him to be a God who is able to save His servants as no other could, and merely forbade the despising and reviling of this God. Whoever speaks שְׁלָה, *that which is erroneous* or unjust, against the God of Shadrach, etc., shall be put to death. שְׁלָה, from שְׁלָה, *to err, to commit a fault*, is changed in the *Keri* into שְׁלוֹ, which occurs in ch. vi. 5 and Ezra iv. 22, and in the Targg.; but without sufficient ground, since with other words both forms are found together, *e.g.* אַרְמְלָא, *vidua*, with אַרְמְלוּ, *viduitas*. According to this, שְׁלוֹ *in abstr.* means *the error*; שְׁלָה *in concr., the erroneous*. Hitz. finds the command partly too narrow, partly quite unsuitable, because an error, a simple oversight, should find pardon as soon as possible. But the distinction between a fault arising from mistake and one arising from a bad intention does not accord with the edict of an Oriental despot, which must be in decided terms, so that there may be no room in cases of transgression for an appeal to a mere oversight. Still less importance is to be attached to the objection that the carrying out of the command may have had its difficulties. But by such difficulties the historical character of the narrative is not brought under suspicion. As the Chaldeans in this case had watched the Jews and accused them of disobedience, so also could the Jews scattered throughout the kingdom bring before the tribunal the heathen who blasphemed their God.

Ver. 29. Regarding the collocation of the words עַם אמה וְלִשָּׁן, see under ver. 4; and regarding the הַרְמִין and the threatened punishment, see under ch. ii. 5. כִּדְנָה we regard, with the LXX., Theodrt., Vulg., and old interpreters, as a fem. adverbial: *οὕτως, ita*, as it occurs in ch. ii. 10, Ezra v. 7, and Jer. x. 11. The interpreting of it as masculine, *as this God*, does not correspond with the heathen consciousness of God, to which a God perceptible by sight was more appropriate than a God invisible (Kran.). The history concludes (ver. 30) with the remark that Nebuchadnezzar now regarded the three men with the greatest favour. In what way he manifested

his regard for them is not stated, inasmuch as this is
to the object of the narrative. הַצְלִיחַ with ל, *to give*
happiness, prosperity, to cause him to be fortunate.

If we attentively consider the import of this narrative
bearing on the history of the kingdom of God, we learn how
true worshippers of the Lord under the dominion of the world-
power could and would come into difficulties, imperilling life, be-
tween the demands of the lords of this world and the duties they
owe to God. But we also learn, that if in these circumstances
they remain faithful to their God, they will in a wonderful manner
be protected by Him; while He will reveal His omnipotence so
gloriously, that even the heathen world-rulers will be constrained
to recognise their God and to give Him glory.

CHAP. III. 31 (IV. 1)–IV. 34 (37). NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S DREAM AND HIS MADNESS.

This section is in the form of a proclamation by king Nebu-
chadnezzar to all the peoples of his kingdom, informing them of a
wonderful event in which the living God of heaven made Himself
known as the ruler over the kingdoms of men. After a short
introduction (ch. iii. 31–33 [iv. 1–3]) the king makes known to his
subjects, that amid the peaceful prosperity of his life he had dreamed
a dream which filled him with disquietude, and which the wise men
of Babylon could not interpret, until Daniel came, who was able to
do so (ch. iv. 1–5 [4–8]). In his dream he saw a great tree, with
vast branches and bearing much fruit, which reached up to heaven,
under which beasts and birds found a lodging, shelter, and food.
Then a holy watcher came down from heaven and commanded the
tree to be cut down, so that its roots only remained in the earth, but
bound with iron and brass, till seven times shall pass, so that men
may know the power of the Most High over the kingdoms of men
(vers. 6–15 [9–18]). Daniel interpreted to him this dream, that the
tree represented the king himself, regarding whom it was resolved by
Heaven that he should be driven forth from men and should live
among the beasts till seven times should pass, and he should know
that the Highest rules over the kingdoms of men (vers. 16–24
[19–27]). After twelve months this dream began to be fulfilled,
and Nebuchadnezzar fell into a state of madness, and became like
a beast of the field (vers. 25–30 [28–33]). But after the lapse of
the appointed time his understanding returned to him, whereupon

restored to his kingdom and became exceeding great, ised and honoured the King of heaven (vers. 31–34

ne preceding history teaches how the Almighty God wonder- protects His true worshippers against the enmity of the world- wer, this narrative may be regarded as an actual confirmation of e truth that this same God can so humble the rulers of the world, in presumptuous pride they boast of their might, as to constrain m to recognise Him as the Lord over the kings of the earth. lthough this narrative contains no miracle contrary to the course nature, but only records a divine judgment, bringing Nebuchad- nezzar for a time into a state of madness,—a judgment announced beforehand in a dream, and happening according to the prediction, —yet Bleek, v. Leng., Hitz., and others have rejected its historical veracity, and have explained it as only an invention by which the Maccabean pseudo-Daniel threatens the haughty Antiochus Epi- phanes with the vengeance of Heaven, which shall compel him to recognise One higher than himself, namely, the God of Israel. A proof of this assertion of theirs they find in the form of the narra- tive. The proclamation of Nebuchadnezzar to all the nations of his kingdom, in which the matter is set forth, shows, in its introduction and its close, greater familiarity with biblical thoughts than one would have expected in Nebuchadnezzar. The doxologies, ch. iii. 33 (iv. 3) and iv. 31 (34), agree almost literally with Ps. cxlv. 13; and in the praise of the omnipotence and of the infinite majesty of God, ch. iv. 32 (35), the echoes of Isa. xl. 17, xliii. 13, 24, 21 cannot fail to be recognised. The circumstance that in vers. 25 (28)–30 (33) Nebuchadnezzar is spoken of in the third person, appears to warrant also the opinion that the writing was composed by some other person than by the king. But the use of the third person by Nebuchadnezzar in the verses named is fully explained from the contents of the passage (see Exposition), and neither justifies the conclusion that the author was a different person from the king, nor the supposition of Häv. that the vers. 26 (29)–30 (33) are a passage parenthetically added by Daniel to the brief declaration of the edict, ver. 25 (28), for the purpose of explaining it and making the matter better understood by posterity. The circumstance that ver. 31 (34) refers to the statement of time in ver. 26 (29), and that the royal proclamation would be incomplete without vers. 26 (29)–30 (33), leads to the opposite conclusion. The existence of these biblical thoughts, however, even though not sufficiently

had read and extracted from the work of Berosus only Eusebius, but, as M. v. Niebuhr has conclus Josephus also derived his account from Berosus only remains of the original preserved by Alexander Polyhisto temporary of Sulla, a "tumultuous worker," whose abstract great security for accuracy, and still less for integrity, althou he has not purposely falsified anything; cf. M. v. Niebuhr, *Gesch Assurs*, p. 12 f. Abydenus lived much later. He wrote rently after Josephus, since the latter has made no use of hi thus he was not so near the original sources as Berosus, an moreover, to judge of his fragments which are preserved by Eu bius and Syncellus, not so capable of making use of them, alt one cannot pass sentence against the trustworthiness of the pec liar sources used by him, since the notices formed from them, notwithstanding their independence on Berosus, agree well with his statements; cf. M. v. Niebuhr, p. 15 f.

But if Josephus did not himself read the work of Berosus, but only reported what he found in the extracts by Polyhistor, we need not wonder though he found nothing regarding Nebuchadnezzar's madness. And yet Josephus has preserved to us a notice from Berosus which points to the unusual malady by which Nebuchadnezzar was afflicted before his death, in the words, "Nabuchodonosor, after he had begun to build the fore-mentioned wall, fell sick and departed this life, when he had reigned forty-three years" (*contra Apion*, i. 20). In these words lies more than the simple remark, that Nebuchadnezzar, as is wont to happen to the most of men, died after an illness going before, and not suddenly, as Berth., Hitz., and others wish to interpret it. Berosus uses a formula of this kind in speaking neither of Nabonedus nor of Neriglissor, who both died, not suddenly, but a natural death. He remarks only, however, of Nebuchadnezzar's father: "Now it so fell out that he (his father Nabopolassar) fell into a distemper at this time, and died in the city of Babylon," because he had before stated regarding him, that on account of the infirmity of old age he had committed to his son the carrying on of the war against Egypt; and hence the words, "at that time he fell into a distemper," or the distemper which led to his death, acquire a particular significance.[1] If, accordingly, the "falling sick" pointed to an unusual affliction

[1] When Hitzig adduces 2 Kings' xiii. 14 in support of his view, he has failed to observe that in this place is narrated how the tidings of Elisha's sickness unto death gave occasion to the king Joash to visit the prophet, from

adnezzar, so also the fact that Berosus adds to the the distemper the account of his death, while on the cording to this chapter, Nebuchadnezzar again recovered ned still longer, does not oppose the reference of the "dis-r" to the king's madness; for according to Berosus, as well according to Daniel, the malady fell upon Nebuchadnezzar in the ter period of his reign, after he had not only carried on wars for the founding and establishment of his world-kingdom, but had also, r the most part at least, finished his splendid buildings. After his overy down to the time of his death, he carried forward no other eat work, regarding which Berosus is able to give any communi-ation; it therefore only remained for him to mention the fact of his death, along with the statement of the duration of his reign. No one is able, therefore, to conclude from his summary statement, that Nebuchadnezzar died very soon after his recovery from the madness.

A yet more distinct trace of the event narrated in this chapter is found in Abydenus, in the fragments preserved by Euseb. in the *Præpar. evang.* ix. 41, and in the *Chronic. Armen.* ed. Aucher, i. p. 59, wherein Abydenus announces as a Chaldee tradition (λέγεται πρὸς Χαλδαίων), that Nebuchadnezzar, after the ending of his war in the farther west, mounted his royal tower, *i.e.* to the flat roof, and, there seized by some god (καταισχεθείη θεῷ ὅτεω δὴ), he oracularly (θεσπίσαι) announced to the Babylonians their inevitable subjugation by the Πέρσης ἡμίονος united with the Medes, who would be helped by their own Babylonian gods. He prayed that the Persian might be destroyed in the abyss of the sea, or condemned to wander about in a desert wilderness, inhabited only by wild beasts; and for himself he wished a peaceful death before these misfortunes should fall on the Chaldean empire. Immediately after this utterance Nebuchadnezzar was snatched away from the sight of men (παραχρῆμα ἠφάνιστο). In this Chaldean tradition Eusebius has recognised[1] a disfigured tradition of this his-

whom he at that time received a significant prophetical announcement, and that thus this passage contains something quite different from the trivial notice merely that Elisha was sick previous to his death.

[1] In the *Chron. Arm.* p. 61, Eusebius has thus remarked, after recording the saying by Abyd.: "*In Danielis sane historiis de Nabuchadonosoro narratur, quomodo et quo pacto mente captus fuerit: quod si Græcorum historici aut Chaldæi morbum tegunt et a Deo eum acceptum comminiscuntur, Deumque insaniam, quæ in illum intravit, vel Dæmonem quendam, qui in eum venerit, nominant, mirandum non est. Etenim hoc quidem illorum mos est, cuncta similia Deo adscribere, Deosque nominare Dæmones.*"

explained by the supposition that Nebuchadnezzar [illegible] thoughts and words in a conference on the matter wi[illegible] had appropriated them to himself, cannot be adduce[illegible] genuineness of the edict, but only shows this much, that in [illegible] position of it Nebuchadnezzar had made use of the pen of [illegible] whereby the praise of God received a fuller expression than Ne[illegible] chadnezzar would have given to it. For in the whole narrative [illegible] the event the peculiar heathen conceptions of the Chaldean kin[illegible] so naturally present themselves before us, that beyond questio[illegible] read the very words used by Nebuchadnezzar himself.

Then it has been found in the highest degree strange that Ne[illegible] chadnezzar himself should have published to his people an accou[illegible] of his madness, instead of doing all to make this sad history forgot[illegible] ten. But, notwithstanding that the views of the ancients regard[illegible] ing madness were different from ours, we must say, with Klief. and others, on the contrary, that "publicity in such a case was better than concealment; the matter, besides, being certainly known, could not be made either better or worse by being made public. Nebuchadnezzar wishes to publish, not his madness, but the help which God had imparted to him; and that he did this openly does honour indeed to his magnanimous character."

But the principal argument against the historical veracity of the occurrence is derived from the consideration that no mention is anywhere else made of the seven years' madness, an event which certainly could not but introduce very important changes and complications into the Babylonian kingdom. It is true that the Hebrew history does not at all refer to the later years of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, though it extends, Jer. lii. 31, to a period later than these times, and should, without doubt, give as much prominence to such a divine judgment against this enemy as to the fate of Sennacherib (2 Kings xix. 37) (Hitz.). But the brief notice, Jer. lii. 31, that king Jehoiachin, thirty-seven years after his deportation, was delivered from prison by Evilmerodach when he became king, afforded no opportunity to speak of Nebuchadnezzar's madness, which for a time rendered him incapable of conducting the affairs of government, but did not cause his death. And the reference to the murder of Sennacherib proves nothing regarding it, because, according to the view of Jeremiah and the biblical historians, Nebuchadnezzar occupied an altogether different relation to the theocracy from that of Sennacherib. Nebuchadnezzar appeared not as an arch-enemy, but as the servant of Jehovah he

ll of God against the sinful kingdom of Judah; n the contrary, in daring insolence derided the God was punished for this by the annihilation of his host, wards murdered by his own son, while Nebuchadnezzar red of his madness.

But when the opponents of the genuineness moreover argue at even the Chaldean historian Berosus can have announced thing at all regarding Nebuchadnezzar's madness, since Josephus, Origen, and Jerome, who were well-versed in books, could find hing in any author which pointed to such an event, it is to be lied, in the first place, that the representations of seven years' ration of the madness, and of the serious complications which his malady must have brought on the Babylonian kingdom, are mere frivolous suppositions of the modern critics; for the text limits the duration of the malady only to seven times, by which we may understand seven months as well as seven years. The complications in the affairs of the kingdom were, moreover, prevented by an *interim* government. Then Hgstb. (*Beitr.* i. p. 101 ff.), Häv., Del., and others, have rightly shown that not a single historical work of that period is extant, in which one could expect to find fuller information regarding the disease of Nebuchadnezzar, which is certainly very significant in sacred history, but which in no respect had any influence on the Babylonian kingdom. Herodotus, the father of history, did not know Nebuchadnezzar even by name, and seems to have had no information of his great exploits—*e.g.* of his great and important victory over the Egyptian host at Carchemish. Josephus names altogether only six authors in whose works mention is made of Nebuchadnezzar. But four of these authorities—viz.: *The Annals of the Phœnicians*, Philostratus, author of a Phœnician history, Megasthenes, and Diocles—are not here to be taken into account, because the first two contain only what relates to Phœnicia, the conquest of the land, and the siege of Tyre, the capital; while the other two, Megasth. in his Indian history, and Diocles in his Persian history, speak only quite incidentally of Nebuchadnezzar. There remain then, besides, only Berosus and Abydenus who have recorded the Chaldean history. But of Berosus, a priest of Belus at Babylon in the time of Alexander the Great, who had examined many and ancient documents, and is justly acknowledged to be a trustworthy historian, we possess only certain poor fragments of his Χαλδαϊκά quoted in the writings of Josephus, Eusebius, and later authors, no one of whom

tory; and even Bertholdt will not "deny that this ... is in its main parts identical with our Aramaic rec... other hand, Hitz. knows nothing else to bring forwa... "the statement sounds so fabulous, that no historical subs... be discovered in it." But the historical substance lies in the ... rence which Daniel relates. As, according to Daniel, Nebuch... nezzar was on the roof of his palace when he was suddenly stru... by God with madness, so also according to Abydenus he was ὡ... ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλήια, when seized by some g...od, or possess... Here not only the time and the place of the occurr...nce agree, ... also the circumstance that the king's being seized or... bound ... effected by some god, *i.e.* not by his own, but by a stra...nge god. Not the less striking is the harmony in the curse which he p...rayed might fall on the Persian—"May he wander in the wilder... where no cities are, no human footstep, where wild beasts fee... and the birds wander"—with the description of the abode of the king in his madness in ch. v. 21: "And he was driven from the sons of men; and his heart was made like the beasts, and his dwelling was with the wild asses; and they fed him with grass like oxen." Moreover, though the designation of the Persian as ἡμίονος in Abyd. may not be formed from the עֲרָדִין of Daniel, but derived from old oracles regarding Cyrus diffused throughout the East, as Hiiv. (*N. Krit. Unters.* p. 53, under reference to Herod. i. 55, 91) regards as probable, then the harmony of the Chaldean tradition in Abyd. with the narrative in Daniel leaves no doubt that the fact announced by Daniel lies at the foundation of that tradition, but so changed as to be adapted to the mythic glorification of the hero who was celebrated, of whom Megasthenes says that he excelled Hercules in boldness and courage (Ἡρακλέους ἀλκιμώτερον γεγονότα, in Euseb. *Præp. ev. l.c.*).

To represent the king's state of morbid psychical bondage and want of freedom as his being moved by God with the spirit of prophecy was natural, from the resemblance which the mantic inspiration in the gestures of the ecstasy showed to the μανία (cf. the combination of אִישׁ מְשֻׁגָּע וּמִתְנַבֵּא, Jer. xxix. 26, 2 Kings ix. 11); and in the madness which for a time withdrew the founder of the world-kingdom from the exercise of his sovereignty there might appear as not very remote to the Chaldeans, familiar with the study of portents and prodigies as pointing out the fate of men and of nations, an omen of the future overthrow of the world-power founded by him. As the powerful monarchy of Nebuchadnezzar was transferred to

...ίους not a full gene...ration (25–26 years) after the ...ounder, it might appear conformable to the national ...e Chaldeans to give the interpretation to the ominous ...ce of the great king, that the celebrated hero himself before ...th—θεῷ ὅτεῳ δὴ κατάσχετος—had prophesied its fall, and had ...precated on the destroyer great evil, but had wished for himself ...happy death before these disasters should come.

But even if there were no such traditional references to the ...currence mentioned in this chapter, yet would the supposition of ...invention be excluded by its nature. Although it could be pro...esied to ...Antiochus as an Ἐπιμανής (*madman*) that he would wholly lose his understanding, yet there remains, as even Hitz. is constrained to confess, the choice of just this form of the madness, the *insania zoanthropica*, a mystery in the solution of which even ...e acuteness of this critic is put to shame; so that he resorts to the foolish conjecture that the Maccabean Jew had fabricated the history out of the name נבוכדנצר, since נבוך means *oberravit cum perturbatione*, and כדן, *to bind, fasten*, while the representation of the king as a tree is derived from the passages Isa. xiv. 12, Ezek. xxxi. 3 ff. To this is to be added the fact, that the tendency attributed to the narrative does not at all fit the circumstances of the Maccabean times. With the general remark that the author wished to hold up as in a mirror before the eyes of Antiochus Epiphanes to what results haughty presumption against the Most High will lead, and how necessary it is penitentially to recognise His power and glory if he would not at length fall a victim to the severest judgments (Bleek), the object of the invention of so peculiar a malady becomes quite inconceivable. Hitzig therefore seeks to explain the tendency more particularly. "The transgressor Nebuchadnezzar, who for his haughtiness is punished with madness, is the type of that arrogant Ἐπιμανής, who also sought unsuitable society, as king degraded himself (Polyb. xxvi. 10), and yet had lately given forth a circular-letter *of an altogether different tenor* (1 Macc. i. 41 ff.)."

"If in ver. 28 (31) the loss of the kingdom is placed before the view of Nebuchadnezzar (Antiochus Epiphanes), the passage appears to have been composed at a time when the Maccabees had already taken up arms, and gained the superiority (1 Macc. ii. 42–48)." According to this, we must suppose that the author of this book, at a time when the Jews who adhered to their religion, under the leadership of Mattathias, marched throughout the land to put an

end by the force of arms to the oppression of Antiochu
had proposed to the cruel king the full restoration of hi
and the willing subjection of the Jews under his goverr
the condition that he should recognise the omnipotence of
God. But how does such a proposal of peace agree with the
of the Jews led by Mattathias against the *υἱοὶ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας*,
against the heathen and transgressors, whose horn (power) they
suffer not to prosper (1 Macc. ii. 47, 48)? How with the pas
sionate address of the dying Mattathias, "Fear ye not the word
of a sinful man (*ἀνδρὸς ἁμαρτωλοῦ*, *i.e.* Antiochus), for hi
glory shall be dung and worms" (ver. 62)? And wherein then
consists the resemblance between the Nebuchadnezzar of this
chapter and Antiochus Epiphanes? — the latter, a despot who
cherished a deadly hatred against the Jews who withstood him;
the former, a prince who showed his good-will toward the Jews in
the person of Daniel, who was held in high esteem by him. Or is
Nebuchadnezzar, in the fact that he gloried in the erection of the
great Babylon as the seat of his kingdom, and in that he was
exhorted by Daniel to show compassion toward the poor and the
oppressed (ver. 24 [27]), a type of Antiochus, "who sought improper
society, and as king denied himself," *i.e.*, according to Polybius as
quoted by Hitzig, delighted in fellowship with the lower classes
of society, and spent much treasure amongst the poor handicrafts-
men with whom he consorted? Or is there seen in the circular-
letter of Antiochus, "that in his whole kingdom all should be one
people, and each must give up his own laws," any motive for the
fabrication of the proclamation in which Nebuchadnezzar relates
to all his people the signs and wonders which the most high
God had done to him, and for which he praised the God of
heaven?

And if we fix our attention, finally, on the relation of Daniel
to Nebuchadnezzar, shall that prophet as the counsellor of the
heathen king, who in true affection uttered the wish that the dream
might be to them that hated him, and the interpretation thereof
to his enemies (ver. 16 [19]), be regarded as a pattern to the
Maccabees sacrificing all for the sake of their God, who wished
for their deadly enemy Antiochus that his glory might sink into
dung and the worms?" Is it at all conceivable that a Maccabean
Jew, zealous for the law of his fathers, could imagine that the
celebrated ancient prophet Daniel would cherish so benevolent a
wish toward the heathen Nebuchadnezzar, in order that by such

[redacted] he might animate his contemporaries to stedfast per- [redacted] war against the ruthless tyrant Antiochus? [redacted] otal difference between the facts recorded in this chapter [redacted] e circumstances of the Maccabean times described in 1 Macc. [redacted] 12–48, as Kranichfeld has fully shown, precludes any one, as [redacted] e has correctly observed, "from speaking of a tendency delineated according to the original of the Maccabean times in the name of [redacted] n exegesis favourable to historical investigation." The efforts of a [redacted] ostile criticism will never succeed on scientific grounds in changing [redacted] e historical matters of fact recorded in this chapter into a fiction constructed with a tendency.

Chap. iii. 31 (iv. 1)–iv. 15 (18). *The preface to the king's edict, and the account of his dream.*

Ch. iii. 31–33 (iv. 1–3). These verses form the introduction[1] to the manifesto, and consist of the expression of good wishes, and the announcement of its object. The mode of address here used, accompanied by an expression of a good wish, is the usual form also of the edicts promulgated by the Persian kings; cf. Ezra iv. 17, vii. 12. Regarding the designation of his subjects, cf. ch. iii. 4. בְּכָל־אַרְעָא, not "in all lands" (Häv.), but *on the whole earth*, for Nebuchadnezzar regarded himself as the lord of the whole earth. אַתְיָא וְתִכְוְתְהָיָא corresponds with the Hebr. אוֹתֹת וּמֹפְתִים; cf. Deut. vi. 22, vii. 19. The experience of this miracle leads to the offering up of praise to God, ver. 33 (ch. iv. 3). The doxology of the second part of ver. 33 occurs again with little variation in ch. iv. 31 (34),

[1] The connection of these verses with the third chapter in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin Bibles is altogether improper. The originator of the division into chapters appears to have entertained the idea that Nebuchadnezzar had made known the miracle of the deliverance of the three men from the fiery furnace to his subjects by means of a proclamation, according to which the fourth chapter would contain a new royal proclamation different from that former one, — an idea which was rejected by Luther, who has accordingly properly divided the chapters. Conformably to that division, as Chr. B. Michaelis has well remarked, "*prius illud programma in fine capitis tertii excerptum caput sine corpore, posterius vero quod capite* IV. *exhibetur, corpus sine capite, illic enim conspicitur quidem exordium, sed sine narratione, hic vero narratio quidem, sed sine exordio.*" Quite arbitrarily Ewald has, according to the LXX., who have introduced the words Ἀρχὴ τῆς ἱστορίας before ch. iii. 31, and Ἔτους ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου τῆς βασιλείας Ναβουχοδονόσορ εἶπεν before ch. iv. 1, enlarged this passage by the superscription: "In the 28th year of the reign of king Nebuchadnezzar, king Nebuchadnezzar wrote thus to all the nations, communities, and tongues who dwell in the whole earth."

vii. 14, 18, and is met with also in Ps. cxlv. 13, which [illegible] name of David; while the rendering of עִם־דָּר וְדָר, *from* [illegible] *to generation*, *i.e.* as long as generations exist, agrees with Ps. [illegible]

With ch. iv. 1 (4) Nebuchadnezzar begins the narration of [illegible] wonderful experience. When he was at rest in his palace and prospering, he had a dream as he lay upon his bed which made him afraid and perplexed. שְׁלֵה, *quiet, in undisturbed, secure prosperity.* רַעֲנַן, properly *growing green*, of the fresh, vigorous growth of a tree, to which the happiness and prosperity of men are often compared; *e.g.* in Ps. lii. 10 (8), xcii. 11 (10). Here plainly the word is chosen with reference to the tree which had been seen in the dream. From this description of his prosperity it appears that after his victories Nebuchadnezzar enjoyed the fruit of his exploits, was firmly established on his throne, and, as appears from ver. 26 (29) f., a year after his dream could look with pleasure and pride on the completion of his splendid buildings in Babylon; and therefore this event belongs to the last half of his reign.

Ver. 2 (ch. iv. 5). While in this state of security and peace, he was alarmed by a dream. The abrupt manner in which the matter is here introduced well illustrates the unexpected suddenness of the event itself. הַרְהֹרִין, *thoughts*, from הַרְהֵר, *to think, to meditate*: in the Mishna and in Syr. *images of the imagination*; here, *images in a dream*. The words הַרְהֹרִין עַל מִשְׁכְּבִי are more properly taken as a passage by themselves with the verb, I had (I saw), supplied, than connected with the following [illegible] see under ch. ii. 28. On this matter Chr. [illegible]. Regarding חֲזוֹי רֵאשִׁי remarked: "*Licet somnii interpretationem nondum intelligeret, tamen sensit, infortunium sibi isthoc somnio portendi.*"

Ver. 3 f. (ch. iv. 6). Therefore Nebuchadnezzar commanded the wise men of Babylon (cf. ii. 2) to be called to him, that they might interpret to him the dream. But they could not do so, although on this occasion he only asked them to give the interpretation, and not, as in ch. ii. 2, at the same time the dream itself. Instead of the *Kethiv* עָלְלִין, the *Keri* here and at ch. v. 8 gives the contracted form עָלִין, which became possible only by the shortening of [illegible], as in חַשְׁחַן ch. iii. 16. The form אָחֳרִין is differently explained; apparently it must be the *plur. masc.* instead of אָחֳרָן, and עַד אָחֳרִין *to the last*, a circumlocution of the adverb *at last*. That אָחֳרִין means *posterus*, and אָחֳרָן *alius*, Hitzig has not yet furnished the proof. The question, wherefore Daniel came only when the Chaldean wise men could not interpret the dream, is

[illegible]ed satisfactorily by the remark of Zündel, p. 16, that [illegible] natural course that first they should be called who by [illegible] their wisdom should interpret the dream, and that then, [illegible] their wisdom had failed, Daniel should be called, who had [illegible]ned for himself a name by revelations not proceeding from the class of the Magi. For if Nebuchadnezzar had still the events of ch. ii. in view, he would without doubt have called him forthwith, since it certainly did not come into his mind, in his anxiety on account of his dream, first to try the natural wisdom of his Magi. The objection offered by Hitzig, that the king does not go at once to his chief magician, ver. 6 (9), who had already (ch. ii.) shown himself to be the best interpreter of dreams, is not thereby confuted; still less is it by the answer that the custom was not immediately to call the president of the Magi (Jahn), or that in the haste he was not at once thought of (Häv.). Though it may have been the custom not to call the chief president in every particular case, yet a dream by the king, which had filled him with terror, was an altogether unusual occurrence. If Daniel, therefore, was in this case first called only when the natural wisdom of the Magi had proved its inadequacy, the reason of this was, either that Nebuchadnezzar had forgotten what had occurred several years before (ch. ii.), and since the chief president of the wise men was only in special cases called on for counsel, therefore only the incorporated [illegible] cultivators of the magician which was asked of them was the chief president Daniel required to come,—or it lay in this, that the king [illegible] of receiving an unwelcome answer, purposely adopted [illegible] course indicated. Kranichfeld has decided in favour of [illegible] supposition. "The king," he thinks, "knew from the [illegible] the tree (ver. 8 [11]) reaching unto heaven and extending to the end of the whole earth represented a royal person ruling the earth, who would come to ruin *on account of the God of the Jews*, and would remain in his ruin till there was an acknowledgment of the Almighty; cf. vers. 13, 14 (16, 17). There was this reason for the king's keeping Daniel the *Jew* at a distance from this matter of the dream. Without doubt he would think himself intended by the person concerned in the dream; and since the [illegible] direction which the dream took (ver. 14) set forth, [illegible] natural point of departure an actual relation corresponding to [illegible] the king to the God of Daniel, it must have occasioned [illegible] grounded fear (cf. ver. [illegible]), as in the case of Ahab

the idolater, towards Micah, the prophet of Jehovah (cf. 1 Kings xxii. 8), of a severe judgment, leading him to treat with any other regarding his matter rather than with Daniel." For the establishment of this view Kranichfeld refers to the "king's subsequent address to Daniel, designed especially to appease and captivate (vers. 5, 6 [8, 9]), as well as the visibly mild and gentle deportment of the king toward the worshipper of the God of the Jews." This proceeding tending to captivate appears in the appellation, *Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, according to the name of my god;* for Nebuchadnezzar, by the addition of a name of honour in commemoration of the celebrated god of the kingdom, intended to show favour toward him, as also in the expression which follows, *In whom is the spirit of the holy gods*, which Nebuchadnezzar repeats in the address. But neither in the one nor the other of these considerations can we perceive the intention of specially captivating and appeasing the Jew Daniel;—not in the latter of these expressions, for two reasons: 1. because Nebuchadnezzar uses the expression not merely in the address to Daniel, but also in the references to him which go before; had he designed it to captivate him, he would have used these words of honour only in the address to him; 2. because the expression, "in whom is the spirit of the holy gods," is so truly heathenish, that the Jew, who knew only *one* God, could not feel himself specially flattered by having the spirit of the holy gods ascribed to him.

If Nebuchadnezzar had had the intention of gaining the favour of Daniel, he would certainly, according to his confession (ch. ii. 47), have attributed to him the spirit of the God of gods, the Lord of lords,—a confession which even as a heathen he could utter. We cannot give the king so little credit for understanding as to suppose that he meant to show[1] a special favour to Daniel, who held so firmly the confession of his father's God, by reminding him that he had given him the name Belteshazzar after the name of his god Bel, whom the Jews abhorred as an idol. Thus the reminding him of this name, as well as the saying that he possessed the spirit of the holy gods, is not accounted for by supposing that he intended to appease and captivate Daniel. In showing the unsatisfactoriness of this interpretation of these expressions, we have set aside also the explanation of the reason, which is based upon it, why Daniel was called in to the king only

[1] Calvin here rightly remarks: *non dubium est, quin hoc nomen graviter vulneraverit animum prophetæ.*

after the Chaldean wise men; and other weighty considerations can also be adduced against it. First, the edict contains certainly nothing which can give room to the conjecture that Nebuchadnezzar entertained no true confidence, but much rather want of confidence, in him. The comparison of Nebuchadnezzar also with king Ahab in his conduct toward the prophet Micah is not suitable, because Ahab was not a mere polytheist as Nebuchadnezzar, but much rather, like Antiochus Epiphanes, persecuted the servants of Jehovah in his kingdom, and at the instigation of his heathenish wife Jezebel wished to make the worship of Baal the only religion of his kingdom. Finally, the relation of the dream does not indicate that Nebuchadnezzar, if he knew or suspected that the dream referred to himself as ruler over the whole earth, thought that he would come to ruin because of the God of the Jews. For that this does not follow from ver. 14 (17), is shown not only by the divine visitation that happened to the king, as mentioned in ver. 27 (30) in fulfilment of the dream, but also by the exhortation to the king with which Daniel closes the interpretation, "to break off sin by righteousness, and his iniquities by showing mercy to the poor" (ver. 24 [27]).

Thus there only remains this supposition, that the former revelations of God to the king had passed away from his heart and his memory; which was not surprising in the successful founder and ruler of a world-kingdom, if we consider that from twenty-five to thirty years must have passed away since Daniel interpreted to him his dream in the second year of his reign, and from ten to fifteen had passed since the miracle of the deliverance of the three from the burning fiery furnace. But if those earlier revelations of God were obscured in his heart by the fulness of his prosperity, and for ten years Daniel had no occasion to show himself to him as a revealer of divine secrets, then it is not difficult to conceive how, amid the state of disquietude into which the dream recorded in this chapter had brought him, he only gave the command to summon all the wise men of Babylon without expressly mentioning their president, so that they came to him first, and Daniel was called only when the natural wisdom of the Chaldeans had shown itself helpless.

The naming of Daniel by his Hebrew name in the manifesto, intended for all the people of the kingdom as well as for the Jews, is simply intended, as in ch. ii. 29, to designate the interpreter of the dream, as distinguished from the native wise men of Babylon,

as a Jew, and at the same time as a worshipper of the most high God; and by the addition, "whose name is Belteshazzar, according to the name of my god," Nebuchadnezzar intends to indicate that Daniel by this name was brought into fellowship with his chief god Bel, and that not only as a worshipper of the God of the Jews, but also of the great god Bel, he had become a partaker of the spirit of the holy gods. But by the holy gods Nebuchadnezzar does not understand Jehovah, the Holy One, deriving this predicate "holy," as M. Geier says, *ex theologia Israëlitica*, and the plur. "gods" denoting, as Calovius supposes, the *mysterium pluralitatis personarum;* but he speaks of the holy gods, as Jerome, Calvin, and Grotius supposed, as a heathen (*ut idololatra*) in a polytheistic sense. For that the revelation of supernatural secrets belonged to the gods, and that the man who had this power must possess the spirit of the gods, all the heathen acknowledged. Thus Pharaoh (Gen. xli. 38) judged regarding Joseph, and thus also the Chaldeans say to Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. ii. 11) that only the gods could know his dream. The truth lying at the foundation of this belief was acknowledged by Joseph before Pharaoh, as also by Daniel before the Chaldean king, for both of them declared before the heathen kings that the interpretation of their dreams was not in the power of man, but could come only from God (Gen. xli. 16; Dan. ii. 28). But when in the case before us Nebuchadnezzar speaks of the *holy* gods, he means by the expression the ἀγαθοδαίμονες as opposed to the κακοδαίμονες, using the word *holy* of the good gods, probably from his conversation with Daniel on the subject.

In the address, ver. 6, he calls Belteshazzar רַב חַרְטֻמֵּיא, *master of the magicians*, probably from the special branch of Chaldean wisdom with which Daniel was particularly conversant, at the same time that he was chief president over all the magicians. אָנַס, to oppress, to compel any one, to do violence to him; here, *to make trouble, difficulty.*

Vers. 7–14 (10–17). Nebuchadnezzar in these verses tells his dream. The first part of ver. 7 is an absolute nominal sentence: *the visions of my head lying upon my bed, then I saw*, etc.—*A tree stood in the midst of the earth.* Although already very high, yet it became always the greater and the stronger, so that it reached even unto heaven and was visible to the ends of the earth. Ver. 8. The perf. רְבָה and תְּקִיף express not its condition, but its increasing greatness and strength. In the second hemistich the imperf. יִמְטָא,

as the form of the striving movement, corresponds to them. Ch. B. Michaelis properly remarks, that Nebuchadnezzar saw the tree gradually grow and become always the stronger. חֲזוֹת, *the sight, visibleness.* Its visibility reached unto the ends of the earth. The LXX. have correctly ἡ ὅρασις αὐτοῦ; so the Vulgate; while Theodotion, with τὸ κύτος αὐτοῦ, gives merely the sense, its *largeness*, or *dome.* Hitzig altogether improperly refers to the Arab. حوزة; for حوزة, from حوز, corresponds neither with the Hebr. חָזוֹה, nor does it mean *extent*, but *comprehension, embracing, enclosure*, according to which the meanings, *tractus, latus, regio*, given in the Arab. Lex., are to be estimated.

Ver. 9 (12). At the same time the tree abounded with leaves and fruit, so that birds and beasts found shadow, protection, and nourishment from it. שַׂגִּיא, neither *great* nor *many*, but *powerful*, expressing the quantity and the greatness of the fruit. The בֵּהּ the Masoretes have rightly connected with לְכֹלָּא, to which it is joined by Maqqeph. The meaning is not: food was in it, the tree had food for all (Häv., Maur., and others), but: (it had) *food for all in it, i.e.* dwelling within its district (Kran., Klief.). The words, besides, do not form an independent sentence, but are only a further view of the שַׂגִּיא (Kran.), and return in the end of the verse into further expansion, while the first and the second clauses of the second hemistich give the further expansion of the first clause in the verse. אַטְלַל, *umbram captavit, enjoyed the shadow;* in Targg. the Aphel has for the most part the meaning *obumbravit.* The *Kethiv* יְדִרִין is not to be changed, since the צִפְּרִין is *gen. comm.* The *Keri* is conform. to ver. 18*b*, where the word is construed as fem. The expression *all flesh* comprehends the beasts of the field and the fowls of heaven, but is chosen with reference to men represented under this image. For the tree, mighty, reaching even to the heavens, and visible over the whole earth, is an easily recognised symbol of a world-ruler whose power stretches itself over the whole earth. The description of the growth and of the greatness of the tree reminds us of the delineation of Pharaoh and his power under the figure of a mighty cedar of Lebanon, cf. Ezek. xxxi. 3 ff., also Ezek. xvii. 22 ff., xix. 10 ff. The comparison of the growth of men to the growth of the trees is very frequent in biblical and other writings.

Ver. 10 (13). By the words "I saw," etc., a new incident of the dream is introduced. "A watcher and an holy one came down from

heaven." וְקַדִּישׁ with the explic. ו, *even, and that too*, brings it before us in a very expressive way that the עִיר was an "holy one." עִיר is not to be combined with צִיר, a messenger, but is derived from עוּר, to watch, and corresponds with the Hebr. עֵר, Song v. 2, Mal. ii. 12, and signifies not keeping watch, but *being watchful*, one who is awake, as the scholium to the εἴρ of Theodotion in the Cod. Alex. explains it: ἐγρήγορος καὶ ἄγρυπνος. Similarly Jerome remarks: "*significat angelos, quod semper vigilent et ad Dei imperium sint parati.*" From this place is derived the name of ἐγρήγορος for the higher angels, who watch and slumber not, which is found in the book of Enoch and in other apocryphal writings, where it is used of good and of bad angels or demons. The designation of the angel as עִיר is peculiar to this passage in the O. T. This gives countenance to the conjecture that it is a word associated with the Chaldee doctrine of the gods. Kliefoth quite justly, indeed, remarks, that this designation does not come merely from the lips of Nebuchadnezzar, but is uttered also by the holy watcher himself (ver. 14), as well as by Daniel; and he draws thence the conclusion, that obviously the holy watcher himself used this expression first of himself and the whole council of his companions, that Nebuchadnezzar used the same expression after him (ver. 10), and that Daniel again adopted it from Nebuchadnezzar. Thence it follows that by the word angel we are not to understand a heathen deity; for as certainly as, according to this narrative, the dream was given to Nebuchadnezzar by God, so certainly was it a messenger of God who brought it. But from this it is not to be concluded that the name accords with the religious conceptions of Nebuchadnezzar and of the Babylonians. Regarding the Babylonian gods Diod. Sic. ii. 30, says: "Under the five planets (= gods) are ranked thirty others whom they call the counselling gods (θεοὶ βούλαιοι), the half of whom have the oversight of the regions under the earth, and the other half oversee that which goes on on the earth, and among men, and in heaven. Every ten days one of these is sent as a messenger of the stars from the upper to the lower, and at the same time also one from the lower to the upper regions."

If, according to ver. 14, the עִירִין constitute a deliberative council forming a resolution regarding the fate of men, and then one of these עִירִין comes down and makes known the resolution to the king, the conclusion is tenable that the עִירִין correspond to the θεοὶ βούλαιοι of the Babylonians. The divine inspiration of the dream corresponds with this idea. The correct thought lay at the

foundation of the Chaldean representation of the θεοὶ βούλαιοι, that the relation of God to the world was mediate through the instrumentality of heavenly beings. The biblical revelation recognises these mediating beings, and calls them messengers of God, or angels and holy ones. Yea, the Scripture speaks of the assembling of angels before the throne of God, in which assemblies God forms resolutions regarding the fate of men which the angels carry into execution; cf. Job i. 6 ff., 1 Kings xxii. 19 ff., Ps. lxxxix. 8 (7). Accordingly, if Nebuchadnezzar's dream came from God, we can regard the עִיר as an angel of God who belonged to the סוֹד קְדֹשִׁים around the throne of God (Ps. lxxxix. 8). But this angel announced himself to the Chaldean king not as a messenger of the most high God, not as an angel in the sense of Scripture, but he speaks (ver. 14) of גְּזֵרַת עִירִין, of a resolution of the watchers, a *fatum* of the θεοὶ βούλαιοι who have the oversight of this world. The conception גְּזֵרַת עִירִין is not biblical, but Babylonian heathen. According to the doctrine of Scripture, the angels do not determine the fate of men, but God alone does, around whom the angels stand as ministering spirits to fulfil His commands and make known His counsel to men. The angel designates to the Babylonian king the divine resolution regarding that judgment which would fall upon him from God to humble him for his pride as "the resolution of the watchers," that it might be announced to him in the way most easily understood by him as a divine judgment. On the other hand, one may not object that a messenger of God cannot give himself the name of a heathen deity, and that if Nebuchadnezzar had through misunderstanding given to the bringer of the dream the name of one of his heathen gods, Daniel ought, in interpreting the dream, to have corrected the misunderstanding, as Klief. says. For the messenger of God obviated this misunderstanding by the explanation that the matter was a decree of the watchers, to acknowledge the living God, that the Most High rules over the kingdom of men and gives it to whomsoever He will (ver. 14), whereby he distinctly enough announces himself as a messenger of the Most High, *i.e.* of the living God. To go yet further, and to instruct the king that his religious conceptions of the gods, the עִירִין, or θεοὶ βούλαιοι, were erroneous, inasmuch as, besides the Highest, the only God, there are no other gods, but only angels, who are no θεοί, but creatures of God, was not at all necessary for the purpose of his message. This purpose was only to lead Nebuchadnezzar to an acknowledgment of the Most High, *i.e.* to an acknowledgment that

the Most High rules as King of heaven over the kingdom of men. Now, since this was declared by the messenger of God, Daniel in interpreting the dream to the king needed to say nothing more than what he said in vers. 21, 22 (24, 25), where he designates the matter as a resolution of the Most High, and thereby indirectly corrects the view of the king regarding the "resolutions of the watchers," and gives the king distinctly to understand that the humiliation announced to him was determined,[1] not by the *θεοὶ βούλαιοι* of the Babylonians, but by the only true God, whom Daniel and his people worshipped. For Nebuchadnezzar designates עִיר as קַדִּישׁ in the same sense in which, in ver. 5, he speaks of the holy gods.

Ver. 11 (14). The messenger of God cried with might (cf. iii. 4), "as a sign of the strong, firm utterance of a purpose" (Kran.). The command, Hew it down, is not given to the angels (Häv., Hitz., Auberl.). The plur. here is to be regarded as impersonal: *the tree shall be cut down.* אַתְּרוּ stands for אַתְּרוּ according to the analogy of the verbs 3d *gutt.*, from נְתַר, *to fall off*, spoken of withering leaves. In consequence of the destruction of the tree, the beasts which found shelter under it and among its branches flee away. Yet the tree shall not be altogether destroyed, but its stock (ver. 12 [15]) shall remain in the earth, that it may again afterwards spring up and grow into a tree. The stem is not the royalty, the dynasty which shall remain in the house of Nebuchadnezzar (Häv.), but the tree with its roots is Nebuchadnezzar, who shall as king be cut down, but shall as a man remain, and again shall grow into a king. But the stock must be bound "with a band of iron and brass." With these words, to complete which we must supply שְׁבָקוּ from the preceding context, the language passes from the type to the person represented by it. This transition is in the last part of the verse: *with the beasts of the field let him have his portion in the grass of the earth;* for this cannot be said of the stock with the roots, therefore these words are in the interpretation also (ver. 22 [25]) applied directly to Nebuchad-

[1] We must altogether reject the assertion of Berth., v. Leng., Hitz., and Maur., that the language of this verse regarding the angel sent to Nebuchadnezzar is formed in accordance with the Persian representation of the seven Amschaspands (*Amēscha-çpenta*), since, according to the judgment of all those most deeply conversant with Parsism, the doctrine of the *Amēscha-çpenta* does not at all occur in the oldest parts of the Avesta, and the Avesta altogether is not so old as that the Babylonian doctrine of the gods can be shown to be dependent on the Zend doctrine of the Parsees.

nezzar. But even in the preceding passages this transition is not doubtful. Neither the words *in the grass of the field*, nor the *being wet with the dew of heaven*, are suitable as applied to the stock of the tree, because both expressions in that case would affirm nothing; still less is *the band of iron and brass* congruous, for the trunk of a tree is not wont to be surrounded with bands of iron in order to prevent its being rent in pieces and completely destroyed. Thus the words refer certainly to Nebuchadnezzar; but the fastening in brass and iron is not, with Jerome and others, to be understood of the binding of the madman with chains, but figuratively or spiritually of the withdrawal of free self-determination through the fetter of madness; cf. the *fetters of affliction*, Ps. cvii. 10, Job xxxvi. 8. With this fettering also agrees the going forth under the open heaven among the grass of the field, and the being wet with the dew of heaven, without our needing thereby to think of the maniac as wandering about without any oversight over him.

Ver. 13 (16). Here the angel declares by what means Nebuchadnezzar shall be brought into this condition. His heart shall be changed from a man's heart, according to the following passage, into the heart of a beast. שְׁנָא מִן, *to change, to make different from*, so that it is no longer what it was. The *Kethiv* אֲנוֹשָׁא is the Hebr. form for the Chald. אֲנָשָׁא of the *Keri*, here, as in ver. 14, where along with it also stands the Hebr. plur. form אֲנָשִׁים. אֲנוֹשָׁא stands here for the abbreviated comparison frequent in Hebr., מִן לְבַב אֲנוֹשָׁא, and the 3d *pers. plur.* יִשְׁנוֹן impers. for the passive. לֵבָב is *the heart*, the centre of the intelligent soul-life. The heart of man is dehumanized when his soul becomes like that of a beast; for the difference between the heart of a man and that of a beast has its foundation in the difference between the soul of a man and the soul of a beast (Delitzsch, *bibl. Psych.* p. 252). *And seven times shall pass over him*, viz. during the continuance of the circumstances described; *i.e.* his condition of bondage shall last for seven times. Following the example of the LXX. and of Josephus, many ancient and recent interpreters, down to Maur., Hitz., and Kran., understood by the word עִדָּנִין *years*, because the *times* in ch. vii. 25, xii. 7, are also years, and because in ver. 26 mention is made of twelve months, and thereby the *time* is defined as one year. But from ver. 26 the duration of the עִדָּנִין cannot at all be concluded, and in ch. vii. 25 and xii. 7 the *times* are not years. עִדָּן designates generally a definite period of time, whose length or

duration may be very different. Seven is the "measure and signature of the history of the development of the kingdom of God, and of all the factors and phenomena significant for it" (Lämmert's "Revision of the biblical Symbolical Numbers" in the *Jahrbb. f. deutsche Theol.* ix. p. 11), or as Leyrer, in Herzog's *Realencykl.* xviii. p. 366, expresses himself, "the signature for all the actions of God, in judgment and in mercy, punishments, expiations, consecrations, blessings, connected with the economy of redemption, perfecting themselves in time." Accordingly, "seven times" is the duration of the divine punishment which was decreed against Nebuchadnezzar for purposes connected with the history of redemption. Whether these times are to be understood as years, months, or weeks, is not said, and cannot at all be determined. The supposition that they were seven years "cannot well be adopted in opposition to the circumstance that Nebuchadnezzar was again restored to reason, a thing which very rarely occurs after so long a continuance of psychical disease;" (J. B. Friedreich, *Zur Bibel. Naturhist., anthrop. u. med. Fragmente*, i. p. 316).

Ver. 14 (17). The divine messenger concludes his announcement with the words that the matter was unchangeably decreed, for this purpose, that men might be led to recognise the supremacy of the Most High over the kings of the earth. The first two passages have no verb, and thus the *verb. substant.* must be supplied. Accordingly we must not translate: *by the decree of the watchers is the message, i.e.* is it delivered (Kran.), nor: *the decree is included in the fate, the unalterable will of Heaven* (Häv.); but בְּ denotes the department within which the גְּזֵרָה lies, and is to be translated: "*the message consists in*, or *rests on, the decree of the watchers.*" גְּזֵרָה, *the unchangeable decision*, the *decretum divinum, quod homini aut rebus humanis tanquam inevitabile impositum est* (Buxtorf's *Lex. talm. rabb.* p. 419), the *Fatum* in which the Chaldeans believed. Regarding פִּתְגָם see under ch. iii. 16. Here the fundamental meaning, *the message, that which is to happen*, can be maintained. The second member is synonymous, and affirms the same thing in another way. The word, the utterance of the holy ones, *i.e.* the watchers (see under ver. 10), is שְׁאֵלְתָּא, *the matter.* The meaning lying in the etymon, *request* or *question*, is not here suitable, but only the derivative meaning, *matter* as the object of the request or inquiry. The thing meant is that which is decided regarding the tree, that it should be cut down, etc.

This is so clear, that a pronoun referring to it appears superfluous.

עַד דְּבָרַת דִּי, *till the matter that . . . to the end that;* not = עַד דִּי, ver. 22, because here no defining of time goes before. The changing of עַד into עַל (Hitz.) is unnecessary and arbitrary. *That the living may know, etc.* The expression is general, because it is not yet said who is to be understood by the tree which should be cut down. This general expression is in reality correct; for the king comes by experience to this knowledge, and so all will attain to it who consider this. The two last passages of ver. 14 express more fully how the Most High manifests His supremacy over the kingdom of men. The *Kethiv* עליה is shortened from עֲלֵיהָא, and in the *Keri* is yet further shortened by the rejection of the י; cf. ch. v. 21, vii. 4 ff., etc.

Ver. 15 (18). Nebuchadnezzar adds to his communication of his dream a command to Daniel to interpret it. The form פְּשַׁרָא (*its interpretation*) is the old orthography and the softened form for פְּשַׁרֵהּ (cf. ver. 6).

Vers. 16–24 (19–27). *The interpretation of the dream.*

As Daniel at once understood the interpretation of the dream, he was for a moment so astonished that he could not speak for terror at the thoughts which moved his soul. This amazement seized him because he wished well to the king, and yet he must now announce to him a weighty judgment from God.

Ver. 16: The punctuation אֶשְׁתּוֹמֵם for אִשְׁתּוֹמֵם is Syriac, as in the Hebr. ch. viii. 27; cf. Winer's *Chald. Gram.* § 25, 2. כְּשָׁעָה חֲדָא means, not *about an hour* (Mich., Hitz., Kran., etc.), but *as it were an instant, a moment.* Regarding שָׁעָה, see under ch. iii. 6. The king perceives the astonishment of Daniel, and remarks that he has found the interpretation. Therefore he asks him, with friendly address, to tell him it without reserve. Daniel then communicates it in words of affectionate interest for the welfare of the king. The words, *let the dream be to thine enemies,* etc., do not mean: *it is a dream, a prophecy, such as the enemies of the king might ungraciously wish* (Klief.), but: *may the dream with its interpretation be to thine enemies, may it be fulfilled to them* or *refer to them* (Häv., Hitz., etc.). The *Kethiv* מָרְאִי is the regular formation from מָרֵא with the suffix, for which the Masoretes have substituted the later Talmudic-Targ. form מָרִי. With regard to שַׂנְאָיִךְ with the *a* shortened, as also הַשְׁחִין (ch. iii. 16) and other participial forms,

cf. Winer, *Chald. Gram.* § 34, III. That Nebuchadnezzar (ver. 16) in his account speaks in the third person does not justify the conclusion, either that another spake of him, and that thus the document is not genuine (Hitz.), nor yet the conclusion that this verse includes an historical notice introduced as an interpolation into the document; for similar forms of expression are often found in such documents: cf. Ezra vii. 13–15, Esth. viii. 7, 8.

Ver. 17 (20). Daniel interprets to the king his dream, repeating only here and there in an abbreviated form the substance of it in the same words, and then declares its reference to the king. With vers. 17 (20) and 18 (21) cf. vers. 8 (11) and 9 (12). The fuller description of the tree is subordinated to the relative clause, *which thou hast seen*, so that the subject is connected by הוּא (ver. 19), representing the *verb. subst.*, according to rule, with the predicate אִילָנָא. The interpretation of the separate statements regarding the tree is also subordinated in relative clauses to the subject. For the *Kethiv* רְבִיַּת = רְבִיָּתִ, the *Keri* gives the shortened form רְבַת, with the elision of the third radical, analogous to the shortening of the following מְטַת for מְטָת. To the call of the angel to "cut down the tree," etc. (ver. 20, cf. vers. 10–13), Daniel gives the interpretation, ver. 21, "This is the decree of the Most High which is come upon the king, that he shall be driven from men, and dwell among the beasts," etc. מְטָא עַל = Hebr. בּוֹא עַל. The indefinite plur. form מְרַדִּין stands instead of the passive, as the following יִמְעַמוּן לָךְ and מְצַבְּעִין, cf. under ch. iii. 4. Thus the subject remains altogether indefinite, and one has neither to think on men who will drive him from their society, etc., nor of angels, of whom, perhaps, the expulsion of the king may be predicated, but scarcely the feeding on grass and being wet with dew.

Ver. 23 (26). In this verse the emblem and its interpretation are simply placed together, so that we must in thought repeat the דִּנָה פִּשְׁרָא from ver. 21 before מַלְכוּתָךְ. קָאֵם, קַיָּמָא do not in this place mean *to stand, to exist, to remain*, for this does not agree with the following מִן־דִּי; for until Nebuchadnezzar comes to the knowledge of the supremacy of God, his dominion shall not continue, but rest, be withdrawn. קוּם, *to rise up*, has here an inchoative meaning, *again rise up*. To שַׁלִּיטִין (*do rule*) there is to be added from ver. 22 (25) the clause, *over the kingdom of men*. From this passage we have an explanation of the use of שְׁמַיָּא, *heaven*, for עִלָּיָא, *the Most High, God of heaven*, whence after-

wards arose the use of *βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν* for *βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ*.

Ver. 24 (27). Daniel adds to his interpretation of the dream the warning to the king to break off his sins by righteousness and mercy, so that his tranquillity may be lengthened. Daniel knew nothing of a heathen *Fatum*, but he knew that the judgments of God were directed against men according to their conduct, and that punishment threatened could only be averted by repentance; cf. Jer. xviii. 7 ff.; Jonah iii. 5 ff.; Isa. xxxviii. 1 f. This way of turning aside the threatened judgment stood open also for Nebuchadnezzar, particularly as the time of the fulfilment of the dream was not fixed, and thus a space was left for repentance. The counsel of Daniel is interpreted by Berth., Hitz., and others, after Theodotion, the Vulgate, and many Church Fathers and Rabbis, as teaching the doctrine of holiness by works held by the later Jews; for they translate it: *redeem thy sins by well-doing* (Hitz.: *buy freedom from thy sins by alms*), *and thy transgressions by showing mercy to the poor*.[1] But this translation of the first passage is verbally false; for פְּרַק does not mean *to redeem, to ransom*, and צְדָקָה does not mean *alms* or *charity*. פְּרַק means to *break off, to break in pieces*, hence *to separate, to disjoin, to put at a distance*; see under Gen. xxi. 40. And though in the Targg. פרק is used for נָאַל, פָּדָה, *to loosen, to unbind*, of redeeming, ransoming of the first-born, an inheritance or any other valuable possession, yet this use of the word by no means accords with sins as the object, because sins are not goods which one redeems or ransoms so as to retain them for his own use. פְּרַק חֲטָי can only mean *to throw away sins, to set one's self free from sins*. צְדָקָה nowhere in the O. T. means *well-doing* or *alms*. This meaning the self-righteous Rabbis first gave to the word in their writings. Daniel recommends the king to practise righteousness as the chief virtue of a ruler in contrast to the unrighteousness of the despots, as Hgstb., Häv., Hofm., and Klief. have justly observed. To this also the second member of the verse corresponds. As the king should practise righteousness toward all his subjects, so should he exercise mercy

[1] Theodot. translates: *καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου ἐν ἐλεημοσύναις λύτρωσαι, καὶ τὰς ἀδικίας σου ἐν οἰκτιρμοῖς πενήτων.* The Vulg.: *et peccata tua eleemosynis redime et iniquitates tuas misericordiis pauperum.* Accordingly, the Catholic Church regards this passage as a *locus classicus* for the doctrine of the merit of works, against which the *Apologia Conf. August.* first set forth the right exposition.

toward the oppressed, the miserable, the poor. Both of these virtues are frequently named together, *e.g.* Isa. xi. 4, Ps. lxxii. 4, Isa. xli. 2, as virtues of the Messiah. חֲטָיָךְ is the plur. of חֵטְי, as the parallel עֲוֵיתָךְ shows, and the *Keri* only the later abbreviation or defective suffix-formation, as ch. ii. 4, v. 10.

The last clause of this verse is altogether misunderstood by Theodotion, who translates it ἴσως ἔσται μακρόθυμος τοῖς παραπτώμασίν σου ὁ Θεός, and by the Vulgate, where it is rendered by *forsitan ignoscet delictis tuis*, and by many older interpreters, where they expound אַרְכָא in the sense of אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם, *patience*, and derive שְׁלֵוְתָךְ from שְׁלָה, *to fail, to go astray* (cf. ch. iii. 29). אַרְכָא means *continuance*, or *length of time*, as ch. vii. 12; שְׁלָוְא, *rest, safety*, as the Hebr. שַׁלְוָה, here *the peaceful prosperity of life;* and הֵן, neither *ecce* nor *forsitan, si forte*, but simply *if*, as always in the book of Daniel.

Daniel places before the king, as the condition of the continuance of prosperity of life, and thereby *implicite* of the averting of the threatened punishment, reformation of life, the giving up of injustice and cruelty towards the poor, and the practice of righteousness and mercy.

Vers. 25–30 (28–33). *The fulfilling of the dream.*

Nebuchadnezzar narrates the fulfilment of the dream altogether objectively, so that he speaks of himself in the third person. Berth., Hitz., and others find here that the author falls out of the role of the king into the narrative tone, and thus betrays the fact that some other than the king framed the edict. But this conclusion is opposed by the fact that Nebuchadnezzar from ver. 31 speaks of his recovery again in the first person. Thus it is beyond doubt that the change of person has its reason in the matter itself. Certainly it could not be in this that Nebuchadnezzar thought it unbecoming to speak in his own person of his madness; for if he had had so tender a regard for his own person, he would not have published the whole occurrence in a manifesto addressed to his subjects. But the reason of his speaking of his madness in the third person, as if some other one were narrating it, lies simply in this, that in that condition he was not *Ich = Ego* (Kliefoth). With the return of the *Ich, I*, on his recovery from his madness, Nebuchadnezzar begins again to narrate in the first person (ver. 31 [34]).

Ver. 25 (28). In this verse there is a brief comprehensive

statement regarding the fulfilment of the dream to the king, which is then extended from ver. 26 to 30. At the end of twelve months, *i.e.* after the expiry of twelve months from the time of the dream, the king betook himself to his palace at Babylon, *i.e.* to the flat roof of the palace; cf. 2 Sam. xi. 2. The addition *at Babylon* does not indicate that the king was then living at a distance from Babylon, as Berth., v. Leng., Maur., and others imagine, but is altogether suitable to the matter, because Nebuchadnezzar certainly had palaces outside of Babylon, but it is made with special reference to the language of the king which follows regarding the greatness of Babylon. עָנָה means here not simply *to begin to speak*, but properly *to answer*, and suggests to us a foregoing colloquy of the king with himself in his own mind. Whether one may conclude from that, in connection with the statement of time, *after twelve months*, that Nebuchadnezzar, exactly one year after he had received the important dream, was actively engaging himself regarding that dream, must remain undetermined, and can be of no use to a psychological explanation of the occurrence of the dream. The thoughts which Nebuchadnezzar expresses in ver. 26 (29) are not favourable to such a supposition. Had the king remembered that dream and its interpretation, he would scarcely have spoken so proudly of his splendid city which he had built as he does in ver. 27 (30).

When he surveyed the great and magnificent city from the top of his palace, "pride overcame him," so that he dedicated the building of this great city as the house of his kingdom to the might of his power and the honour of his majesty. From the addition רַבְּתָא it does not follow that this predicate was a standing *Epitheton ornans* of Babylon, as with חֲמָת רַבָּה, Amos vi. 2, and other towns of Asia; for although Pausanias and Strabo call Babylon μεγάλη and μεγίστη πόλις, yet it bears this designation as a surname in no ancient author. But in Rev. xiv. 8 this predicate, quoted from the passage before us, is given to Babylon, and in the mouth of Nebuchadnezzar it quite corresponds to the self-praise of his great might by which he had built Babylon as the residence of a great king. בְּנָה designates, as בִּנְיָה more frequently, not *the building* or *founding of a city*, for the founding of Babylon took place in the earliest times after the Flood (Gen. xi.), and was dedicated to the god Belus, or the mythic Semiramis, *i.e.* in the pre-historic time; but בִּנְיָה means *the building up, the enlargement, the adorning* of the city לְבֵית מַלְכוּ, *for the house of the kingdom, i.e.* for a royal resi-

dence; cf. the related expression בֵּית מַמְלָכָה, Amos vii. 13. בֵּית stands in this connection neither for *town* nor for הֵיכָל (ver. 26), but has the meaning *dwelling-place*. The royalty of the Babylonian kingdom has its dwelling-place, its seat, in Babylon, the capital of the kingdom.

With reference to the great buildings of Nebuchadnezzar in Babylon, *vide* the statements of Berosus in Josephi *Ant.* x. 11, 1, and *con. Ap.* i. 19, and of Abydenus in Eusebii *præpar. evang.* ix. 41, and *Chron.* i. p. 59; also the delineation of these buildings in Duncker's *Gesch. des Alterth.* i. p. 854 ff. The presumption of this language appears in the words, "by the strength of my might, and for the splendour (honour) of my majesty." Thus Nebuchadnezzar describes himself as the creator of his kingdom and of its glory, while the building up of his capital as a residence bearing witness to his glory and his might pointed at the same time to the duration of his dynasty. This proud utterance is immediately followed by his humiliation by the omnipotent God. A voice fell from heaven. נָפַל as in Isa. ix. 7, of the sudden coming of a divine revelation. אָמְרִין for the passive, as ch. iii. 4. The perf. עָדַת denotes the matter as finished. At the moment when Nebuchadnezzar heard in his soul the voice from heaven, the prophecy begins to be fulfilled, the king becomes deranged, and is deprived of his royalty.

Vers. 29, 30 (32, 33). Here the contents of the prophecy, ver. 22 (25), are repeated, and then in ver. 30 (33) it is stated that the word regarding Nebuchadnezzar immediately began to be fulfilled. On בֵּהּ שַׁעֲתָא, cf. ch. iii. 6. סָפַת, from סוּף, *to go to an end*. The prophecy goes to an end when it is realized, is fulfilled. The fulfilling is related in the words of the prophecy. Nebuchadnezzar is driven from among men, viz. by his madness, in which he fled from intercourse with men, and lived under the open air of heaven as a beast among the beasts, eating grass like the cattle; and his person was so neglected, that his hair became like the eagles' feathers and his nails like birds' claws. כְּנִשְׁרִין and כְּצִפָּרִין are abbreviated comparisons; *vide* under ver. 13. That this condition was a peculiar appearance of the madness is expressly mentioned in ver. 31 (34), where the recovery is designated as the restoration of his understanding.

This malady, in which men regard themselves as beasts and imitate their manner of life, is called *insania zoanthropica*, or, in the case of those who think themselves wolves, *lycanthropia*. The

condition is described in a manner true to nature. Even "as to the eating of grass," as G. Rösch, in the *Deutsch. Morgenl. Zeitschr.* xv. p. 521, remarks, "there is nothing to perplex or that needs to be explained. It is a circumstance that has occurred in recent times, as *e.g.* in the case of a woman in the Württemberg asylum for the insane." Historical documents regarding this form of madness have been collected by Trusen in his *Sitten, Gebr. u. Krank. der alten Hebräer*, p. 205 f., 2d ed., and by Friedreich in *Zur Bibel*, i. p. 308 f.[1]

Vers. 31–34 (34–37). *Nebuchadnezzar's recovery, his restoration to his kingdom, and his thankful recognition of the Lord in heaven.*

The second part of the prophecy was also fulfilled. "At the end of the days," *i.e.* after the expiry of the seven times, Nebuchadnezzar lifted up his eyes to heaven,—the first sign of the return of human consciousness, from which, however, we are not to conclude, with Hitzig, that before this, in his madness, he went on all-fours like an ox. Nebuchadnezzar means in these words only to say that his first thought was a look to heaven, whence help came to him; cf. Ps. cxxiii. 1 f. Then his understanding immediately returned to him. The first thought he entertained was to thank God, to praise Him as the ever-living One, and to recognise the eternity of His sway. Nebuchadnezzar acknowledges and praises God as the "ever-living One," because He had again given to him his life, which had been lost in his madness; cf. ch. vi. 27 (26).

Ver. 31*b*, cf. with ch. iii. 33 (iv. 1). The eternity of the supremacy of God includes His omnipotence as opposed to the weakness of the inhabitants of earth. This eternity Nebuchadnezzar praises in ver. 32 (35) in words which remind us of the expressions of Isaiah; cf. with the first half of the verse, Isa. xl. 17, xxiv. 21; and with the second half of it, Isa. xliii. 13. כְּלָה for כְּלָא, *as not, as not existing.* מְחָא בִידָה in the Pa., *to strike on the hand, to hinder*, derived from the custom of striking children on the hand in chas-

[1] Regarding the statement, "his hair grew as the feathers of an eagle," etc., Friedr. remarks, p. 316, that, besides the neglect of the external appearance, there is also to be observed the circumstance that sometimes in psychical maladies the nails assume a peculiarly monstrous luxuriance with deformity. Besides, his remaining for a long time in the open air is to be considered, "for it is an actual experience that the hair, the more it is exposed to the influences of the rough weather and to the sun's rays, the more does it grow in hardness, and thus becomes like unto the feathers of an eagle."

tising them. The expression is common in the Targg. and in the Arabic.

Ver. 33 (36). With the restoration of his understanding Nebuchadnezzar also regained his royal dignity and his throne. In order to intimate the inward connection between the return of reason and the restoration to his sovereignty, in this verse the first element of his restoration is repeated from ver. 31 (34), and the second follows in connection with it in the simple manner of Semitic narrative, for which we in German (and English) use the closer connection: "when my understanding returned, then also my royal state and my glory returned." The passage beginning with וְלִיקַר is construed very differently by interpreters. Many co-ordinate לִיקַר מַלְכוּתִי with הַדְרִי וְזִיוִי, and then regard לִיקַר either as the nominative, "and then my kingly greatness, my glory and splendour, came to me again" (Hitzig), or unite הַדְרִי וְזִיוִי as the genitive with מַלְכוּתִי: "and for the honour of my royalty, of my fame and my glory, it (my understanding) returned to me again" (v. Leng., Maur., Klief.). The first of these interpretations is grammatically inadmissible, since לְ cannot be a sign of the genitive; the other is unnecessarily artificial. We agree with Rosenmüller and Kranichfeld in regarding הַדְרִי וְזִיוִי as the subject of the passage. הֲדַר [*splendour, pomp*] is the majestic appearance of the prince, which according to Oriental modes of conception showed itself in splendid dress; cf. Ps. cx. 3, xxix. 2, xcvi. 9; 2 Chron. xx. 21. זִיו, *splendour* (ch. ii. 31), is the shining colour or freshness of the appearance, which is lost by terror, anxiety, or illness, as in ch. v. 6, 9, 10, vii. 28. לִיקַר as in ver. 27. In how far the return of the external dignified *habitus* was conducive to the honour of royalty, the king most fully shows in the second half of the verse, where he says that his counsellors again established him in his kingdom. The בְּעָא, *to seek*, does not naturally indicate that the king was suffered, during the period of his insanity, to wander about in the fields and forests without any supervision, as Bertholdt and Hitzig think; but it denotes the seeking for one towards whom a commission has to be discharged, as ch. ii. 13; thus, here, the seeking in order that they might transfer to him again the government. The "counsellors and great men" are those who had carried on the government during his insanity. הֻתְקְנַת, on account of the *accent. distinct.*, is Ḥophal pointed with Patach instead of Tsere, as the following הוֹסְפַת. If Nebuchadnezzar, after his restoration to the kingdom, attained to yet more רִבּוּ, *greatness*, than he had before, so

he must have reigned yet a considerable time without our needing to suppose that he accomplished also great deeds.

Ver. 34 (37). The manifesto closes with praise to God, the King of heaven, whose works are truth and righteousness, which show themselves in humbling the proud. קְשׁוֹט corresponds to the Hebr. אֱמֶת, and דִּין to the Hebr. מִשְׁפָּט. Nebuchadnezzar thus recognised the humiliation which he had experienced as a righteous punishment for his pride, without, however, being mindful of the divine grace which had been shown in mercy toward him; whence Calvin has drawn the conclusion that he was not brought to true heart-repentance.

CHAP. V. BELSHAZZAR'S FEAST AND THE HANDWRITING OF GOD.

The Chaldean king Belshazzar made a feast to his chief officers, at which in drunken arrogance, by a desecration of the sacred vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had carried away from the temple at Jerusalem, he derided the God of Israel (vers. 1–4). Then he suddenly saw the finger of a hand writing on the wall of the guest-chamber, at which he was agitated by violent terror, and commanded that the wise men should be sent for, that they might read and interpret to him the writing; and when they were not able to do this, he became pale with alarm (vers. 5–9). Then the queen informed him of Daniel, who would be able to interpret the writing (vers. 10–12). Daniel, being immediately brought in, declared himself ready to read and interpret the writing; but first he reminded the king of his sin in that he did not take warning from the divine chastisement which had visited king Nebuchadnezzar (ch. iv.), but offended the Most High God by desecrating the holy vessels of His temple (vers. 13, 14). He then interpreted to him the writing, showing the king that God had announced to him by means of it the end of his reign, and the transference of the kingdom to the Medes and Persians (vers. 25–28). Daniel was thereupon raised to honour by Belshazzar, who was, however, in that same night put to death (vers. 29, 30).

This narrative presents historical difficulties, for a Chaldean king by the name of Belshazzar is nowhere else mentioned, except in the passage in Baruch i. 11 f., which is dependent on this chapter of Daniel; and the judgment here announced to him, the occurrence of which is in part mentioned in ver. 30, and in part

set forth in ch. vi. 1 (v. 31), does not appear to harmonize with the extra-biblical information which we have regarding the destruction of the Chaldean kingdom.

If we consider closely the contents of this chapter, it appears that Belshazzar, designated in ver. 30 as king of the Chaldeans, is not only in ver. 22 addressed by Daniel as Nebuchadnezzar's son, but in vers. 11, 13, and 18 is also manifestly represented in the same character, for the queen-mother (ver. 11), Belshazzar himself (ver. 13), and Daniel (ver. 18) call Nebuchadnezzar his אָב, *father*. If now אָב and בַּר do not always express the special relation of father and son, but אָב is used in a wider sense of a grandfather and of yet more remote ancestors, and בַּר of grandsons and other descendants, yet this wider interpretation and conception of the words is from the matter of the statements here made highly improbable, or indeed directly excluded, inasmuch as the queen-mother speaks of things which she had experienced, and Daniel said to Belshazzar (ver. 22) that he knew the chastisement which Nebuchadnezzar had suffered from God in the madness that had come upon him, but had not regarded it. In that case the announcement of the judgment threatening Belshazzar and his kingdom (vers. 24–28), when compared with its partial fulfilment in Belshazzar's death (ver. 30), appears to indicate that his death, together with the destruction of the Chaldean kingdom and its transference to the Medes and Persians (ch. vi. 1 [v. 31]), occurred at the same time. Nevertheless this indication, as has already been remarked (p. 37), appears to have more plausibility than truth, since neither the combination of the two events in their announcement, nor their union in the statement of their fulfilment, by means of the copula וְ in ch. vi. 1, affords conclusive proof of their being contemporaneous. Since only the time of Belshazzar's death is given (ver. 30), but the transference of the Chaldean kingdom to the Median Darius (ch. vi. 1) is not chronologically defined, then we may without hesitation grant that the latter event did not happen till some considerable time after the death of Belshazzar, in case other reasons demand this supposition. For, leaving out of view the announcement of the judgment, the narrative contains not the least hint that, at the time when Belshazzar revelled with his lords and his concubines, the city of Babylon was besieged by enemies. "Belshazzar (vers. 1–4) is altogether without care, which he could not have been if the enemy had gathered before the gates. The handwriting announcing evil appears out of harmony with

the circumstances (ver. 5), while it would have had a connection with them if the city had been beleaguered. Belshazzar did not believe (ver. 29) that the threatened end was near, which would not have been in harmony with a state of siege. All these circumstances are not to be explained from the light-mindedness of Belshazzar, but they may be by the supposition that his death was the result of an insurrection, unexpected by himself and by all." Kliefoth, p. 148.

Now let us compare with this review of the chapter the non-biblical reports regarding the end of the Babylonian monarchy. Berosus, in a fragment preserved by Josephus, *c. Ap.* i. 20, says that "Nebuchadnezzar was succeeded in the kingdom by his son Evilmerodach, who reigned badly (*προστὰς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνόμως καὶ ἀσελγῶς*), and was put to death (*ἀνηρέθη*) by Neriglissor, the husband of his sister, after he had reigned two years. This Neriglissor succeeded him, and reigned four years. His son Laborosoarchod, being still a child (*παῖς ὤν*), reigned after him nine months, and was murdered by his friends (*διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἐμφαίνειν κακόηθη ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀπετυμπανίσθη*), because he gave many proofs of a bad character. His murderers by a general resolution transferred the government to Nabonnedus, one of the Babylonians who belonged to the conspirators. Under him the walls of Babylon along the river-banks were better built. But in the seventeenth year of his reign Cyrus came from Persia with a great army and took Babylon, after he had subjugated all the rest of Asia. Nabonnedus went out to encounter him, but was vanquished in battle, and fled with a few followers and shut himself up in Borsippa. But Cyrus, after he had taken Babylon and demolished its walls, marched against Borsippa and besieged Nabonnedus. But Nabonnedus could not hold out, and therefore surrendered himself. He was at first treated humanely by Cyrus, who removed him from Babylon, and gave him Carmania as a place of residence (*δοὺς οἰκητήριον αὐτῷ Καρμανίαν*), where he spent the remainder of his days and died."

Abydenus, in a shorter fragment preserved by Eusebius in the *Præpar. Ev.* ix. 41, and in the *Chron. Armen.* p. 60 sq., makes the same statements. Petermann's translation of the fragment found in Niebuhr's *Gesch. Assurs*, p. 504, is as follows:—"There now reigned (after Nebuchodrossor) his son Amilmarodokos, whom his son-in-law Niglisaris immediately murdered, whose only son Labossorakos remained yet alive; but it happened to him also that he

met a violent death. He commanded that Nabonedokhos should be placed on the throne of the kingdom, a person who was altogether unfit to occupy it." (In the *Præpar. Evang.* this passage is given in these words: *Ναβοννίδοχον ἀποδείκνυσι βασιλέα, προσήκοντα οἱ οὐδέν.*) "Cyrus, after he had taken possession of Babylon, appointed him margrave of the country of Carmania. Darius the king removed him out of the land." (This last passage is wanting in the *Præp. Ev.*)[1]

According to these reports, there reigned in Babylon after Nebuchadnezzar four other kings, among whom there was no one called Belshazzar, and only one son of Nebuchadnezzar, viz. Evilmerodach; for Neriglissar is son-in-law and Laborosoarchod is grandson (daughter's son) of Nebuchadnezzar, and Nabonnedus was not at all related to him, nor of royal descent. Of these kings, only Evilmerodach and Laborosoarchod were put to death, while on the contrary Neriglissar and Nabonnedus died a natural death, and the Babylonian dominion passed by conquest to the Medes, without Nabonnedus thereby losing his life. Hence it follows,

[1] With these statements that of Alexander Polyhistor, in Euseb. *Chron. Armen.* ed. Aucher, i. p. 45, in the main agrees. His report, according to Petermann's translation (as above, p. 497), is as follows:—"After Nebuchodrossor, his son Amilmarudokhos reigned 12 years, whom the Hebr. hist. calls Ilmarudokhos. After him there reigned over the Chaldeans Neglisaros 4 years, and then Nabodenus 17 years, under whom Cyrus (son) of Cambyses assembled an army against the land of the Babylonians. Nabodenus opposed him, but was overcome and put to flight. Cyrus now reigned over Babylon 9 years," etc. The 12 years of Amilmarudokhos are without doubt an error of the Armenian translator or of some transcriber; and the omission of Loborosoarchod is explained by the circumstance that he did not reign a full year. The correctness of the statement of Berosus is confirmed by the Canon of Ptolemy, who names as successors of Nabokolassar (*i.e.* Nebuchadnezzar, who reigned 43 years), Illoarudmos 2 years, Nerigassolassaros 4 years, and Nabonadius 17 years; thus omitting Laborosoarchod on the grounds previously mentioned. The number of the years of the reigns mentioned by Berosus agrees with the biblical statements regarding the duration of the exile. From the first taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in the fourth year of Jehoiakim are mentioned—Jehoiakim 7 years, Jehoiachin 3 months, and his imprisonment 37 years (Jer. lii. 31), Evilmerodach 2 years, Neriglissar 4 years, Laborosoarchod 9 months, and Nabonnedus 17 years—in all 68 years, to which, if the 2 years of the reign of Darius the Mede are added, we shall have 70 years. The years of the reigns of the Babylonian kings amount in all to the same number; viz. Nebuchadnezzar 44¼ years,—since he did not become king till one year after the destruction of Jerusalem, he reigned 43 years,—Evilmerodach 2 years, Neriglissar 4 years, Loborosoarchod 9 months, Nabonnedus 17 years, and Darius the Mede 2 years—in all 70 years.

(1) that Belshazzar cannot be the last king of Babylon, nor is identical with Nabonnedus, who was neither a son nor descendant of Nebuchadnezzar, and was not put to death by Cyrus at the destruction of Babylon and the overthrow of the Chaldean kingdom; (2) that Belshazzar could neither be Evilmerodach nor Laborosoarchod, since only these two were put to death—the former after he had reigned only two years, and the latter after he had reigned only nine months, while the third year of Belshazzar's reign is mentioned in Dan. viii. 1; and (3) that the death of Belshazzar cannot have been at the same time as the destruction of Babylon by the Medes and Persians.

If we now compare with these facts, gathered from Oriental sources, those narrated by the Greek historians Herodotus and Xenophon, we find that the former speaks of several Babylonian kings, but says nothing particular regarding them, but, on the other hand, reports many sayings and fabulous stories of two Babylonian queens, Semiramis and Nitocris, to whom he attributes (i. 184 f.) many exploits, and the erection of buildings which Berosus has attributed to Nebuchadnezzar. Of Babylonian kings he names (i. 188) only Labynetos as the son of Nitocris, with the remark, that he had the same name as his father, and that Cyrus waged war against this second Labynetos, and by diverting the Euphrates from its course at the time of a nocturnal festival of its inhabitants, stormed the city of Babylon (i. 191), after he had gained a battle before laying siege to the capital of the Babylonians (i. 190). Xenophon (*Cyrop.* vii. 5, 15 ff.), agreeing with Herodotus, relates that Cyrus entered the city by damming off the Euphrates during a festival of its inhabitants, and that the king was put to death, whose name he does not mention, but whom he describes (v. 2. 27, iv. 6. 3) as a youth, and (iv. 6. 3, v. 2. 27 f., v. 3. 6, vii. 5. 32) as a riotous, voluptuous, cruel, godless man. The preceding king, the father of the last, he says, was a good man, but his youngest son, who succeeded to the government, was a wicked man. Herodotus and Xenophon appear, then, to agree in this, that both of them connect the destruction of Babylon and the downfall of the Chaldean kingdom by Cyrus with a riotous festival of the Babylonians, and both describe the last king as of royal descent. They agree with the narrative of Daniel as to the death of Belshazzar, that it took place during or immediately after a festival, and regarding the transference of the Chaldean kingdom to the Medes and Persians;

and they confirm the prevalent interpretation of this chapter, that Belshazzar was the last Chaldean king, and was put to death on the occasion of the taking of Babylon. But in their statements concerning the last king of Babylon they both stand in opposition to the accounts of Berosus and Abydenus. Herodotus and Xenophon describe him as the king's son, while Nabonnedus, according to both of these Chaldean historians, was not of royal descent. Besides this, Xenophon states that the king lost his life at the taking of Babylon, while according to Berosus, on the contrary, he was not in Babylon at all, but was besieged in Borsippa, surrendered to Cyrus, and was banished to Carmania, or according to Abydenus, was made deputy of that province. Shall we then decide for Herodotus and Xenophon, and against Berosus and Abydenus? Against such a decision the great imperfection and indefiniteness of the Grecian account must awaken doubts. If, as is generally supposed, the elder Labynetus of Herodotus is the husband of Nitocris, who was the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, then his son of the same name cannot be identical with the Nabonnedus of Berosus and Abydenus; for according to the testimonies of biblical and Oriental authorities, which are clear on this point, the Chaldean kingdom did not fall under the son of Nebuchadnezzar, and then the statement of Herodotus regarding the two Labynetuses is certainly incorrect, and is fabricated from very obscure traditions. Xenophon also shows himself to be not well informed regarding the history of the Chaldean kings. Although his description of the last of these kings appears to indicate an intimate knowledge of his character, and accords with the character of Belshazzar, yet he does not even know the name of this king, and still less the duration of his reign.

Accordingly these scanty and indefinite Grecian reports cannot counterbalance the extended and minute statements of Berosus and Abydenus, and cannot be taken as regulating the historical interpretation of Dan. v. Josephus, it is true, understands the narrative in such a way that he identifies Belshazzar with Nabonnedus, and connects his death with the destruction of the Babylonish kingdom, for (*Ant.* x. 11, 2 f.) he states that, after Nebuchadnezzar, his son Evilmerodach reigned eighteen years. But when he died, his son Neriglissar succeeded to the government, and died after he had reigned forty years. After him the succession in the kingdom came to his son Labosordacus, who continued in it but nine months; and when he was dead (τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ), it

came to Baltasar, who by the Babylonians was called Naboandelus (Nabonnedus), against whom Cyrus the king of Persia and Darius the king of Media made war. While they besieged Babylon a wonderful event occurred at a feast which the king gave to his magnates and his wives, as described by Dan. v. Not long after Cyrus took the city and made Baltasar prisoner. "For it was," he continues, "under Baltasar, after he had reigned seventeen years, that Babylon was taken. This was, as has been handed down to us, the end of the descendants of Nebuchadnezzar." But it is clear that in these reports which Josephus has given he has not drawn his information from sources no longer accessible to us, but has merely attempted in them to combine the reports of Berosus, and perhaps also those of the Greek historians, with his own exposition of the narrative of Dan. v. The deviations from Berosus and the Canon of Ptolemy in regard to the number of the years of the reign of Evilmerodach and of Neriglissar are to be attributed to the transcriber of Josephus, since he himself, in his work *contra Apion*, gives the number in harmony with those stated by those authors without making any further remark. The names of the four kings are derived from Berosus, as well as the nine months' reign of Labosordacus and the seventeen years of Naboandelus; but the deviations from Berosus with respect to the death of Evilmerodach, and the descent of Neriglissar and Nabonnedus from Nebuchadnezzar, Josephus has certainly derived only from Jer. xxvii. 7 and Dan. v.; for the statement by Jeremiah, that all the nations would serve Nebuchadnezzar, his son and his son's son, "until the very time of his land come," is literally so understood by him as meaning that Evilmerodach, the son of Nebuchadnezzar, was succeeded by his own son, who again was succeeded by his son, and so on down to Belshazzar, whom Daniel (ch. v. 22) had called the son of Nebuchadnezzar, and whom Josephus regarded as the last king of Babylon, the Nabonnedus of the Babylonians. Josephus did not know how to harmonize with this view the fact of the murder of Evilmerodach by his brother-in-law, and therefore he speaks of Evilmerodach as dying in peace, and of his son as succeeding him on the throne, while he passes by in silence the death of Labosordacus and the descent of Baltasar, and only in the closing sentence reckons him also among the successors of Nebuchadnezzar.

But if in the passages quoted Josephus gives only his own view regarding the Chaldean rulers down to the time of the overthrow

of the kingdom, and in that contradicts on several points the statements of Berosus, without supporting these contradictions by authorities, we cannot make use of his narrative as historical evidence for the exposition of this chapter, and the question, Which Babylonian king is to be understood by Belshazzar? must be decided on the ground of existing independent authorities.

Since, then, the extra-biblical authorities contradict one another in this, that the Chaldean historians describe Nabonnedus, the last king of the Chaldean kingdom, as a Babylonian not of royal descent who, after putting to death the last descendant of the royal family, usurped the throne, which, according to their account, he occupied till Babylon was destroyed by Cyrus, when he was banished to Carmania, where he died a natural death; while, on the other hand, Herodotus and Xenophon represent the last Babylonian king, whom Herodotus calls Labynetus = Nabonedos [= Nabonned = Nabonid], as of royal descent, and the successor of his father on the throne, and connect the taking of Babylon with a riotous festival held in the palace and in the city generally, during which, Xenophon says, the king was put to death;—therefore the determination regarding the historical contents of Dan. v. hinges on this point: whether Belshazzar is to be identified, on the authority of Greek authors, with Nabonnedus; or, on the authority of the Chaldean historians, is to be regarded as different from him, and is identical with one of the two Babylonian kings who were dethroned by a conspiracy.

The decision in favour of the former I have in my *Lehrb. der Einl.*, along with many interpreters, contended for. By this view the statements of Berosus and Abydenus regarding Nabonned's descent and the end of his life must be set aside as unhistorical, and explained only as traditions intended for the glorification of the royal house of Nebuchadnezzar, by which the Babylonians sought to lessen the undeniable disgrace attending the downfall of their monarchy, and to roll away the dishonour of the siege at least from the royal family of the famed Nebuchadnezzar. But although in the statements of Berosus, but particularly in those of Abydenus regarding Nebuchadnezzar, their laudatory character cannot be denied, yet Hävernick (*N. Krit. Unterss.* p. 70 f.) and Kranichfeld, p. 30 ff., have with justice replied that this national partiality in giving colour to his narrative is not apparent in Berosus generally, for he speaks very condemnatorily of the son of Nebuchadnezzar, saying that he administered

the affairs of government ἀνόμως καὶ ἀσελγῶς; he also blames the predecessor of Nabonnedus, and assigns as the reason of the murder of the former as well as of the latter their own evil conduct. Nor does it appear that Berosus depreciated Nabonnedus in order to benefit his predecessors, rather he thought of him as worthy of distinction, and placed him on the throne in honour among his predecessors. "What Herodotus says (i. 186) of the wife of Nebuchadnezzar is expressly stated by Berosus to the honour of the government of Nabonnedus, namely, that under his reign a great part of the city wall was furnished with fortifications (τὰ περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τείχη τῆς Βαβυλωνίων πόλεως ἐξ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου καὶ ἀσφάλτου κατεκοσμήθη); and it is obviously with reference to this statement that in the course of the narrative mention is made of the strong fortifications of the city which defied the assault of Cyrus. Moreover, in the narrative Nabonnedus appears neither as a traitor nor as a coward. On the contrary, he goes out well armed against the enemy and offers him battle (ἀπαντήσας μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ παραταξάμενος); and the circumstance that he surrendered to Cyrus in Borsippa is to be accounted for from this, that he only succeeded in fleeing thither with a very small band. Finally, it is specially mentioned that Cyrus made war against Babylon after he had conquered the rest of Asia. From this it is manifest that the fame of the strength of Babylon was in no respect weakened by Nabonnedus' seventeen years' reign." (Kranichfeld.) All these circumstances stand in opposition to the opinion that there is a tendency in Berosus to roll the disgrace of the overthrow of the kingdom from off the family of Nebuchadnezzar, and to attribute it to an incapable upstart.

What Berosus, moreover, says regarding the treatment of Nabonnedus on the part of Cyrus shows no trace of a desire to depreciate the dethroned monarch. That Cyrus assigned him a residence during life in Carmania is in accordance with the noble conduct of Cyrus in other cases, *e.g.* toward Astyages the Mede, and toward the Lydian king Crœsus (Herod. i. 130; Justin. i. 6, 7). In addition to all this, not only is the statement of Berosus regarding the battle which preceded the overthrow of Babylon confirmed by Herodotus, i. 190, but his report also of the descent of Nabonnedus and of his buildings is established by inscriptions reported on by Oppert in his *Expédit. Scient.* i. p. 182 ff.; for the ruins of Babylon on both banks of the Euphrates preserve to this

day the foundations on which were built the walls of Nabonnedus, consisting of hard bricks almost wholly covered with asphalt, bearing the name of Nabonetos, who is not described as a king's son, but is only called the son of Nabobalatirib. Cf. Duncker, *Gesch. des Alterth.* ii. p. 719, 3d ed.

After all that has been said, Berosus, as a native historian, framing his narratives after Chaldean tradition, certainly merits a preference not only to Herodotus, who, according to his own statement, i. 95, followed the Persian tradition in regard to Cyrus, and is not well informed concerning the Babylonian kings, but also to Xenophon, who in his *Cyropædia*, however favourably we may judge of its historical value, follows no pure historical aim, but seeks to set forth Cyrus as the pattern of a hero-king, and reveals no intimate acquaintance with the history of the Chaldean kings. But if, in all his principal statements regarding Nabonnedus, Berosus deserves full credit, we must give up the identification of Belshazzar with Nabonnedus, since the narrative of Dan. v., as above remarked, connects the death of Belshazzar, in point of fact indeed, but not in point of time, with the destruction of the Babylonian kingdom; and the narratives of Herodotus and Xenophon with respect to the destruction of Babylon during a nocturnal revelry of its inhabitants, may rest also only on some tradition that had been transmitted to their time.[1]

[1] Kranichfeld, p. 84 ff., has so clearly shown this origin of the reports given by Herodotus and Xenophon regarding the circumstances attending the taking of Babylon by Cyrus, that we cannot refrain from here communicating the principal points of his proof. Proceeding from the *Augenschein* (appearance), on which Hitzig argues, that, according to Dan. v. 26 ff., the death of Belshazzar coincided with the destruction of the Chaldean kingdom, since both events are announced together in God's writing, Kranichfeld assumes that this appearance (although it presents itself as an optical illusion, on a fuller acquaintance with the manner of prophetic announcement in which the near and the more remote futures are immediately placed together) has misled the uncritical popular traditions which Herodotus and Xenophon record, and that not from first and native sources. "The noteworthy *factum* of the mysterious writing which raised Daniel to the rank of third ruler in the kingdom, and certainly, besides, made him to be spoken of as a conspicuous personage, and the interpretation which placed together two *facta*, and made them apparently contemporaneous, as well as the *factum* of one part of the announcement of the mysterious writing being actually accomplished that very night, could in the course of time, even among natives, and so much the sooner in the dim form which the tradition very naturally assumed in foreign countries, *e.g.* in the Persian tradition, easily give occasion to the tradition that the *factum* mentioned in the mysterious writing occurred, as interpreted, in that same night." In this way might the

But if Belshazzar is not the same person as Nabonnedus, nor the last Babylonian king, then he can only be either Evilmerodach or Laborosoarchod, since of Nebuchadnezzar's successors only these two were murdered. Both suppositions have found their advocates. Following the example of Scaliger and Calvisius, Ebrard (*Comm. zur Offb. Johannes*, p. 45) and Delitzsch (Herz.'s *Realencykl.* iii. p. 277) regard Belshazzar as Laborosoarchod or Labosordacus (as Josephus writes the name in the *Antt.*), *i.e.* Nebo-Sadrach, and Bel = Nebo; for the appearance of the queen leads us to think of a very youthful king, and Belshazzar (ch. v. 13) speaks of Nebuchadnezzar as if all he knew regarding him was derived from hearsay alone. In ch. vi. 1 (v. 31) it is indicated that a man of advanced age came in the room of a mere youth. If Daniel reckons the years of Belshazzar from the death of Evilmerodach

Persian or Median popular tradition easily think of the king who was put to death that night, the son of Nebuchadnezzar, as also the last Babylonian king, with whom the kingdom perished, and attribute to him the name Labynetus, *i.e.* the Nabonnedus of Berosus, which is confirmed by the agreement of Herodotus with Berosus in regard to the battle preceding the overthrow of Babylon, as well as the absence of the king from Babylon at the taking of the city.—"The historical facts with respect to the end of the Chaldean kingdom, as they are preserved by Berosus, were thrown together and confused along the dim course of the tradition with a narrative, preserved to us in its original form by Daniel, of the contents of the mysterious writing, connecting the death of the king with the end of the kingdom, corresponding with which, and indeed in that very night in which it was interpreted, the murder of the king took place; and this dim tradition we have in the reports given by Herodotus and Xenophon. But the fact, as related by Daniel v., forms the middle member between the statement given by Berosus and the form which the tradition has assumed in Herodotus and Xenophon." "This seems to me," as Kran., in conclusion, remarks, "to be the very simple and natural state of the matter, in view of the open contradiction, on the one side, in which the Greek authors stand to Berosus and Abydenus, without, however (cf. Herodotus), in all points differing from the former; and, on the other side, in view of the manifest harmony in which they stand with Daniel, without, however, agreeing with him in all points. In such circumstances the Greek authors, as well as Berosus and Abydenus on the other side, serve to establish the statements in the book of Daniel."

Against this view of the origin of the tradition transmitted by Herodotus and Xenophon, that Cyrus took Babylon during a riotous festival of its inhabitants, the prophecies of Isa. xxi. 5, and of Jer. li. 39, cannot be adduced as historical evidence in support of the historical truth of this tradition; for these prophecies contain only the thought that Babylon shall suddenly be destroyed amid the tumult of its revelry and drunkenness, and would only be available as valid evidence if they were either *vaticinia ex eventu*, or were literally delivered as predictions.

(cf. Jer. xxvii. 7), for Belshazzar's father Neriglissar (Nergal-Sar), since he was only the husband of a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, could only rule in the name of his son, then Belshazzar (Nebo-Sadrach) was murdered after a reign of four years and nine months, of which his father Nergal-Sar reigned four years in his stead, and he himself nine months. With Belshazzar the house of Nebuchadnezzar had ceased to reign. Astyages, the Median king, regarded himself as heir to the Chaldean throne, and held as his vassal Nabonnedus, who was made king by the conspirators who had murdered Belshazzar; but Nabonnedus endeavoured to maintain his independence by means of a treaty with the king of Lydia, and thus there began the war which was directed first against the Lydian king, and then against Nabonnedus himself.

But of these conjectures and combinations there is no special probability, for proof is wanting. For the alleged origin of the war against the Lydian king and against Nabonnedus there is no historical foundation, since the supposition that Astyages regarded himself, after the extinction of the house of Nebuchadnezzar, as the heir to the Chaldean throne is a mere conjecture. Neither of these conjectures finds any support either in the fact that Nabonnedus remained quiet during the Lydian war instead of rendering help to the Lydian king, or from that which we find on inscriptions regarding the buildings of Nabonnedus. According to the researches of Oppert and Duncker (*Gesch. d. Alterthums*, ii. p. 719), Nabonetus (Nabunahid) not merely completed the walls left unfinished by Nebuchadnezzar, which were designed to shut in Babylon from the Euphrates along both sides of the river; but he designates himself, in inscriptions found on bricks, as the preserver and the restorer of the pyramid and the tower, and he boasts of having built a temple at Mugheir to the honour of his deities, the goddess Belit and the god Sin (god of the Moon). The restoration of the pyramid and the tower, as well as the building of the temple, does not agree with the supposition that Nabonnedus ascended the throne as vassal of the Median king with the thought of setting himself free as soon as possible from the Median rule. Moreover the supposition that Neriglissar, as the husband of Nebuchadnezzar's daughter, could have conducted the government only in the name of his son, is opposed to the statements of Berosus and to the Canon of Ptolemy, which reckon Neriglissar as really king, and his reign as distinct from that of his son. Thus the appearance of the queen in Dan. v. by no means indicates that Belshazzar was

yet a boy; much rather does the participation of the wives and concubines of Belshazzar in the feast point to the age of the king as beyond that of a boy. Finally, it does not follow from ch. v. 13 that Belshazzar knew about Nebuchadnezzar only from hearsay. In the verse referred to, Belshazzar merely says that he had heard regarding Daniel that he was one of the Jews who had been carried captive by his father Nebuchadnezzar. But the carrying away of Daniel and of the Jews by Nebuchadnezzar took place, as to its beginning, before he had ascended the throne, and as to its end (under Zedekiah), during the first half of his reign, when his eldest son might be yet a mere youth. That Belshazzar knew about Nebuchadnezzar not from hearsay merely, but that he knew from personal knowledge about his madness, Daniel tells him to his face, ver. 22.

Finally, the identification of Labosordacus, = Nebo-Sadrach, with Belshazzar has more appearance than truth. *Bel* is not like *Nebo* in the sense that both names denote one and the same god; but Bel is the Jupiter of the Babylonians, and Nebo the Mercury. Also the names of the two kings, as found on the inscriptions, are quite different. For the name *Λαβοσόρδαχος* (Joseph. *Ant.*) Berosus uses *Λαβοροσοάρχοδος*, and Abydenus (Euseb. *præp. ev.* ix. 41) *Λαβασσάρασκος*; in the *Chron. arm.* it is *Labossorakos*, and Syncellus has *Λαβοσάροχος*. These names do not represent Nebo-Sadrach, but that used by Berosus corresponds to the native Chaldee *Nabu-ur-uzuurkud*, the others point to *Nabu-surusk* or *-suruk*, and show the component parts contained in the name *Nabukudrussur* in inverted order,—at least they are very nearly related to this name. Belshazzar, on the contrary, is found in the Inscription published by Oppert (Duncker, p. 720) written *Belsarrusur*. In this Inscription Nabonetus names Belsarrusur the offspring of his heart. If we therefore consider that Nabonnedus represents himself as carrying forward and completing the work begun by Nebuchadnezzar in Babylon, the supposition presses itself upon us, that also in regard to the name which he gave to his son, who was eventually his successor on the throne, he trod in the footsteps of the celebrated founder of the Babylonian monarchy. Consequently these Inscriptions would indicate that the Belshazzar (= Belsarrusur) of Daniel was the son of Nebuchadnezzar, and his successor on the throne.

Though we may rest satisfied with this supposition, there are yet weighty reasons for regarding Belshazzar as the son and suc-

cessor of Nebuchadnezzar, who was put to death by his brother-in-law Neriglissar, and thus for identifying him with Evilmerodach (2 Kings xxv. 27; Jer. lii. 31). Following the example of Marsham in *Canon chron.* p. 596, this opinion is maintained among modern critics by Hofmann (*Die 70 Jahre*, p. 44 ff.), Hävernick (*N. K. Unt.* p. 71), Oehler (Thol. *Litt. Anz.* 1842, p. 398), Hupfeld (*Exercitt. Herod. spec.* ii. p. 46), Niebuhr (*Ges. Ass.* p. 91 f.), Zündel (p. 33), Kranichfeld, and Kliefoth. In favour of this opinion we notice, first, that Belshazzar in the narrative of Daniel is distinctly declared to be the son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar. The statement of Berosus, that Evilmerodach managed the affairs of government *ἀνόμως καὶ ἀσελγῶς*, entirely harmonizes also with the character ascribed to Belshazzar in this chapter, while the arguments which appear to oppose the identity of the two are unimportant. The diversity of names, viz. that Nebuchadnezzar's successor both in 2 Kings xxv. 27 and Jer. lii. 31 is called אֱוִיל מְרֹדַךְ, and by Berosus, Abydenus, and in the Canon of Ptolemy *Εὐειλμαράδουχος*, *Amilmarodokos*, *Ἰλλοαρούδαμος* (in the Canon only, written instead of *Ἰλμαρούδακος*), but by Daniel בֶּלְשַׁאצַּר, is simply explained by this, that as a rule the Eastern kings had several names: along with their personal names they had also a surname or general royal name, the latter being frequently the only one that was known to foreigners; cf. Niebuhr, *Gesch. Assurs u. Babels*, p. 29 ff. In the name *Evilmerodach*, the component parts, *Il* (= *El*), *i.e.* God, and *Merodach*, recur in all forms. The first part was changed by the Jews, perhaps after the tragic death of the king, into אֱוִיל, *stultus* (after Ps. liii. ?); while Daniel, living at the Babylonian court, transmits the name Belshazzar, formed after the name of the god Bel, which was there used. Moreover the kind benevolent conduct of Evilmerodach towards king Jehoiachin, who was languishing in prison, does not stand in contradiction to the vileness of his character, as testified to by Berosus; for even an unrighteous, godless ruler can be just and good in certain instances. Moreover the circumstance that, according to the Canon of Ptolemy, Evilmerodach ruled two years, while, on the contrary, in Dan. viii. 1 mention is made of the third year of the reign of Belshazzar, forms no inexplicable discrepancy. Without resorting to Syncellus, who in his Canon attributes to him three years, since the numbers mentioned in this Canon contain many errors, the discrepancy may be explained from the custom prevalent in the books of Kings of reckoning the duration of the

reign of a king only in full years, without reference to the months that may be wanting or that may exceed. According to this usage, the reign might extend to only two full years if it began about the middle of the calendar year, but might extend into three calendar years, and thus be reckoned as three years, if the year of the commencement of it and the year in which it ended were reckoned according to the calendar. On the other side, it is conceivable that Evilmerodach reigned a few weeks, or even months, beyond two years, which were in the reckoning of the duration of his reign not counted to him, but to his successor. Ptolemy has without doubt observed this procedure in his astronomical Canon, since he reckons to all rulers only full years. Thus there is no doubt of any importance in opposition to the view that Belshazzar was identical with Evilmerodach, the son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar.

With the removal of the historical difficulty lying in the name Belshazzar the historical credibility of the principal contents of this narrative is at the same time established. And this so much the more surely, as the opponents of the genuineness are not in a position to find, in behalf of their assertion that this history is a fiction, a situation from which this fiction framed for a purpose can be comprehended in the actions of Antiochus Epiphanes and in the relations of the times of the Maccabees. According to Berth., v. Leng., Hitz., and Bleek, the author sought on the one hand to represent to the Syrian prince in the fate of Belshazzar how great a judgment from God threatened him on account of his wickedness in profaning the temple, and on the other, to glorify Daniel the Jew by presenting him after the type of Joseph.

But as for the first tendency (or purpose), the chief matter is wholly wanting, viz. the profanation of the holy vessels of the temple by Antiochus on the occasion of a festival, which in this chapter forms the chief part of the wickedness for which Belshazzar brings upon himself the judgment of God. Of Antiochus Epiphanes it is only related that he plundered the temple at Jerusalem in order that he might meet his financial necessities, while on the other hand the carrying away by Nebuchadnezzar of the vessels belonging to the temple (Dan. i. 2) is represented as a providence of God.[1]

[1] According to Bleek and v. Leng., this narrative must have in view 1 Macc. i. 21 ff. and 2 Macc. v. 15 ff., where it is related of Antiochus as something in the highest degree vicious, that he entered into the temple at Jerusalem, and

As regards the second tendency of the composition, the glorifying of Daniel after the type of Joseph, Kliefoth rightly remarks: "The comparison of Daniel with Joseph rests on hastily collected indefinite resemblances, along with which there are also found as many contrasts." The resemblances reduce themselves to these: that Daniel was adorned by the king with a golden chain about his neck and raised to the highest office of state for his interpretation of the mysterious writing, as Joseph had been for the interpretation of the dream. But on this Ewald[1] himself remarks: "The promise that whoever should solve the mystery would be made *third ruler of the kingdom*, and at the same time the declaration in ch. vi. 3 (2), show that in the kingdom of Babylon there existed an arrangement similar to that of the Roman empire after Diocletian, by which under one Augustus there might be three Cæsars. Altogether different is the old Egyptian law set forth in Gen. xli. 43 f., and prevailing also in ancient kingdoms, according to which the king might recognise a man as the *second* ruler in the kingdom, or as his representative; and since that mentioned in the book of Daniel is peculiar, it rests, to all appearance, on some old genuine Babylonish custom. On the other hand, the being clothed with purple and adorned with a golden chain about the neck is more

with impure hands carried thence the golden basins, cups, bowls, and other holy vessels. But in spite of this wholly incorrect application of the contents of the passages cited, Bleek cannot but confess that the reference would be more distinct if it were related—which it is not—that Antiochus used the holy vessels at a common festival, or at least at the time of offering sacrifice. But if we look closely at 1 Macc. i. 21 ff., we find that Antiochus not only took away the utensils mentioned by Bleek, but also the golden altar, the golden candlestick, the table of shew-bread, the veil, and the crowns, and the golden ornaments that were before the temple, all which (gold) he pulled off, and took also the silver and gold, and the hidden treasures which he found; from which it clearly appears that Antiochus plundered the temple because of his pecuniary embarrassment, as Grimm remarks, or "for the purpose of meeting his financial necessities" (Grimm on 2 Macc. v. 16). Hitzig has therefore abandoned this reference as unsuitable for the object assumed, and has sought the occasion for the fiction of Dan. v. in the splendid games and feasts which Antiochus held at Daphne (Polyb. xxxi. 3, 4). But this supposition also makes it necessary for the critic to add the profanation of the holy vessels of the temple at these feasts from his own resources, because history knows nothing of it. Polybius merely says that the expense of these entertainments was met partly by the plunder Antiochus brought from Egypt, partly by the gifts of his allies, but most of all by the treasure taken from the temple.

[1] P. 380 of the 3d vol. of the second ed. of his work, *Die Propheten des A. Bundes.*

generally the distinguishing mark of men of princely rank, as is seen in the case of Joseph, Gen. xli. 42."

To this it must be added, that Belshazzar's relation to Daniel and Daniel's conduct toward Belshazzar are altogether different from the relation of Antiochus to the Jews who remained faithful to their law, and their conduct toward that cruel king. That the conduct of Belshazzar toward Daniel does not accord with the times of the Maccabees, the critics themselves cannot deny. Hitzig expresses his surprise that "the king hears the prophecy in a manner one should not have expected; his behaviour is not the same as that of Ahab toward Micah, or of Agamemnon toward Calchas." Antiochus Epiphanes would have acted precisely as they did. And how does the behaviour of Daniel harmonize with that of Mattathias, who rejected the presents and the favour of the tyrant (1 Macc. ii. 18 ff.), and who put to death with the sword those Jews who were submitting themselves to the demands of the king? Daniel received the purple, and allowed himself to be adorned with a golden chain by the heathen king, and to be raised to the rank of third ruler in his kingdom.[1]

While thus standing in marked contrast to the circumstances of the Maccabean times, the narrative is perfectly consistent if we regard it as a historical episode belonging to the time of Daniel. It is true it has also a parenetic character, only not the limited object attributed to it by the opponents of the genuineness —to threaten Antiochus Epiphanes with divine judgments on account of his wickedness and to glorify Daniel. Rather it is for all times in which the church of the Lord is oppressed by the powers of the world, to show to the blasphemers of the divine name how the Almighty God in heaven punishes and destroys the lords of this world who proceed to desecrate and abuse that which is sacred, without taking notice of the divine warnings addressed to them on account of their self-glorification, and bestows honour upon His servants who are rejected and despised by the world. But when compared with the foregoing narratives, this event before us shows how the world-power in its development became always the more hardened against the revelations of the living God, and the more

[1] "In short, the whole accompaniments of this passage," Kranichfeld thus concludes (p. 213) his dissertation on this point, "are so completely different from those of the Maccabean times, that if it is to be regarded as belonging peculiarly to this time, then we must conceive of it as composed by an author altogether ignorant of the circumstances and of the historical situation."

ripe for judgment. Nebuchadnezzar demanded of all his subjects a recognition of his gods, and prided himself in his great power and worldly glory, but yet he gave glory to the Lord of heaven for the signs and wonders which God did to him. Belshazzar knew this, yet it did not prevent him from blaspheming this God, nor did it move him to seek to avert by penitential sorrow the judgment of death which was denounced against him.

Vers. 1.–4. The verses describe the progress of Belshazzar's magnifying himself against the living God, whereby the judgment threatened came upon him and his kingdom. A great feast, which the king gave to his officers of state and to his wives, furnished the occasion for this.

The name of the king, בֵּלְשַׁאצַּר, contains in it the two component parts of the name which Daniel had received (ch. i. 7), but without the interposed מ, whereby it is distinguished from it. This distinction is not to be overlooked, although the LXX. have done so, and have written the two names, as if they were identical, *Βαλτάσαρ*. The meaning of the name is as yet unknown. לְחֶם, *meal-time, the festival.* The invitation to a thousand officers of state corresponds to the magnificence of Oriental kings. According to Ctesias (*Athen. Deipnos.* iv. 146), 15,000 men dined daily from the table of the Persian king (cf. Esth. i. 4). To account for this large number of guests, it is not necessary to suppose that during the siege of Babylon by Cyrus a multitude of great officers from all parts of the kingdom had fled for refuge to Babylon. The number specified is evidently a round number, *i.e.* the number of the guests amounted to about a thousand. The words, *he drank wine before the thousand* (great officers), are not, with Hävernick, to be explained of drinking first, or of preceding them in drinking, or of drinking a toast to them, but are to be understood according to the Oriental custom, by which at great festivals the king sat at a separate table on an elevated place, so that he had the guests before him or opposite to him. The drinking of wine is particularly noticed as the immediate occasion of the wickedness which followed.

Ver. 2. בְּטַעֲם חֲמְרָא, *while he tasted the wine, i.e.* when the wine was relished by him; thus "in the wanton madness of one excited by wine, Prov. xx. 1" (Hitz.). From these words it appears that Belshazzar commanded the temple vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had carried away from Jerusalem to be brought, not, as Hävernick

thinks, for the purpose of seeking, in his anxiety on account of the siege of the city, the favour of the God of the Jews, but to insult this God in the presence of his own gods. The supposition of anxiety on account of the siege does not at all harmonize with the celebration of so riotous a festival. Besides, the vessels are not brought for the purpose of making libations in order to propitiate the God to whom they were consecrated, but, according to the obvious statement of the text, only to drink out of them from the madness of lust. וְיִשְׁתּוּן, *that they may drink;* ו before the imperf. expresses the *design* of the bringing of the vessels. שְׁתָה בְּ, *to drink out of*, as Gen. xliv. 5, Amos vi. 6. שִׁגְלָן, *the wives* of the king; cf. Neh. ii. 6 with Ps. xlv. 10. לַחֲנָן, *concubines;* this word stands in the Targg. for the Hebr. פִּלֶגֶשׁ. The LXX. have here, and also at ver. 23, omitted mention of the women, according to the custom of the Macedonians, Greeks, and Romans (cf. Herod. v. 18; Corn. Nep. *proem.* § 6); but Xenophon (*Cyr.* v. 2. 28) and Curtius (v. 1. 38) expressly declare that among the Babylonians the wives also were present at festivals.

Ver. 3. הֵיכְלָא denotes *the holy place of the temple, the inner apartment of the temple*, as at 1 Kings vi. 3, Ezek. xli. 1. אִשְׁתַּיוּ for שְׁתַיוּ, with א *prosthet.*, cf. Winer, *chald. Gr.* § 23, 1.

Ver. 4. In this verse the expression *they drank wine* is repeated for the purpose of making manifest the connection between the drinking and the praising of the gods. The wickedness lay in this, that they drank out of the holy vessels of the temple of the God of Israel to glorify (שַׁבַּח, to praise by the singing of songs) their heathen gods in songs of praise. In doing this they did not only place "Jehovah on a perfect level with their gods" (Hävernick), but raised them above the Lord of heaven, as Daniel (ver. 23) charged the king. The carrying away of the temple vessels to Babylon and placing them in the temple of Bel was a sign of the defeat of the God to whom these vessels were consecrated (see under ch. i. 2); the use of these vessels in the drinking of wine at a festival, amid the singing of songs in praise of the gods, was accordingly a celebrating of these gods as victorious over the God of Israel. And it was not a spirit of hostility aroused against the Jews which gave occasion, as Kranichfeld has well remarked, to this celebration of the victory of his god; but, as the narrative informs us, it was the reckless madness of the drunken king and of his drunken guests (cf. ver. 2*a*) during the festival which led them to think of the God of the Jews, whom they supposed they

had subdued along with His people, although He had by repeated miracles forced the heathen world-rulers to recognise His omnipotence (cf. ch. ii. 47, iii. 32 f., iv. 14 [17], 31 [34], 34 [37]). In the disregard of these revelations consisted, as Daniel represents to Belshazzar (cf. ver. 18), the dishonour done to the Lord of heaven, although these vessels of the sanctuary might have been profaned merely by using them as common drinking vessels, or they might have been used also in religious libations as vessels consecrated to the gods, of which the text makes no mention, although the singing of songs to the praise of the gods along with the drinking makes the offering of libations very probable. The six predicates of the gods are divided by the copula ו into two classes: gold and silver—brass, iron, wood and stone, in order to represent before the eyes in an advancing degree the vanity of these gods.

Vers. 5–12. *The warning signs, the astonishment of Belshazzar, the inability of the wise men to give counsel, and the advice of the queen.*

Ver. 5. Unexpectedly and suddenly the wanton mad revelry of the king and his guests was brought to a close amid terror by means of a warning sign. The king saw the finger of a man's hand writing on the plaster of the wall of the festival chamber, and he was so alarmed that his whole body shook. The בַּהּ־שַׁעֲתָא places the sign in immediate connection with the drinking and the praising of the gods. The translation, *in the self-same hour*, is already shown to be inadmissible (see under ch. iii. 6). The *Kethiv* נְפָקוּ (*came forth*) is not to be rejected as the indefinite determination of the subject, because the subject follows after it; the *Keri* נְפָקָה is to be rejected, because, though it suits the gender, it does not in respect of number accord with the subject following. The king does not see the whole hand, but only פַּס יָדָא, *the end of the hand*, that is, the fingers which write. This immediately awakened the thought that the writing was by a supernatural being, and alarmed the king out of his intoxication. The fingers wrote on the plaster of the wall over against the candlestick which stood on the table at which the king sat, and which reflected its light perceptibly on the white wall opposite, so that the fingers writing could be distinctly seen. The feast had been prolonged into the darkness of the night, and the wall of the chamber was not wainscotted, but only plastered with lime, as such chambers are

found in the palaces of Nimrud and Khorsabad covered over only with mortar (cf. Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*).

Ver. 6. מַלְכָּא (*the king*) stands absolutely, because the impression made by the occurrence on the king is to be depicted. The plur. זִיוֹהִי has an intensive signification: *the colour of the countenance.* Regarding זִיו, see under ch. iv. 33. The suffix to שְׁנוֹהִי is to be taken in the signification of the dative, since שְׁנָא in the Peal occurs only intransitively. The connection of an intransitive verb with the *suff. accus.* is an inaccuracy for which שִׁוּבְנִי, Ezek. xlvii. 7, and perhaps also עֲשִׂיתִינִי, Ezek. xxix. 3, afford analogies; cf. Ewald's *Lehrb.* § 315*b*. In ver. 9, where the matter is repeated, the harshness is avoided, and עֲלוֹהִי is used to express the change of colour yet more strongly. The meaning is: "the king changed colour as to his countenance, became pale from terror, and was so unmanned by fear and alarm, that his body lost its firmness and vigour." *The bands* or *ligaments of his thighs* (חֲרַר, equivalent to the Hebr. חֲלָצַיִם) *were loosed, i.e.* lost the strength to hold his body, and his knees smote one against another. אַרְכּוּבָא with א *prosth.*, for רְכוּבָא, in the Targg. means *the knee.* The alarm was heightened by a bad conscience, which roused itself and filled him with dark forebodings. Immediately the king commanded the magicians to be brought, and promised a great reward to him who would read and interpret the mysterious writing.

Ver. 7. Since there are in this verse only three classes of wise men named as ordered to come to the king, to whom he promised the reward for the reading and the interpretation of the writing, and in ver. 8 it is first stated that all the king's wise men came, the probability is, that at first the king commanded only the three classes named in ver. 7 to be brought to him. On this probability Kranichfeld founds the supposition that the king purposely, or with intention, summoned only the three classes named to avoid Daniel, whom he did not wish to consult, from his heathen religious fear of the God of the Jews. But this supposition is altogether untenable. For, first, it does not follow from ch. viii. 27 that under Belshazzar Daniel was president over all the wise men, but only that he was in the king's service. Then, in the event of Daniel's yet retaining the place assigned to him by Nebuchadnezzar, his non-appearance could not be explained on the supposition that Belshazzar called only three classes of the wise men, because the supposition that כֹּל חַכִּימֵי מַלְכָּא (*all the king's wise men*) in ver. 8 forms a contrast to the three classes named in ver. 7 is not sustained by the language

here used. But if by "all the wise men of the king," ver. 8, we are to understand the whole body of the wise men of all the classes, and that they appeared before the king, then they must all have been called at the first, since no supplementary calling of the two classes not named in ver. 7 is mentioned. Besides this, the words, "the king spake to the wise men of Babylon," make it probable that all the classes, without the exception of the two, were called. Moreover it is most improbable that in the case before us, where the matter concerned the reading of a writing, the חַרְטֻמִּים, *the magicians* [Schriftkenner], should not have been called merely to avoid Daniel, who was their רַב (*president*) (ch. iv. 6 [9]). Finally, it is psychologically altogether very improbable, that in the great agitation of fear which had filled him at the sight of the hand writing, Belshazzar should have reflected at all on this, that Daniel would announce to him misfortune or the vengeance of the God of the Jews. Such a reflection might perhaps arise on quiet deliberation, but not in the midst of agitating heart-anguish.

The strange circumstance that, according to ver. 7, the king already promised a reward to the wise men, which presupposes that they were already present, and then that for the first time their presence is mentioned in ver. 8, is occasioned by this, that in ver. 7 the appearing of the wise men is not expressly mentioned, but is naturally presupposed, and that the first two clauses of the eighth verse are simply placed together, and are not united to each other by a causal nexus. The meaning of the statement in vers. 7 and 8 is this: The king calls aloud, commanding the astrologers, etc., to be brought to him; and when the wise men of Babylon came to him, he said to each of them, Whoever reads the writing, etc. But all the king's wise men, when they had come, were unable to read the writing. As to the names of the wise men in ver. 7, see under ch. ii. 2. יִקְרֵה for יִקְרָא, from קְרָא, *to read*. As a reward, the king promises a purple robe, a gold chain for the neck, and the highest office in the kingdom. A robe of purple was the sign of rank worn by the high officers of state among the Persians,—cf. Esth. viii. 15 with Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 5. 8,—and among the Seleucidæ, 1 Macc. x. 20; and was also among the Medes the princely garb, Xen. *Anab.* i. 3. 2, ii. 4. 6. אַרְגְּוָן, Hebr. אַרְגָּמָן, *purple*, is a word of Aryan origin, from the Sanscrit *râga, red colour*, with the formative syllables *man* and *vat;* cf. Gesen. *Thes. Addid.* p. 111 seq. וְהַמְנוֹכָא דִי וגו׳ does not depend on יִלְבַּשׁ, but forms a clause by itself: *and a chain of gold shall be about his neck.* For the *Kethiv*

מְנוּכָא the *Keri* substitutes the Targum. and Syr. form מְנִיכָא (vers. 7, 16, and 29), *i.e.* the Greek *μανιάκης*, from the Sansc. *mani, jewèl, pearl,* with the frequent formative syllable *ka* in the Zend, whence the Chaldee word is derived; it signifies *neck-* or *arm-band,* here the former. The golden neck-chain (*στρεπτὸς χρύσεος*) was an ornament worn by the Persians of rank, and was given by kings as a mark of favour even to kings, *e.g.* Cambyses and the younger Cyrus; cf. Herod. iii. 20; Xen. *Anab.* i. 1. 27, 5. 8, 8. 29.

It is not quite certain what the princely situation is which was promised to the interpreter of the writing, since the meaning of תַּלְתָּי is not quite clear. That it is not the *ordinale* of the number third, is, since Hävernick, now generally acknowledged, because for *tertius* in Aram. תְּלִיתַי is used, which occurs also in ch. ii. 39. Hävernick therefore regards תַּלְתָּי, for which תַּלְתָּא is found in vers. 16 and 29, as an adjective formation which indicates a descent or occupation, and is here used as a *nomen officii* corresponding to the Hebr. שָׁלִישִׁי. Gesenius and Dietrich regard תַּלְתָּי as only the singular form for תְּלִיתַי, and תַּלְתָּא as the *stat. abs.* of תְּלַת, *third rank.* Hitzig would change תַּלְתָּי into תַּלְתַּי, and regard תַּלְתָּא as a singular formed from תַּלְתָּאִין, as *triumvir* from *triumvirorum,* and would interpret it by *τρίτος αὐτός, the third (selbstdritt)*; as one of three he shall rule in the kingdom, according to ch. vi. 3. Finally, Kranichfeld takes תַּלְתָּי to be a fem. verbal formation according to the analogy of אַחֲרִי, אַרְמִית, in the sense of *three-ruler-wise,* and תַּלְתָּא for a noun formed from תַּלְתָּא, *triumvir.* Almost all these explanations amount to this, that the statements here regard the government of a triumvirate as it was regulated by the Median king Darius, ch. vi. 3 (2); and this appears also to be the meaning of the words as one may literally explain תַּלְתָּי and תַּלְתָּא. Regarding the *Keri* עַלַּיִן see under ch. iv. 4, and regarding פִּשְׁרָא, under ch. iv. 15.

As all the wise men were unable to read the writing, it has been thought that it was in a foreign language different from the usual language of Babylon, the knowledge of which could not legitimately be expected to be possessed by the native wise men; and since, according to vers. 17, 24 f., Daniel at once showed his acquaintance with the writing in question, it has from this been concluded that already the old Babylonians had handwriting corresponding to the later Syro-Palmyrenian inscriptions, while among the Hebrews to the time of the Exile the essentially Old-Phœnician

writing, which is found on the so-called Samaritan coins and in the Samaritan Scriptures, was the peculiar national style of writing (Kran.). But this interpretation of the miracle on natural principles is quite erroneous. First, it is very unlikely that the Chaldean wise men should not have known these old Semitic characters, even although at that time they had ceased to be in current use among the Babylonians in their common writing. Then, from the circumstance that Daniel could at once read the writing, it does not follow that it was the well-known Old-Hebrew writing of his fatherland. "The characters employed in the writing," as Hengstenberg has rightly observed (*Beitr.* i. p. 122), "must have been altogether unusual so as not to be deciphered but by divine illumination." Yet we must not, with M. Geier and others, assume that the writing was visible only to the king and Daniel. This contradicts the text, according to which the Chaldean wise men, and without doubt all that were present, also saw the traces of the writing, but were not able to read it.

Ver. 9. By this not only was the astonishment of the king heightened, but the officers of state also were put into confusion. "In מְשְׁתַּבְּשִׁין lies not merely the idea of consternation, but of confusion, of great commotion in the assembly" (Hitzig). The whole company was thrown into confusion. The magnates spoke without intelligence, and were perplexed about the matter.

Not only was the tumult that arose from the loud confused talk of the king and the nobles heard by those who were there present, but the queen-mother, who was living in the palace, the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, also heard it and went into the banqueting hall. As soon as she perceived the cause of the commotion, she directed the attention of her royal son to Daniel, who in the days of his father Nebuchadnezzar had already, as an interpreter of dreams and of mysteries, shown that the spirit of the holy gods dwelt in him (vers. 10–12).

Ver. 10. By מַלְכְּתָא interpreters rightly understand the mother of the reigning king, the widow of his father Nebuchadnezzar, since according to ver. 2 f. the wives of the king were present at the festival, and the *queen* came before the king as only a mother could do. Among the Israelites also the mother of the reigning king was held in high respect; cf. 1 Kings xv. 13; 2 Kings xxiv. 12, 15; Jer. xiii. 18, xxix. 2. לָקֳבֵל מִלַּיָּא, *by reason of the words*, not: *because of the affair*, to which neither the plur. מִלַּי nor the gen. רַבְרְבָנוֹהִי agrees. Instead of the *Kethiv* עַלְלַת the *Keri* has

עַלַּת, the later form. The queen-mother begins in an assuring manner, since she can give an advice which is fitted to allay the embarrassment.

Ver. 11. Her judgment concerning Daniel is that of Nebuchadnezzar, ch. iv. 5, 6 (8, 9); and that she states it in the same words leads to the conclusion that Nebuchadnezzar was her husband. The אֲבוּךְ מַלְכָּא at the end of this verse may be an emphatic repetition of the foregoing מַלְכָּא נב' אֲבוּךְ (Maur., Hitz.), but in that case מַלְכָּא would perhaps stand first. מַלְכָּא is better interpreted by Ros., v. Leng., Klief., and others as the vocative: *thy father, O king*, by which the words make a greater impression.

Ver. 12. The remarkable endowments of Daniel are again stated (according to ver. 11) to give weight to the advice that he should be called in. The words from מְפַשֶּׁר [*interpreting*] to קְטָרִין [*doubts*] are an explanatory parenthetical clause, after which the following verb, according to rule, joins itself to שְׁכְוְתָנִי. In the parenthetical clause the *nomen actionis* אַחְוָיָה [*showing*] is used instead of the participle, whereby the representation of the continued capability lying in the participle is transferred to that of each separate instance; literally, *interpreting dreams, the explanation of mysteries and dissolving knots*. The allusion of מְשָׁרֵא קְטָרִין to קְטָרֵי חר' מְשַׁתְּרִין, ver. 6, is only apparent, certainly is not aimed at, since the former of these expressions has an entirely different meaning. *Knots* stands figuratively for involved complicated problems. That Daniel did not at first appear along with the wise men, but was only called after the queen had advised it, is to be explained on this simple ground, that he was no longer president over the magicians, but on the occasion of a new king ascending the throne had lost that situation, and been put into another office (cf. ch. viii. 27). The words of the queen do not prove that Belshazzar was not acquainted with Daniel, but only show that he had forgotten the service rendered by him to Nebuchadnezzar; for according to ver. 13 he was well acquainted with the personal circumstances of Daniel.

Vers. 13–28. *Daniel is summoned, reminds the king of his sin, and reads and interprets the writing.*

The counsel of the queen was followed, and without delay Daniel was brought in. הֵעָל, cf. הֵעָלוּ ver. 15, is Hebr. Hophal of עָל = עָלַל, *to go in*, as הוּסַף, ch. iv. 33. The question of the king: *Art thou Daniel . . .?* did not expect an answer, and has

this meaning: *Thou art indeed Daniel.* The address shows that Belshazzar was acquainted with Daniel's origin, of which the queen had said nothing, but that he had had no official intercourse with him. It shows also that Daniel was no longer the president of the magicians at the king's court (ch. ii. 48 f.).

Ver. 14, cf. ver. 11. It is not to be overlooked that here Belshazzar leaves out the predicate *holy* in connection with אֱלָהִין (*of the gods*).

Ver. 15. The asyndeton אָשְׁפַיָּא is in apposition to חַכִּימַיָּא as explanatory of it: the wise men, namely the conjurers, who are mentioned *instar omnium.* דִּי with the imperf. following is not the relative particle, but the conjunction *that* before the clause expressive of design, and the infinitive clause dependent on the clause of design going before: *that you may read the writing to make known to me the interpretation.* מִלְּתָא is not the mysterious writing = word, discourse, but *the writing with its wonderful origin;* thus, the matter of which he wishes to know the meaning.

Vers. 16, 17. The *Kethiv* תּוּכַל, ver. 16, is the Hebr. Hophal, as ch. ii. 10; the *Keri* תְּכוּל the formation usual in the Chaldee, found at ch. iii. 29. Regarding the reward to Daniel, see under ver. 7. Daniel declines (ver. 17) the distinction and the place of honour promised for the interpretation, not because the former might be dangerous to him and the latter only temporary, as Hitzig supposes; for he had no reason for such a fear, when he spoke "as one conveying information who had just seen the writing, and had read it and understood its import," for the interpretation, threatening ruin and death to the king, could bring no special danger to him either on the part of Belshazzar or on that of his successor. Much rather Daniel rejected the gift and the distinction promised, to avoid, as a divinely enlightened seer, every appearance of self-interest in the presence of such a king, and to show to the king and his high officers of state that he was not determined by a regard to earthly advantage, and would unhesitatingly declare the truth, whether it might be pleasing or displeasing to the king. But before he read and interpreted the writing, he reminded the king of the punishment his father Nebuchadnezzar had brought upon himself on account of his haughty pride against God (vers. 18–21), and then showed him how he, the son, had done wickedly toward God, the Lord of his life (vers. 22, 23), and finally explained to him that on this account this sign had been given by God (ver. 24).

Ver. 18. The address, *Thou, O king*, is here an absolute clause, and is not resumed till ver. 22. By this address all that follows regarding Nebuchadnezzar is placed in definite relation to Belshazzar. The brilliant description of Nebuchadnezzar's power in vers. 18 and 19 has undeniably the object of impressing it on the mind of Belshazzar that he did not equal his father in power and majesty. Regarding עַמְמַיָּא וגו׳, see under ch. iii. 4, and with regard to the *Kethiv* זָאעִין, with the *Keri* זָיְעִין, see under ch. iii. 3. מָחֵא is not from מְחָא, *to strike* (Theodot., Vulg.), but the Aphel of חֲיָא (*to live*), the particip. of which is מֵחֵי in Deut. xxxii. 39, contracted from מַחְיֵא, here the part. מָחֵא, in which the Jod is compensated by the lengthening of the vowel *ā*. Accordingly, there is no ground for giving the preference, with Buxt., Ges., Hitz., and others, to the variant מַחֵא, which accommodates itself to the usual Targum. form. The last clause in ver. 19 reminds us of 1 Sam. ii. 6, 7. In vers. 20 and 21 Daniel brings to the remembrance of Belshazzar the divine judgment that fell upon Nebuchadnezzar (ch. iv.). רִם is not the passive part., but the *perf. act.* with an intransitive signification; cf. Winer, § 22, 4. תְּקַף, *strong, to be and to become firm*, here, as the Hebr. חָזַק, Ex. vii. 13, of *obduracy*. הֶעְדִּיו, 3d pers. plur. impers., instead of the passive: *they took away*, for it was taken away, he lost it; see under ch. iii. 4, and Winer, § 49, 3. שַׁוִּי is also to be thus interpreted, since in its impersonal use the singular is equivalent to the plur.; cf. Winer. There is no reason for changing (with v. Leng. and Hitz.) the form into שֱׁוִי, *part. Peil.* The change of construction depends on the rhetorical form of the address, which explains also the naming of the עֲרָדִין, *wild asses*, as untractable beasts, instead of חֵיוַת בָּרָא (*beasts of the field*), ch. iv. 20 (23). Regarding the *Kethiv* עליה, see under ch. iv. 14; and for the subject, cf. ch. iv. 22 (25), 29 (32).

Vers. 22–24. Daniel now turns to Belshazzar. The words: *forasmuch as thou, i.e.* since thou truly knowest all this, place it beyond a doubt that *Belshazzar* knew these incidents in the life of Nebuchadnezzar, and thus that he was his son, since his grandson (daughter's son) could scarcely at that time have been so old as that the forgetfulness of that divine judgment could have been charged against him as a sin. In the כֹּל קְבֵל דִּי, *just because* thou knowest it, there is implied that, notwithstanding his knowledge of the matter, he did not avoid that which heightened his culpability. In ver. 23 Daniel tells him how he had sinned against the God of heaven, viz. by desecrating (see vers. 2 and 3) the vessels of the

temple of the God of Israel. And to show the greatness of this sin, he points to the great contrast that there is between the gods formed of dead material and the living God, on whom depend the life and fortune of men. The former Belshazzar praised, the latter he had *not honoured*—a *Litotes* for *had dishonoured.* The description of the gods is dependent on Deut. iv. 28, cf. with the fuller account Ps. cxv. 5 ff., cxxxv. 15 ff., and reminds us of the description of the government of the true God in Job xii. 10, Num. xvi. 22, and Jer. x. 23. אָרְחָת, *ways, i.e. the destinies.*—To punish Belshazzar for this wickedness, God had sent the hand which wrote the mysterious words (ver. 24 cf. with ver. 5).

Vers. 25–28. Daniel now read the writing (ver. 25), and gave its interpretation (vers. 26–28). The writing bears the mysterious character of the oracle. פְּרֵס, תְּקֵל, מְנָא (ver. 28) are partic. Peil, and the forms תְּקֵל and פְּרֵס, instead of תְּקִיל and פְּרִיס, are chosen on account of their symphony with מְנָא. פְּרְסִין is generally regarded as *partic. plur.*, but that would be פְּרִסִין; it much rather appears to be a noun form, and plur. of פְּרֵס = Hebr. פֶּרֶס (cf. פְּרָסֶיהָן, Zech. xi. 16), in the sense of *broken pieces, fragments*, for פָּרַס signifies *to divide, to break in pieces*, not only in the Hebr. (cf. Lev. xi. 4, Isa. lviii. 7, Ps. lxix. 32), but also in the Chald., 2 Kings iv. 39 (Targ.), although in the Targg. the meaning *to spread out* prevails. In all the three words there lies a double sense, which is brought out in the interpretation. מְנָא, for the sake of the impression, or perhaps only of the parallelism, is twice given, so as to maintain two members of the verse, each of two words. In the numbering lies the determination and the completion, or the conclusion of a matter, a space of time. Daniel accordingly interprets מְנָא thus: *God has numbered* (מְנָה for מְנָא, *perf. act.*) *thy kingdom, i.e.* its duration or its days, וְהַשְׁלְמָהּ, *and has finished it, i.e.* its duration is so counted out that it is full, that it now comes to an end. In תְּקֵל there lies the double sense that the word תְּקַל, *to weigh*, accords with the Niphal of קַלַּל, *to be light, to be found light* (cf. תִּקַּל, Gen. xvi. 4). The interpretation presents this double meaning: *Thou art weighed in the balances* (תְּקַלְתָּא) *and art found too light* (like the תִּקַּל). חַסִּיר, *wanting in necessary weight, i.e.* deficient in moral worth. תְּקַלְתָּא, a *perf.* formed from the *partic. Peil*; cf. Winer, § 13, 2. As to the figure of the balance, cf. Job xxxi. 6, Ps. lxii. 10 (9).

For פְּרְסִין (ver. 25) Daniel uses in the interpretation the sing. פְּרֵס, which, after the analogy of תְּקֵל, may be regarded as *partic. Peil*, and he interprets it accordingly, so that he brings out, along

with the meaning lying in the word, also the allusion to פָּרַס, *Persian: thy kingdom is divided, or broken into pieces, and given to the Medes and Persians.* The meaning is not that the kingdom was to be divided into two equal parts, and the one part given to the Medes and the other to the Persians; but פָּרַס is *to divide into pieces, to destroy, to dissolve* the kingdom. This shall be effected by the Medes and Persians, and was so brought about when the Persian Cyrus with the united power of the Medes and Persians destroyed Babylon, and thus put an end to the Chaldean kingdom, whereby the kingdom was transferred first to the Median Darius (ch. vi. 1 [v. 31]), and after him to the Persian Cyrus. In the naming of the Median before the Persian there lies, as already remarked in the Introduction (see p. 47), a notable proof of the genuineness of this narrative, and with it of the whole book; for the hegemony of the Medes was of a very short duration, and after its overthrow by the Persians the form of expression used is always "*Persians and Medes*," as is found in the book of Esther.

Vers. 29 and 30. *Daniel rewarded, and the beginning of the fulfilment of the writing.*

Belshazzar fulfilled the promise he had made to Daniel by rewarding him for reading and interpreting the writing. וְהַלְבִּשׁוּ is not to be translated: (commanded) *that they should clothe*,—this meaning must be conveyed by the imperfect (cf. ch. ii. 49),—but: *and they clothed him.* The command was then carried out: Daniel was not only adorned with purple and with a golden chain, but was also proclaimed as the third ruler of the kingdom. The objection that this last-mentioned dignity was not possible, since, according to ver. 30, Belshazzar was slain that very night, is based on the supposition that the proclamation was publicly made in the streets of the city. But the words do not necessitate such a supposition. The proclamation might be made only before the assembled magnates of the kingdom in the palace, and then Belshazzar may have been slain on that very night. Perhaps, as Kliefoth thinks, the conspirators against Belshazzar availed themselves of the confusion connected with this proclamation, and all that accompanied it, for the execution of their purpose. We may not, however, add that therewith the dignity to which Daniel was advanced was again lost by him. It depended much rather on this: whether Belshazzar's successor recognised the promotion granted to Daniel in the last hours of his reign. But the successor would be inclined toward its

recognition by the reflection, that by Daniel's interpretation of the mysterious writing from God the putting of Belshazzar to death appeared to have a higher sanction, presenting itself as if it were something determined in the councils of the gods, whereby the successor might claim before the people that his usurpation of the throne was rendered legitimate. Such a reflection might move him to confirm Daniel's elevation to the office to which Belshazzar had raised him. This supposition appears to be supported by ch. vi. 2 (1).

Bleek and other critics have based another objection against the historical veracity of this narrative on the improbability that Belshazzar, although the interpretation predicted evil against him, and he could not at all know whether it was a correct interpretation, should have rewarded Daniel instead of putting him to death (Hitzig). But the force of this objection lies in the supposition that Belshazzar was as unbelieving with regard to a revelation from God, and with regard to the providence of the living God among the affairs of men, as are the critics of our day; the objection is altogether feeble when one appreciates the force of the belief, even among the heathen, in the gods and in revelations from God, and takes into consideration that Belshazzar perhaps scarcely believed the threatened judgment from God to be so near as it actually was, since the interpretation by Daniel decided nothing as regards the time, and perhaps also that he hoped to be able, by conferring honour upon Daniel, to appease the wrath of God.[1] The circumstance, also, that Daniel received the honour promised to him notwithstanding his declining it (ver. 17), can afford no ground of objection against the truth of the narrative, since that refusal was only an expression of the entire absence of all self-interest, which was now so fully established by the matter of the interpretation that there was no longer any ground for his declining the honours which were conferred upon him unsought, while they comprehended in themselves in reality a recognition of the God whom he served.

Ver. 30. With the death of Belshazzar that very night the interpretation given by Daniel began to be fulfilled, and this fulfilment afforded a certainty that the remaining parts of it would also sooner or later be accomplished. That this did not take place

[1] "*Non mirum, si Baltasar audiens tristia, solverit præmium quod pollicitus est. Aut enim longo post tempore credidit ventura quæ dixerat, aut dum Dei prophetam honorat, sperat se veniam consecuturum.*"—JEROME.

immediately, we have already shown in our preliminary remarks to this chapter.

CHAP. VI. DANIEL IN THE DEN OF LIONS.

Darius, the king of the Medes, had it in view to place Daniel as chief officer over the whole of his realm, and thereby he awakened against Daniel (vers. 1–6 [ch. v. 31–vi. 5]) the envy of the high officers of state. In order to frustrate the king's intention and to set Daniel aside, they procured an edict from Darius, which forbade for the space of thirty days, on the pain of death, prayer to be offered to any god or man, except to the king (vers. 7 [6]–10 [9]). Daniel, however, notwithstanding this, continued, according to his usual custom, to open the windows of his upper room, and there to pray to God three times a day. His conduct was watched, and he was accused of violating the king's edict, and thus he brought upon himself the threatened punishment of being thrown into the den of lions (vers. 11 [10]–18 [17]). But he remained uninjured among the lions; whereupon the king on the following morning caused him to be brought out of the den, and his malicious accusers to be thrown into it (vers. 19 [18]–25 [24]), and then by an edict he commanded his subjects to reverence the God of Daniel, who did wonders (vers. 26 [25]–28 [27]). As a consequence of this, Daniel prospered during the reign of Darius and of Cyrus the Persian (ver. 29 [28]).

From the historic statement of this chapter, that Darius the Mede took the Chaldean kingdom when he was about sixty-two years old (ver. 1 [ch. v. 31]), taken in connection with the closing remark (ver. 29 [28]) that it went well with Daniel during the reign of Darius and of Cyrus the Persian, it appears that the Chaldean kingdom, after its overthrow by the Medes and Persians, did not immediately pass into the hands of Cyrus, but that between the last of the Chaldean kings who lost the kingdom and the reign of Cyrus the Persian, Darius, descended from a Median family, held the reins of government, and that not till after him did Cyrus mount the throne of the Chaldean kingdom, which had been subdued by the Medes and Persians. This Median Darius was a son of Ahasuerus (ch. ix. 1), of the seed of the Medes; and according to ch. xi. 1, the angel Gabriel stood by him in his first year, which can mean no more than that the Babylonian kingdom was not taken without divine assistance.

This Darius the Mede and his reign are not distinctly noticed by profane historians. Hence the modern critics have altogether denied his existence, or at least have called it in question, and have thence derived an argument against the historical veracity of the whole narrative.

According to Berosus and Abydenus (*Fragmenta*, see p. 163), Nabonnedus, the last Babylonian king, was, after the taking of Babylon, besieged by Cyrus in Borsippa, where he was taken prisoner, and then banished to Carmania. After this Cyrus reigned, as Alex. Polyhistor says, nine years over Babylon; while in the Fragments preserved by Eusebius in his *Chron. Armen.*, to the statement that Cyrus conferred on him (*i.e.* Nabonet), when he had obtained possession of Babylon, the margraviate of the province of Carmania, it is added, "Darius the king removed (him) a little out of the country." Also in the astronomical Canon of Ptolemy, Nabonadius the Babylonian is at once followed by the list of Persian kings, beginning with Κῦρος, who reigned nine years.

When we compare with this the accounts given by the Greek historians, we find that Herodotus (i. 96–103, 106 ff.) makes mention of a succession of Median kings: Dejoces, Phraortes, Cyaxares, and Astyages. The last named, who had no male descendants, had a daughter, Mandane, married to a Persian Cambyses. Cyrus sprung from this marriage. Astyages, moved with fear lest this son of his daughter should rob him of his throne, sought to put him to death, but his design was frustrated. When Cyrus had reached manhood, Harpagus, an officer of the court of Astyages, who out of revenge had formed a conspiracy against him, called upon him at the head of the Persians to take the kingdom from his grandfather Astyages. Cyrus obeyed, moved the Persians to revolt from the Medes, attacked Astyages at Pasargada, and took him prisoner, but acted kindly toward him till his death; after which he became king over the realm of the Medes and Persians, and as such destroyed first the Lydian, and then the Babylonian kingdom. He conquered the Babylonian king, Labynetus the younger, in battle, and then besieged Babylon; and during a nocturnal festival of the Babylonians he penetrated the city by damming off the water of the Euphrates, and took it. Polyænus, Justin, and others follow in its details this very fabulous narrative, which is adorned with dreams and fictitious incidents. Ctesias also, who records traditions of the early history of Media altogether departing from Herodotus,

and who names nine kings, yet agrees with Herodotus in this, that Cyrus overcame Astyages and dethroned him. Cf. the different accounts given by Greek writers regarding the overthrow of the Median dominion by the Persians in M. Duncker's *Ges. d. Alterth.* ii. p. 634 ff., 3d ed.

Xenophon in the *Cyropædia* reports somewhat otherwise regarding Cyrus. According to him, the Median king Astyages, son of Cyaxares I., gave his daughter Mandane in marriage to Cambyses, the Persian king, who was under the Median supremacy, and that Cyrus was born of this marriage (i. 2. 1). When Cyrus arrived at man's estate Astyages died, and was succeeded on the Median throne by his son Cyaxares II., the brother of Mandane (i. 5. 2). When, after this, the Lydian king Crœsus concluded a covenant with the king of the Assyrians (Babylonians) having in view the overthrow of the Medes and Persians, Cyrus received the command of the united army of the Medes and Persians (iii. 3. 20 ff.); and when, after a victorious battle, Cyaxares was unwilling to proceed further, Cyrus carried forward the war by his permission, and destroyed the host of Crœsus and the Assyrians, on hearing of which, Cyaxares, who had spent the night at a riotous banquet, fell into a passion, wrote a threatening letter to Cyrus, and ordered the Medes to be recalled (iv. 5. 18). But when they declared, on the statement given by Cyrus, their desire to remain with him (iv. 5. 18), Cyrus entered on the war against Babylon independently of Cyaxares (v. 3. 1). Having driven the Babylonian king back upon his capital, he sent a message to Cyaxares, desiring him to come that he might decide regarding the vanquished and regarding the continuance of the war (v. 5. 1). Inasmuch as all the Medes and the confederated nations adhered to Cyrus, Cyaxares was under the necessity of taking this step. He came to the camp of Cyrus, who exhibited to him his power by reviewing before him his whole host; he then treated him kindly, and supplied him richly from the stores of the plunder he had taken (v. 5. 1 ff.). After this the war against Babylonia was carried on in such a way, that Cyaxares, sitting on the Median throne, presided over the councils of war, but Cyrus, as general, had the conduct of it (vi. 1. 6); and after he had conquered Sardes, taken Crœsus the king prisoner (vii. 2. 1), and then vanquished Hither Asia, he returned to Babylon (vii. 4. 17), and during a nocturnal festival of the Babylonians took the city, whereupon the king of Babylon was slain (vii. 5. 15–33). After the conquest of Babylon the army

regarded Cyrus as king, and he began to conduct his affairs as if he were king (vii. 5. 37); but he went however to Media, to present himself before Cyaxares. He brought presents to him, and showed him that there was a house and palace ready for him in Babylon, where he might reside when he went thither[1] (viii. 5. 17 f.). Cyaxares gave him his daughter to wife, and along with her, as her dowry, the whole of Media, for he had no son (viii. 5. 19). Cyrus now went first to Persia, and arranged that his father Cambyses should retain the sovereignty of it so long as he lived, and that then it should fall to him. He then returned to Media, and married the daughter of Cyaxares (viii. 5. 28). He next went to Babylon, and placed satraps over the subjugated peoples, etc. (viii. 6. 1), and so arranged that he spent the winter in Babylon, the spring in Susa, and the summer in Ecbatana (viii. 6. 22). Having reached an advanced old age, he came for the seventh time during his reign to Persia, and died there, after he had appointed his son Cambyses as his successor (viii. 7. 1 ff.).

This narrative by Xenophon varies from that of Herodotus in the following principal points:—(1) According to Herodotus, the line of Median kings closes with Astyages, who had no son; Xenophon, on the contrary, speaks of Astyages as having been succeeded by his son Cyaxares on the throne. (2) According to Herodotus, Cyrus was related to the Median royal house only as being the son of the daughter of Astyages, and had a claim to the Median throne only as being the grandson of Astyages; Xenophon, on the other hand, says that he was related to the royal house of Media, not only as being the grandson of Astyages and nephew of Cyaxares II., but also as having received in marriage the daughter of his uncle Cyaxares, and along with her the dowry of the Median throne. (3) According to Herodotus, Cyrus took part in the conspiracy formed by Harpagus against Astyages, slew his grandfather in battle, and took forcible possession of the dominion over the Medes; on the contrary, Xenophon relates that, though he was at variance with Cyaxares, he became again reconciled to him, and not only did not dethrone him, but permitted him to retain royal dignity even after the overthrow of Babylon, which was not brought about without his co-operation.

Of these discrepancies the first two form no special contradic-

[1] The words are: ὅτι οἶκος αὐτῷ ἐξηρημένος εἴη ἐν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ ἀρχεῖα, ὅπως ἔχῃ καὶ ὅταν ἐκεῖσε ἔλθῃ εἰς οἰκεῖα καταγέσθαι, on which L. Dindorf remarks, "οἶκος *videtur esse domus regia*, ἀρχεῖα *officia palatina*."

tion. Xenophon only communicates more of the tradition than Herodotus, who, according to his custom, makes mention only of the more celebrated of the rulers, passing by those that are less so,[1] and closes the list of Median kings with Astyages. Accordingly, in not mentioning Cyaxares II., he not only overlooks the second relationship Cyrus sustained to the Median royal house, but also is led to refer the tradition that the last of the Median kings had no male descendant to Astyages. The third point only presents an actual contradiction between the statements of Herodotus and those of Xenophon, viz. that according to Herodotus, Cyrus by force of arms took the kingdom from his grandfather, overcame Astyages in a battle at Pasargada, and dethroned him; while according to Xenophon, the Median kingdom first fell to Cyrus by his command of the army, and then as the dowry of his wife. Shall we now on this point decide, with v. Leng., Hitzig, and others, in favour of Herodotus and against Xenophon, and erase Cyaxares II. from the list not only of the Median kings, but wholly from the page of history, because Herodotus and Ctesias have not made mention of him? Has then Herodotus or Ctesias alone recorded historical facts, and that fully, and Xenophon in the *Cyropædia* fabricated only a pædagogic romance destitute of historical veracity? All thorough investigators have testified to the very contrary, and Herodotus himself openly confesses (i. 95) that he gives only the sayings regarding Cyrus which appeared to him to be credible; and yet the narrative, as given by him, consists only of a series of popular traditions which in his time were in circulation among the Medes, between two and three hundred years after the events. Xenophon also has gathered the historic material for his *Cyropædia* only from tradition, but from Persian tradition, in which, favoured by the reigning dynasty, the Cyrus-legend, interwoven with the end of the Median independence and the founding of the Persian sovereignty, is more fully transmitted than among the Medes, whose national recollections, after the extinction of their dynasty, were not fostered. If we may therefore expect more exact information in Xenophon than in Herodotus, yet it is imaginable that Xenophon transformed the narrative of

[1] *Solere Herodotum prætermissis mediocribus hominibus ex longa regum serie nonnisi unum alterumve memorare reliquis eminentiorem, et aliunde constat et ipsa Babyloniæ historia docet, et qua unius Nitocris reginæ mentionem injicit, reliquos reges omnes usque ad Labynetum, ne Nebucadnezare quidem excepto, silentio transit* (i. 185-187).—GES. *Thes.* p. 350.

the rebellion by Cyrus and his war against Cyaxares into that which he has recorded as to the relation he sustained towards Cyaxares, in order that he might wipe out this moral stain from the character of his hero. But this supposition would only gain probability under the presumption of what Hitzig maintains, if it were established: "If, in *Cyrop.* viii. 5. 19, the Median of his own free will gave up his country to Cyrus, Xenophon's historical book shows, on the contrary, that the Persians snatched by violence the sovereignty from the Medes (*Anab.* iii. 4. 7, 11, 12);" but in the *Anab. l.c.* Xenophon does not say this, but (§ 8) only, *ὅτε παρὰ Μήδων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανον Πέρσαι.*[1] Thus, supposing the statement that the cities of Larissa and Mespila were besieged by the Persian king at the time when the Persians gained the supremacy over the Medes were historically true, and Xenophon communicated here not a mere *fabulam ab incolis narratam*, yet Xenophon would not be found contradicting his *Cyropœdia*, since, as Kran. has well observed, "it can be nothing surprising that among a people accustomed to a native royal dynasty, however well founded Cyrus' claim in other respects might be, manifold commotions and insurrections should arise, which needed to be forcibly suppressed, so that thus the kingdom could be at the same time spoken of as conquered."

Add to this the decisive fact, that the account given by Herod. of Cyrus and the overthrow of Astyages, of which even Duncker, p. 649, remarks, that in its prompting motive "it awakens great doubts," is in open contradiction with all the well-established facts of Medo-Persian history. "All authentic reports testify that in the formation of Medo-Persia the Medes and the Persians are separated in a peculiar way, and yet bound to each other as kindred races. If Herod. is right, if Astyages was always attempting to take Cyrus' life, if Cyrus took the kingdom from Astyages by force, then such a relation between the 'Medes and Persians' (as it always occurs in the O. T.) would have been inconceivable; the Medes would not have stood to the Persians in any other relation

[1] Concerning the expression *ἐλάμβανον τὴν ἀρχὴν*, Dindorf remarks: "*Verbum hoc Medos sponte Persarum imperio subjectos significat, quanquam reliqua narratio seditionem aliquam Larissensium arguere videatur. Igitur hic nihil est dissensionis inter Cyropœdiam et Anabasin. . . . Gravius est quod Xenophon statim in simili narratione posuit, ὅτε ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Περσῶν Μῆδοι. Sed ibidem scriptor incolarum fidem antestatur.*" Thus the philologists are in their judgment of the matter opposed to the modern critics.

than did the other subjugated peoples, *e.g.* the Babylonians" (Klief.). On the other hand, the account given by Xenophon regarding Cyaxares so fully agrees with the narrative of Daniel regarding Darius the Mede, that, as Hitzig confesses, "the identity of the two is beyond a doubt." If, according to Xen., Cyrus conquered Babylon by the permission of Cyaxares, and after its overthrow not only offered him a "residence" there (Hitzig), but went to Media, presented himself before Cyaxares, and showed him that he had appointed for him in Babylon *οἶκος καὶ ἀρχεῖα*, in order that when he went thither *εἰς οἰκεῖα κατάγεσθαι*, *i.e.* in order that when, according to Eastern custom, he changed his residence he might have a royal palace there, so, according to Daniel, Darius did not overthrow the Chaldean kingdom, but received it (ch. vi. 1), and was made king (הַמְלַךְ, ch. ix. 1), namely, by Cyrus, who, according to the prophecies of Isaiah, was to overthrow Babylon, and, according to Dan. vi. 29, succeeded Darius on the throne. The statement, also, that Darius was about sixty-two years old when he ascended the throne of the Chaldean kingdom, harmonizes with the report given by Xenophon, that when Cyaxares gave his daughter to Cyrus, he gave him along with her the kingdom of Media, because he had no male heir, and was so far advanced in years that he could not hope to have now any son. Finally, even in respect of character the Cyaxares of Xen. resembles the Darius of Daniel. As the former describes the conduct of Cyrus while he revelled in sensual pleasures, so Darius is induced by his nobles to issue an edict without obtaining any clear knowledge as to its motive, and allows himself to be forced to put it into execution, however sorrowful he might be on account of its relation to Daniel.

After all this, there can be no reason to doubt the reign of Darius the Mede. But how long it lasted cannot be determined either from the book of Daniel, in which (ch. ix. 1) only the first year of his reign is named, or from any other direct sources. Ptolemy, in his Canon, places after Nabonadius the reign of Cyrus the Persian for nine years. With this, the words of Xenophon, *τὸ ἕβδομον ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς*, which by supplying *ἔτος* after *ἕβδομον* are understood of seven years' reign, are combined, and thence it is concluded that Cyaxares reigned two years. But the supplement of *ἔτος* is not warranted by the context. The supposition, however, that Darius reigned for two years over Babylon is correct. For the Babylonian kingdom was destroyed sixty-eight years after the commencement of the Exile. Since, then, the

seventy years of the Exile were completed in the first year of the reign of Cyrus (2 Chron. xxxvi. 22 f.; Ezra i. 1), it follows that Cyrus became king two years after the overthrow of Babylon, and thus after Darius had reigned two years. See at ch. ix. 1, 2.

From the shortness of the reign of Darius, united with the circumstance that Cyrus destroyed Babylon and put an end to the Chaldean kingdom, it is easy to explain how the brief and not very independent reign of Darius might be quite passed by, not only by Herodotus and Ctesias, and all later Greek historians, but also by Berosus. Although Cyrus only as commander-in-chief of the army of Cyaxares had with a Medo-Persian host taken Babylon, yet the tradition might speak of the conquering Persian as the lord of the Chaldean kingdom, without taking at all into account the Median chief king, whom in a brief time Cyrus the conqueror succeeded on the throne. In the later tradition of the Persians,[1] from which all the historians known to us, with the exception of Berosus, have constructed their narrative, the Median rule over the Chaldean kingdom naturally sinks down into an insignificant place in relation to the independent government of the conqueror Cyrus and his people which was so soon to follow. The absence of all notice by Berosus, Herod., and Ctesias of the short Median reign can furnish no substantial ground for calling in question the statements of Xen. regarding Cyaxares, and of Daniel regarding the Median Darius, although all other witnesses for this were altogether of no force, which is indeed asserted, but has been proved by no one.[2]

[1] "In the Babylonian tradition," Kranichfeld well remarks, "the memorable catastrophe of the overthrow of Babylon would, at all events, be joined to the warlike operations of Cyrus the conquering Persian, who, according to Xenoph., conducted himself in Babylon as a king (cf. *Cyrop.* vii. 5. 37), and it might be very indifferent to the question for whom he specially undertook the siege. The Persian tradition had in the national interest a reason for ignoring altogether the brief Median feudal sovereignty over Babylon, which, besides, was only brought about by the successful war of a Persian prince."

[2] Of these witnesses the notice by Abydenus (*Chron. Armen.*, Euseb.) already mentioned, p. 164, bears in its aphoristic brevity, "Darius the king removed him out of the land," altogether the stamp of an historical tradition, and can be understood only of Darius the Mede, since Eusebius has joined it to the report regarding the dethroning of the last Babylonian king by Cyrus. Also, the often-quoted lines of Æschylus, *Pers.* 762–765,

Μῆδος γὰρ ἦν ὁ πρῶτος ἡγεμὼν στρατοῦ,
Ἄλλος δ' ἐκείνου παῖς τόδ' ἔργον ἤνυσε . . . .
Τρίτος δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Κῦρος εὐδαίμων ἀνήρ, κ.τ.λ.,—

This result is not rendered doubtful by the fact that Xenophon calls this Median king *Κυαξάρης* and describes him as the son of Astyages, while, on the contrary, Daniel calls him Darjawesch (Darius) the son of Ahasuerus (ch. ix. 1). The name *Κυαξάρης* is the Median *Uwakshatra*, and means *autocrat*; *Ἀστυάγης* corresponds to the Median *Ajisdahâka*, the name of the Median dynasty, meaning the *biting serpent* (cf. Nieb. *Gesch. Assurs*, p. 175 f.). דָּרְיָוֶשׁ, *Δαρεῖος*, the Persian *Dârjawusch*, rightly explained by Herod. vi. 98 by the word *ἐρξείης*, means the *keeper*, *ruler*; and אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ, *Ahasverus*, as the name of Xerxes, in the Persian cuneiform inscriptions *Kschajârschâ*, is certainly formed, however one may interpret the name, from *Kschaja*, *kingdom*, the title of the Persian rulers, like the Median "Astyages." The names *Cyaxares* and *Darjawesch* are thus related to each other, and are the paternal names of both dynasties, or the titles of the rulers. Xenophon has communicated to us the Median name and title of the last king; Daniel gives, as it appears, the Persian name and title which Cyaxares, as king of the united Chaldean and Medo-Persian kingdom, received and bore.

The circumstances reported in this chapter occurred, according to the statement in ver. 29*a*, in the first of the two years' reign of Darius over Babylon. The matter and object of this report are related to the events recorded in ch. iii. As in that chapter Daniel's companions are condemned to be cast into the fiery furnace on account of their transgression of the royal commandment enjoining them to fall down before the golden image that had been set up by Nebuchadnezzar, so here in this chapter Daniel himself is cast into the den of lions because of his transgression of the command enjoining that prayer was to be offered

are in the simplest manner explained historically if by the work which the first Mede began and the second completed, and which yet brought all the glory to the third, viz. Cyrus, is understood the taking of Babylon; according to which Astyages is the first, Cyaxares II. the second, and Cyrus the third, and Æschylus agrees with Xenophon. Other interpretations, *e.g.* of Phraortes and Cyaxares I., agree with no single report. Finally, the Darics also give evidence for Darius the Mede, since of all explanations of the name of this gold coin (the Daric) its derivation from a king Darius is the most probable; and so also do the statements of the rhetorician Harpocration, the scholiast to Aristophanis *Ecclesiaz.* 589, and of Suidas, that the *Δαρεικοί* did not derive their name, as most suppose, from Darius the father of Xerxes, but from another and an older king (Darius), according to the declaration of Herodot. iv. 166, that Darius first struck this coin, which is not outweighed by his scanty knowledge of the more ancient history of the Medes and Persians.

to no other god, but to the king only. The motive of the accusation is, in the one case as in the other, envy on account of the high position which the Jews had reached in the kingdom, and the object of it was the driving of the foreigners from their influential offices. The wonderful deliverance also of the faithful worshippers of God from the death which threatened them, with the consequences of that deliverance, are alike in both cases. But along with these similarities there appear also differences altogether corresponding to the circumstances, which show that historical facts are here related to us, and not the products of a fiction formed for a purpose. In ch. iii. Nebuchadnezzar requires all the subjects of his kingdom to do homage to the image he had set up, and to worship the gods of his kingdom, and his command affords to the enemies of the Jews the wished-for opportunity of accusing the friends of Daniel of disobedience to the royal will. In ch. vi., on the other hand, Darius is moved and induced by his great officers of state, whose design was to set Daniel aside, to issue the edict there mentioned, and he is greatly troubled when he sees the application of the edict to the case of Daniel. The character of Darius is fundamentally different from that of Nebuchadnezzar. The latter was a king distinguished by energy and activity, a perfect autocrat; the former, a weak prince and wanting in energy, who allowed himself to be guided and governed by his state officers. The command of Nebuchadnezzar to do homage to his gods is the simple consequence of the supremacy of the ungodly world-power; the edict extorted from Darius, on the contrary, is a deification of the world-power for the purpose of oppressing the true servants of God. The former command only places the gods of the world-power above the living God of heaven and earth; the latter edict seeks wholly to set aside the recognition of this God, if only for a time, by forbidding prayer to be offered to Him. This tyranny of the servants of the world-power is more intolerable than the tyranny of the world-ruler.

Thus the history recorded in this chapter shows, on the one side, how the ungodly world-power in its progressive development assumes an aspect continually more hostile toward the kingdom of God, and how with the decrease of its power of action its hatred against the true servants of God increases; and it shows, on the other side, how the Almighty God not only protects His worshippers against all the intrigues and machinations of the enemy, but also requites the adversaries according to their deeds. Daniel was

protected against the rage of the lions, while his enemies were torn by them to pieces as soon as they were cast into the den.

This miracle of divine power is so vexatious to the modern critics, that Bleek, v. Leng., Hitzig, and others have spared no pains to overthrow the historical trustworthiness of the narrative, and represent it as a fiction written with a design. Not only does the prohibition to offer any petition to any god or man except to the king for a month "not find its equal in absurdity," but the typology (Daniel an antitype of Joseph!) as well as the relation to ch. iii. betray the fiction. Darius, it is true, does not show himself to be the type of Antiochus Epiphanes, also the command, vers. 27 and 28, puts no restraint in reality on those concerned; but by the prohibition, ver. 8, the free exercise of their religion is undoubtedly attacked, and such hostility against the faith found its realization for the first time only and everywhere in the epoch of Antiochus Epiphanes. Consequently, according to Hitzig, "the prohibition here is reflected from that of Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Macc. i. 41–50), and exaggerates it even to a caricature of it, for the purpose of placing clearly in the light the hatefulness of such tyranny."

On the contrary, the advocates of the genuineness of Daniel have conclusively shown that the prohibition referred to, ver. 8, corresponds altogether to the religious views of the Medo-Persians, while on the other hand it is out and out in contradiction to the circumstances of the times of the Maccabees. Thus, that the edict did not contemplate the removal or the uprooting of all religious worship except praying to the king, is clearly manifest not only in this, that the prohibition was to be enforced for one month only, but also in the intention which the magnates had in their eye, of thereby effecting certainly the overthrow of Daniel. The religious restraint which was thus laid upon the Jews for a month is very different from the continual rage of Antiochus Epiphanes against the Jewish worship of God. Again, not only is the character of Darius and his relation to Daniel, as the opponents themselves must confess, such as not to furnish a type in which Antiochus Epiphanes may be recognised, but the enemies of Daniel do not really become types of this tyrant; for they seek his overthrow not from religious antipathy, but, moved only by vulgar envy, they seek to cast him down from his lofty position in the state. Thus also in this respect the historical point of view of the hostility to Daniel as representing Judaism, is fundamen-

tally different from that of the war waged by Antiochus against Judaism, so that this narrative is destitute of every characteristic mark of the Seleucidan-Maccabee æra. Cf. the further representation of this difference by Kranichfeld, p. 229 ff.—The views of Hitzig will be met in our exposition.

Vers. 1–10 (ch. v. 31–vi. 9). *Transference of the kingdom to Darius the Mede; appointment of the regency; envy of the satraps against Daniel, and their attempt to destroy him.*

The narrative of this chapter is connected by the copula ו with the occurrence recorded in the preceding; yet ver. 1 does not, as in the old versions and with many interpreters, belong to the fifth chapter, but to the sixth, and forms not merely the bond of connection between the events narrated in the fifth and sixth chapters, but furnishes at the same time the historical basis for the following narrative, vers. 2 (1)–29 (28). The statement of the verse, that Darius the Mede received the kingdom when he was about sixty-two years old, connects itself essentially with ch. v. 30, so far as it joins to the fulfilment, there reported, of the first part of the sacred writing interpreted by Daniel to Belshazzar, the fulfilment also of the second part of that writing, but not so closely that the designation of time, *in that same night* (ch. v. 30), is applicable also to the fact mentioned in ch. vi. 1 (v. 31), and as warranting the supposition that the transference of the kingdom to Darius the Mede took place on the night in which Belshazzar was slain. Against such a chronological connection of these two verses, ch. v. 30 and vi. 1 (v. 31), we adduce in the second half of ver. 1 (ch. v. 31) the statement of the age of Darius, in addition to the reasons already adduced in p. 163. This is not to make it remarkable that, instead of the young mad debauchee (Belshazzar), with whom, according to prophecy, the Chaldean bondage of Israel was brought to an end, a man of mature judgment seized the reigns of government (Delitzsch); for this supposition fails not only with the hypothesis, already confuted, on which it rests, but is quite foreign to the text, for Darius in what follows does not show himself to be a ruler of matured experience. The remark of Kliefoth has much more in its favour, that by the statement of the age it is designed to be made prominent that the government of Darius the Mede did not last long, soon giving place to that of Cyrus the Persian, ver. 29 (28), whereby the divine writing, that the Chaldean kingdom would be given to the Medes and Persians, was fully ac-

complished. Regarding *Darjawesch*, Darius, see the preliminary remarks. The addition of מָדָיָא (*Kethiv*) forms on the one hand a contrast to the expression "the king of the Chaldeans" (ch. v. 30), and on the other it points forward to פָּרְסָיָא, ver. 29 (28); it, however, furnishes no proof that Daniel distinguished the Median kingdom from the Persian; for the kingdom is not called a Median kingdom, but it is only said of Darius that he was of Median descent, and, ver. 29 (28), that Cyrus the Persian succeeded him in the kingdom. In קִבֵּל, *he received* the kingdom, it is indicated that Darius did not conquer it, but received it from the conqueror; see p. 198. The כְּ in כְּבַר intimates that the statement of the age rests only on a probable estimate.

Ver. 2 (1). For the government of the affairs of the kingdom he had received, and especially for regulating the gathering in of the tribute of the different provinces, Darius placed 120 satraps over the whole kingdom, and over these satraps three chiefs, to whom the satraps should give an account. Regarding אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנַיָּא (*satraps*), see at ch. iii. 2. סָרְכִין, plur. of סָרְךְ; סָרְכָא has in the Semitic no right etymology, and is derived from the Aryan, from the Zend. *sara*, *çara*, *head*, with the syllable *ach*. In the Targg., in use for the Hebr. שַׂר, it denotes a *president*, of whom the three named in ver. 2 (1), by their position over the satraps, held the rank of chief governors or ministers, for which the Targg. use סַרְכָן, while סָרְכִין in ver. 8 denotes *all the military and civil prefects of the kingdom.*

The modern critics have derived from this arrangement for the government of the kingdom made by Darius an argument against the credibility of the narrative, which Hitzig has thus formulated: —According to Xenophon, Cyrus first appointed satraps over the conquered regions, and in all to the number of six (*Cyrop.* viii. 6, § 1, 7); according to the historian Herodotus, on the contrary (iii. 89 ff.), Darius Hystaspes first divided the kingdom into twenty satrapies for the sake of the administration of the taxes. With this statement agrees the number of the peoples mentioned on the Inscription at Bisutun; and if elsewhere (Insc. J. and Nakschi Rustam) at least twenty-four and also twenty-nine are mentioned, we know that several regions or nations might be placed under one satrap (Herod. *l.c.*). The kingdom was too small for 120 satraps in the Persian sense. On the other hand, one may not appeal to the 127 provinces (מְדִינוֹת) of king Ahasuerus = Xerxes (Esth. i. 1, ix. 30); for the ruler of the מְדִינָה is not the same as (Esth, viii. 9)

the satrap. In Esth. iii. 12 it is the פַּחָה, as *e.g.* of the province of Judah (Hag. i. 1; Mal. i. 8; Neh. v. 14). It is true there were also greater provinces, such *e.g.* as of Media and Babylonia (Ezra vi. 2; Dan. ii. 49), and perhaps also *pecha* (פַּחָה) might be loosely used to designate a satrap (Ezra v. 3, vi. 6); yet the 127 provinces were not such, nor is a satrap interchangeably called a *pecha*. When Daniel thus mentions so large a number of satraps, it is the Grecian satrapy that is apparently before his mind. Under Seleucus Nicator there were seventy-two of these.

The foundation of this argument, viz. that Darius Hystaspes, "according to the historian Herodotus," first divided the kingdom into satrapies, and, of course, also that the statement by Xenophon of the sending of six satraps into the countries subdued by Cyrus is worthy of no credit, is altogether unhistorical, resting only on the misinterpretation and distortion of the testimonies adduced. Neither Herodotus nor Xenophon represents the appointment of satraps by Cyrus and Darius as an entirely new and hitherto untried method of governing the kingdom; still less does Xenophon say that Cyrus sent in all only six satraps into the subjugated countries. It is true he mentions by name (viii. 6, 7) only six satraps, but he mentions also the provinces into which they were sent, viz. one to Arabia, and the other five to Asia Minor, with the exception, however, of Cilicia, Cyprus, and Paphlagonia, to which he did not send any *Πέρσας σατράπας*, because they had voluntarily joined him in fighting against Babylon. Hence it is clear as noonday that Xenophon speaks only of those satraps whom Cyrus sent to Asia Minor and to Arabia, and says nothing of the satrapies of the other parts of the kingdom, such as Judea, Syria, Babylonia, Assyria, Media, etc., so that no one can affirm that Cyrus sent in all only six satraps into the conquered countries. As little does Herodotus, *l.c.*, say that Darius Hystaspes was the *first* to introduce the government of the kingdom by satraps: he only says that Darius Hystaspes divided the whole kingdom into twenty *ἀρχαί* which were called *σατραπηΐαι*, appointed *ἄρχοντες*, and regulated the tribute; for he numbers these satrapies simply with regard to the tribute with which each was chargeable, while under Cyrus and Cambyses no tribute was imposed, but presents only were contributed. Consequently, Herod. speaks only of a regulation for the administration of the different provinces of the kingdom for the special purpose of the certain payment of the tribute which Darius Hystaspes had appointed. Thus the historian M. Duncker

also understands this statement; for he says (*Gesch. des Alterth.* ii. p. 891) regarding it:—"About the year 515 Darius established fixed government-districts in place of the vice-regencies which Cyrus and Cambyses had appointed and changed according to existing exigencies. He divided the kingdom into twenty satrapies." Then at p. 893 he further shows how this division also of the kingdom by Darius was not fixed unchangeably, but was altered according to circumstances. Hitzig's assertion, that the kingdom was too small for 120 satrapies in the Persian sense, is altogether groundless. From Esth. viii. 9 and iii. 19 it follows not remotely, that not satraps but the פַּחוֹת represent the מְדִינוֹת. In ch. viii. 9 satraps, פַּחוֹת, and שָׂרֵי הַמְּדִינוֹת are named, and in ch. iii. 12 they are called the king's satraps and פַּחוֹת אֲשֶׁר עַל מְדִינָה. On Esth. iii. 12 Bertheau remarks: "The *pechas*, who are named along with the satraps, are probably the officers of the circles within the separate satrapies;" and in ch. viii. 9 satraps and *pechas* are named as שָׂרֵי הַמְּדִינוֹת, *i.e.* presidents, superintendents of the 127 provinces of the kingdom from India to Ethiopia, from which nothing can be concluded regarding the relation of the satraps to the *pechas*. Berth. makes the same remark on Ezra viii. 36:—"The relation of the king's satraps to the *pachavoth abar nahara* (governors on this side the river) we cannot certainly determine; the former were probably chiefly military rulers, and the latter government officials." For the assertion that *pecha* is perhaps loosely used for satrap, but that interchangeably a satrap cannot be called a *pecha*, rests, unproved, on the authority of Hitzig.

From the book of Esther it cannot certainly be proved that so many satraps were placed over the 127 provinces into which Xerxes divided the kingdom, but only that these provinces were ruled by satraps and *pechas*. But the division of the whole kingdom into 127 provinces nevertheless shows that the kingdom might have been previously divided under Darius the Mede into 120 provinces, whose prefects might be called in this verse אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנִין, *i.e. kschatrapavan, protectors of the kingdom* or *of the provinces*, since this title is derived from the Sanscrit and Old Persian, and is not for the first time used under Darius Hystaspes or Cyrus. The Median Darius might be led to appoint one satrap, *i.e.* a prefect clothed with military power, over each district of his kingdom, since the kingdom was but newly conquered, that he might be able at once to suppress every attempt at insurrection among the nations coming under his dominion. The separation of the civil govern-

ment, particularly in the matter of the raising of tribute, from the military government, or the appointment of satraps *οἱ τὸν δασμὸν λαμβάνοντες, κ.τ.λ.*, along with the *φρούραρχοι* and the *χιλίαρχοι*, for the protection of the boundaries of the kingdom, was first adopted, according to Xenophon *l.c.*, by Cyrus, who next appointed satraps for the provinces of Asia Minor and of Arabia, which were newly brought under his sceptre; while in the older provinces which had formed the Babylonian kingdom, satrapies which were under civil and military rulers already existed from the time of Nebuchadnezzar; cf. Dan. ii. 3 ff. This arrangement, then, did not originate with Darius Hystaspes in the dividing of the whole kingdom into twenty satrapies mentioned by Herodotus. Thus the statements of Herodotus and Xenophon harmonize perfectly with those of the Scriptures, and every reason for regarding with suspicion the testimony of Daniel wholly fails.

Vers. 2, 3 (1, 2). According to ver. 2, Darius not only appointed 120 satraps for all the provinces and districts of his kingdom, but he also placed the whole body of the satraps under a government consisting of three presidents, who should reckon with the individual satraps. עִלָּא, in the Targg. עֵילָא, *the height*, with the adverb מִן, *higher than, above.* יְהַב טַעֲמָא, *to give reckoning, to account.* נָזַק, part. of נְזַק, *to suffer loss*, particularly with reference to the revenue. This triumvirate, or higher authority of three, was also no new institution by Darius, but according to ch. v. 7, already existed in the Chaldean kingdom under Belshazzar, and was only continued by Darius; and the satraps or the district rulers of the several provinces of the kingdom were subordinated to them. Daniel was one of the triumvirate. Since it is not mentioned that Darius first appointed him to this office, we may certainly conclude that he only confirmed him in the office to which Belshazzar had promoted him.

Ver. 4 (3). In this situation Daniel excelled all the presidents and satraps. אִתְנַצָּח, *to show one's self prominent.* Regarding his excellent spirit, cf. ch. v. 12. On that account the king thought to set him over the whole kingdom, *i.e.* to make him chief ruler of the kingdom, to make him מְשַׁנֶּה לְמַלְכָּה (Esth. x. 3). עֲשִׁית for עֲשָׁת, intrans. form of the Peal, *to think, to consider about anything.* This intention of the king stirred up the envy of the other presidents and of the satraps, so that they sought to find an occasion against Daniel, that he might be cast down. עִלָּה, *an occasion;* here, as *αἰτία*, John xviii. 38, Matt. xxvii. 37, *an occasion for impeachment.*

מִצַּד מַלְכוּתָא, *on the part of the kingdom, i.e.* not merely in a political sense, but with regard to his holding a public office in the kingdom, with reference to his service. But since they could find no occasion against Daniel in this respect, for he was מְהֵימָן, *faithful, to be relied on,* and no fault could be charged against him, they sought occasion against him on the side of his particular religion, in the matter of the law of his God, *i.e.* in his worship of God.

Ver. 7 (6). For this end they induced the king to sanction and ratify with all the forms of law a decree, which they contrived as the result of the common consultation of all the high officers, that for thirty days no man in the kingdom should offer a prayer to any god or man except to the king, on pain of being cast into the den of lions, and to issue this command as a law of the Medes and Persians, *i.e.* as an irrevocable law. הַרְגֵּשׁ, from רְגֵשׁ *to make a noise, to rage,* in Aphel c. עַל, *to assail one in a tumultuous manner, i.e.* to assault him. "These presidents and satraps (princes)," ver. 7 (6), in ver. 6 (5) designated "these men," and not the whole body of the presidents and satraps, are, according to ver. 5 (4), the special enemies of Daniel, who wished to overthrow him. It was only a definite number of them who may have had occasion to be dissatisfied with Daniel's service. The words of the text do not by any means justify the supposition that the whole council of state assembled, and *in corpore* presented themselves before the king (Hävernick); for neither in ver. 5 (4) nor in ver. 7 (6) is mention made of all (כֹּל) the presidents and satraps. From the fact also that these accusers of Daniel, ver. 25 (24), represent to the king that the decree they had framed was the result of a consultation of all the prefects of the kingdom, it does not follow that all the satraps and chief officers of the whole kingdom had come to Babylon in order, as Dereser thinks, to lay before the three overseers the annual account of their management of the affairs of their respective provinces, on which occasion they took counsel together against Daniel; from which circumstance Hitzig and others derive an argument against the historical veracity of the narrative. The whole connection of the narrative plainly shows that the authors of the accusation deceived the king. The council of state, or the chief court, to which all the satraps had to render an account, consisted of three men, of whom Daniel was one. But Daniel certainly was not called to this consultation; therefore their pretence, that *all* "presidents of the kingdom" had consulted on the matter, was false. Besides, they deceived the king

in this, that they concealed from him the intention of the decree, or misled him regarding it. אִתְיָעֲטוּ means not merely that they consulted together, but it includes the result of the consultation: *they were of one mind* (Hitz.).

Ver. 8. כֹּל סָרְכֵי מַלְכוּתָא does not denote the three presidents named in ver. 3 (2), but all the prefects of the kingdom, of whom there were four classes, as is acknowledged by Chr. B. Michaelis, though Hitz. opposes this view. Such an interpretation is required by the genitive מַלְכוּתָא, and by the absence of כל, or at least of the copula ו, before the official names that follow; while the objection, that by this interpretation just the chief presidents who are principally concerned are omitted (Hitz.), is without foundation, for they are comprehended under the word סְגָנַיָּא. If we compare the list of the four official classes here mentioned with that of the great officers of state under Nebuchadnezzar, ch. iii. 2, the naming of the סְגָנַיָּא before the אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנַיָּא (*satraps*) (while in ch. iii. 2 they are named after them) shows that the סְגָנַיָּא are here great officers to whom the satraps were subordinate, and that only the three סָרְכִין could be meant to whom the satraps had to render an account. Moreover, the list of four names is divided by the copula ו into two classes. To the first class belong the סְגָנַיָּא and the satraps; to the second the הַדָּבְרִין, *state councillors*, and the פַּחֲוָתָא, *civil prefects of the provinces*. Accordingly, we will scarcely err if by סְגָנַיָּא we understand the *members of the highest council of state*, by הַדָּבְרַיָּא *the ministers* or *members of the* (*lower*) *state council*, and by the satraps and *pechas the military* and *civil rulers of the provinces*. This grouping of the names confirms, consequently, the general interpretation of the כֹּל סָרְכֵי מַלְכוּתָא, for the four classes named constitute the entire chief prefecture of the kingdom. This interpretation is not made questionable by the fact that the סָרְכִין had in the kingdom of Darius a different position from that they held in the kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar; for in this respect each kingdom had its own particular arrangement, which underwent manifold changes according to the times.

The infinitive clause לְקַיָּמָא קְיָם וגו׳ presents the conclusion arrived at by the consultation. מַלְכָּא is not the genitive to קְיָם, but according to the accents and the context is the subject of the infinitive clause: *that the king should appoint a statute*, not *that a royal statute should be appointed*. According to the analogy of the pronoun and of the *dimin.* noun, the accusative is placed before the subject-genitive, as *e.g.* Isa. xx. 1, v. 24, so as not to separate from one another

the קַיְמָא קְיָם (*to establish a statute*) and the תַּקָּפָה אֱסָר (*to make a firm decree*). Ver. 9*a* requires this construction. It is the king who issues the decree, and not his chief officers of state, as would have been the case if מַלְכָּא were construed as the genitive to קְיָם. קְיָם, *manifesto, ordinance, command.* The command is more accurately defined by the parallel clause תַּקָּפָה אֱסָר, *to make fast, i.e. to decree a prohibition.* The officers wished that the king should issue a decree which should contain a binding prohibition, *i.e.* it should forbid, on pain of death, any one for the space of thirty days, *i.e.* for a month, to offer any prayer to a god or man except to the king. בָּעוּ is here not any kind of request or supplication, but prayer, as the phrase ver. 14 (13), בָּעֵא בָּעוּתֵהּ, *directing his prayer*, shows. The word וֶאֱנָשׁ does not prove the contrary, for the heathen prayed also to men (cf. ch. ii. 46); and here the clause, *except to the king*, places together god and man, so that the king might not observe that the prohibition was specially directed against Daniel.

Ver. 9. In order that they may more certainly gain their object, they request the king to put the prohibition into writing, so that it might not be changed, *i.e.* might not be set aside or recalled, according to the law of the Medes and Persians, in conformity with which an edict once emitted by the king in all due form, *i.e.* given in writing and sealed with the king's seal, was unchangeable; cf. ver. 16 and Esth. viii. 8, i. 19. דִּי לָא תֶעְדֵּא, *which cannot pass away, i.e. cannot be set aside, is irrevocable.* The relative דִּי refers to דָּת, by which we are not to understand, with v. Lengerke, the entire national law of the Medes and Persians, as if this were so unalterable that no law could be disannulled or changed according to circumstances, but דָּת is every separate edict of the king emitted in the form of law. This remains unchangeable and irrevocable, because the king was regarded and honoured as the incarnation of deity, who is unerring and cannot change.

Ver. 10. The king carried out the proposal. וַאֲסָרָא is explicative: *the writing*, namely, the prohibition (spoken of); for this was the chief matter, therefore אֲסָרָא alone is here mentioned, and not also קְיָם (*edict*), ver. 8.

The right interpretation of the subject-matter and of the foundation of the law which was sanctioned by the king, sets aside the objection that the prohibition was a senseless "bedlamite" law (v. Leng.), which instead of regulating could only break up all society. The law would be senseless only if the prohibition had related to every petition in common life in the intercourse of

civil society. But it only referred to the religious sphere of prayer, as an evidence of worshipping God; and if the king was venerated as an incarnation of the deity, then it was altogether reasonable in its character. And if we consider that the intention of the law, which they concealed from the king, was only to effect Daniel's overthrow, the law cannot be regarded as designed to press Parsism or the Zend religion on all the nations of the kingdom, or to put an end to religious freedom, or to make Parsism the world-religion. Rather, as Kliefoth has clearly and justly shown, "the object of the law was only to bring about the general recognition of the principle that the king was the living manifestation of all the gods, not only of the Median and Persian, but also of the Babylonian and Lydian, and all the gods of the conquered nations. It is therefore also not correct that the king should be represented as the incarnation of Ormuzd. The matter is to be explained not from Parsism alone, but from heathenism in general. According to the general fundamental principle of heathenism, the ruler is the son, the representative, the living manifestation of the people's gods, and the world-ruler thus the manifestation of all the gods of the nations that were subject to him. Therefore all heathen world-rulers demanded from the heathen nations subdued by them, that religious homage should be rendered to them in the manner peculiar to each nation. Now that is what was here sought. All the nations subjected to the Medo-Persian kingdom were required not to abandon their own special worship rendered to their gods, but in fact to acknowledge that the Medo-Persian world-ruler Darius was also the son and representative of their national gods. For this purpose they must for the space of thirty days present their petitions to their national gods only in him as their manifestation. And the heathen nations could all do this without violating their consciences; for since in their own manner they served the Median king as the son of their gods, they served their gods in him. The Jews, however, were not in the condition of being able to regard the king as a manifestation of Jehovah, and thus for them there was involved in the law truly a religious persecution, although the heathen king and his satraps did not thereby intend religious persecution, but regarded such disobedience as only culpable obstinacy and political rebellion."[1]

[1] Brissonius, *De regio Persarum princ.* p. 17 sqq., has collected the testimonies of the ancients to the fact that the Persian kings laid claim to divine honour. *Persas reges suos inter Deos colere, majestatem enim imperii salutis esse tutelam.*

The religious persecution to which this law subjected the Jews was rendered oppressive by this: that the Jews were brought by it into this situation, that for a whole month they must either omit prayer to God, and thus sin against their God, or disregard the king's prohibition. The satraps had thus rightly formed their plan. Since without doubt they were aware of Daniel's piety, they could by this means hope with certainty to gain their object in his overthrow. There is no ground for rejecting the narrative in the fact that Darius, without any suspicion, gave their contrivance the sanction of law. We do not need, on the contrary, to refer to the indolence of so many kings, who permit themselves to be wholly guided by their ministers, although the description we have of Cyaxares II. by Xenophon accords very well with this supposition; for from the fact that Darius appears to have sanctioned the law without further consideration about it, it does not follow that he did not make inquiry concerning the purpose of the plan formed by the satraps. The details of the intercourse of the satraps with the king concerning the occasion and object of the law Daniel has not recorded, for they had no significance in relation to the main object of the narrative. If the satraps represented to the king the intention of compelling, by this law, all the nationalities that were subject to his kingdom to recognise his royal power and to prove their loyalty, then the propriety of this design would so clearly recommend itself to him, that without reflection he gave it the sanction of law.

Vers. 11 (10)–25 (24). *Daniel's offence against the law; his accusation, condemnation, and miraculous deliverance from the den of lions; and the punishment of his accusers.*

The satraps did not wait long for Daniel's expected disregard of the king's prohibition. It was Daniel's custom, on bended knees, three times a day to offer prayer to his God in the upper chamber of his house, the window thereof being open towards Jerusalem. He continued this custom even after the issuing of

Curtius, viii. 5. 11. With this cf. Plutarch, *Themist.* c. 27. And that this custom, which even Alexander the Great (Curt. vi. 6. 2) followed, was derived from the Medes, appears from the statement of Herodotus, i. 99, that Dejoces περὶ ἑωυτὸν σεμνύειν, withdrew his royal person from the view of men. The ancient Egyptians and Ethiopians paid divine honours to their kings, according to Diod. Sic. i. 90, iii. 3, 5; and it is well known that the Roman emperors required that their images should be worshipped with religious veneration.

the edict; for a discontinuance of it on account of that law would have been a denying of the faith and a sinning against God. On this his enemies had reckoned. They secretly watched him, and immediately reported his disregard of the king's command. In ver. 11 the place where he was wont to pray is more particularly described, in order that it might be shown how they could observe him. In the upper chamber of his house (עֲלִיָּה, Hebr. עֲלִיָּה, 1 Kings xvii. 19, 2 Sam. xix. 1), which was wont to be resorted to when one wished to be undisturbed, *e.g.* wished to engage in prayer (cf. Acts i. 13, x. 9), the windows were open, *i.e.* not closed with lattice-work (cf. Ezek. xl. 16), opposite to, *i.e.* in the direction of, Jerusalem. לֵהּ does not refer to Daniel: he had opened windows, but to לְבֵיתֵהּ: *his house had open windows.* If לֵהּ referred to Daniel, then the הוּא following would be superfluous. The custom of turning in prayer toward Jerusalem originated after the building of the temple at Jerusalem as the dwelling-place of Jehovah; cf. 1 Kings viii. 33, 35, Ps. v. 8, xxviii. 2. The offering of prayer three times a day,—namely, at the third, sixth, and ninth hour, *i.e.* at the time of the morning and the evening sacrifices and at mid-day,—was not first introduced by the men of the Great Synagogue, to whom the uncritical rabbinical tradition refers all ancient customs respecting the worship of God, nor is the opinion of v. Leng., Hitz., and others, that it is not of later origin than the time of the Median Darius, correct; but its origin is to be traced back to the times of David, for we find the first notice of it in Ps. lv. 18. If Daniel thus continued to offer prayer daily (מוֹדָא = מְהוֹדָא, ch. ii. 23) at the open window, directing his face toward Jerusalem, after the promulgation of the law, just as he had been in the habit of doing before it, then there was neither ostentation nor pharisaic hypocrisy, nor scorn and a tempting of God, as Kirmss imagines; but his conduct was the natural result of his fear of God and of his religion, under the influence of which he offered prayers not to make an outward show, for only secret spies could observe him when so engaged. כָּל־קֳבֵל דִּי does not mean *altogether so as* (Rosenmüller, v. Leng., Maur., Hitzig), but, as always, *on this account because, because.* Because he always did thus, so now he continues to do it.

Ver. 12 (11). When Daniel's enemies had secretly observed him praying, they rushed into the house while he was offering his supplications, that they might apprehend him in the very act and be able to bring him to punishment. That the act of watching

him is not particularly mentioned, since it is to be gathered from the context, does not make the fact itself doubtful, if one only does not arbitrarily, with Hitzig, introduce all kinds of pretences for throwing suspicion on the narrative; as *e.g.* by inquiring whether the 122 satraps had placed themselves in ambush; why Daniel had not guarded against them, had not shut himself in; and the like. הֲרִגֵּישׁ, as ver. 7, *to rush forward, to press in eagerly*, here "shows the greatness of the zeal with which they performed their business" (Kran.).

Ver. 13 (12). They immediately accused him to the king. Reminding the king of the promulgation of the prohibition, they showed him that Daniel, one of the captive Jews, had not regarded the king's command, but had continued during the thirty days to pray to his own God, and thus had violated the law. In this accusation they laid against Daniel, we observe that his accusers do not describe him as one standing in office near to the king, but only as one of a foreign nation, one of the Jewish exiles in Babylon, in order that they may thereby bring his conduct under the suspicion of being a political act of rebellion against the royal authority.

Ver. 15 (14). But the king, who knew and highly valued (cf. ver. 2 [1]) Daniel's fidelity to the duties of his office, was so sore displeased by the accusation, that he laboured till the going down of the sun to effect his deliverance. The verb בְּאֵשׁ has an intransitive meaning: *to be evil, to be displeased*, and is not joined into one sentence with the subject מַלְכָּא, which stands here absolute; and the subject to בְּאֵשׁ עֲלוֹהִי is undefined: *it*, namely, *the matter displeased him;* cf. Gen. xxi. 11. שָׂם בֶּל corresponds to the Hebr. שִׁית לֵב, Prov. xxii. 17, *to lay to heart.* The word בֶּל, *cor, mens*, is unknown in the later Chaldee, but is preserved in the Syr. ܒܠ and the Arab. بَالٌ.

Ver. 16 (15). When the king could not till the going down of the sun resolve on passing sentence against Daniel, about this time his accusers gathered themselves together into his presence for the purpose of inducing him to carry out the threatened punishment, reminding him that, according to the law of the Medes and Persians, every prohibition and every command which the king decreed (יְהָקִים), *i.e. issued in a legal form*, could not be changed, *i.e.* could not be recalled. There being no way of escape out of

the difficulty for the king, he had to give the command that the punishment should be inflicted, and Daniel was cast into the den of lions, ver. 17 (16). On the Aphel הַיְתִיו, and the pass. form (ver. 18) הֵיתִית, see at ch. iii. 13. The execution of the sentence was carried out, according to Oriental custom, on the evening of the day in which the accusation was made; this does not, however, imply that it was on the evening in which, at the ninth hour, he had prayed, as Hitzig affirms, in order that he may thereby make the whole matter improbable. In giving up Daniel to punishment, the king gave expression to the wish, "May thy God, whom thou servest continually, deliver thee!" not "He will deliver thee;" for Darius could not have this confidence, but he may have had the feeble hope of the possibility of the deliverance which from his heart he wished, inasmuch as he may have heard of the miracles of the Almighty God whom Daniel served in the days of Belshazzar and Nebuchadnezzar.

Ver. 18 (17). After Daniel had been thrown into the lions' den, its mouth was covered with a flat stone, and the stone was sealed with the king's seal and that of the great officers of state, that nothing might change or be changed (צְבוּ דָנִיֵּאל) concerning Daniel (צְבוּ, *affair, matter*), not that the device against Daniel might not be frustrated (Häv., v. Leng., Maur., Klief.). This thought required the *stat. emphat.* צְבוּתָא, and also does not correspond with the application of a double seal. The old translator Theodot. is correct in his rendering: ὅπως μὴ ἀλλοιωθῇ πρᾶγμα ἐν τῷ Δανιήλ, and the LXX. paraphrasing: ὅπως μὴ ἀπ' αὐτῶν (μεγιστάνων) ἀρθῇ ὁ Δανιήλ, ἢ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸν ἀνασπάσῃ ἐκ τοῦ λακκοῦ. Similarly also Ephr. Syr. and others.

The den of lions is designated by גֻּבָּא, which the Targg. use for the Hebr. בּוֹר, *a cistern*. From this v. Leng., Maur., and Hitzig infer that the writer had in view a funnel-shaped cistern dug out in the ground, with a moderately small opening or mouth from above, which could be covered with a stone, so that for this one night the lions had to be shut in, while generally no stone lay on the opening. The pit also into which Joseph, the type of Daniel, was let down was a cistern (Gen. xxxvii. 24), and the mouth of the cistern was usually covered with a stone (Gen. xxix. 3; Lam. iii. 53). It can hence scarcely be conceived how the lions, over which no angel watched, could have remained in such a subterranean cavern covered with a stone. "The den must certainly have been very capacious if, as it appears, 122 men with their

wives and children could have been thrown into it immediately after one another (ver. 25 [24]); but this statement itself only shows again the deficiency of every view of the matter,"—and thus the whole history is a fiction fabricated after the type of the history of Joseph! But these critics who speak thus have themselves fabricated the idea of the throwing into the den of 122 men with women and children—for the text states no number—in order that they might make the whole narrative appear absurd; cf. what we have observed regarding this supposition at p. 208.

We have no account by the ancients of the construction of lions' dens. Ge. Höst, in his work on *Fez and Morocco*, p. 77, describes the lions' dens as they have been found in Morocco. According to his account, they consist of a large square cavern under the earth, having a partition-wall in the middle of it, which is furnished with a door, which the keeper can open and close from above. By throwing in food they can entice the lions from the one chamber into the other, and then, having shut the door, they enter the vacant space for the purpose of cleaning it. The cavern is open above, its mouth being surrounded by a wall of a yard and a half high, over which one can look down into the den. This description agrees perfectly with that which is here given in the text regarding the lions' den. Finally, גֻּבָּא does not denote common cisterns. In Jer. xli. 7, 9, גֻּבָּא (Hebr. בּוֹר) is a subterranean chamber into which seventy dead bodies were cast; in Isa. xiv. 15, the place of Sheol is called גֹּב. No reason, therefore, exists for supposing that it is a funnel-formed cistern. The mouth (פּוּם) of the den is not its free opening above by which one may look down into it, but an opening made in its side, through which not only the lions were brought into it, but by which also the keepers entered for the purpose of cleansing the den and of attending to the beasts, and could reach the door in the partition-wall (cf. Höst, p. 270). This opening was covered with a great flat stone, which was sealed, the free air entering to the lions from above. This also explains how, according to ver. 21 (20) ff., the king was able to converse with Daniel before the removal of the stone (namely, by the opening above).

Ver. 19 (18). *Then the king went to his palace, and passed the night fasting: neither were any of his concubines brought before him; and his sleep went from him.* The king spent a sleepless night in sorrow on account of Daniel. טְוָה, used adverbially, *in fasting, i.e.* without partaking of food in the evening. דַּחֲוָה, *concu-*

bina; cf. the Arab. ذحا and ذحا, *subigere fœminam*, and Gesen. *Thes.* p. 333. On the following morning (ver. 20 [19]) the king rose early, at the dawn of day, and went to the den of lions, and with lamentable voice called to him, feebly hoping that Daniel might be delivered by his God whom he continually served. Daniel answered the king, thereby showing that he had been preserved; whereupon the king was exceeding glad. The future or imperf. יְקוּם (ver. 20) is not to be interpreted with Kranichfeld hypothetically, *he thought to rise early*, seeing he did actually rise early, but is used instead of the perf. to place the clause in relation to the following, meaning: *the king, as soon as he arose at morning dawn, went hastily by the early light.* בְּנְהָרָא, *at the shining of the light*, serves for a nearer determination of the בְּשִׁפְרְפָרָא, *at the morning dawn*, namely, as soon as the first rays of the rising sun appeared. The predicate *the living God* is occasioned by the preservation of life, which the king regarded as possible, and probably was made known to the king in previous conversations with Daniel; cf. Ps. xlii. 3, lxxxiv. 3, 1 Sam. xvii. 36, etc.

Ver. 22 (21) ff. In his answer Daniel declares his innocence, which God had recognised, and on that account had sent His angel (cf. Ps. xxxiv. 8, xci. 11 ff.) to shut the mouths of the lions; cf. Heb. x. 33. וְאַף, *and also* (concluding from the innocence actually testified to by God) before the king, *i.e.* according to the king's judgment, he had done nothing wrong or hurtful. By his transgression of the edict he had not done evil against the king's person. This Daniel could the more certainly say, the more he perceived how the king was troubled and concerned about his preservation, because in Daniel's transgression he himself had seen no conspiracy against his person, but only fidelity toward his own God. The king hereupon immediately gave command that he should be brought out of the den of lions. The Aph. הַנְסָקָה and the Hoph. הָסַק do not come from נָסַק, but from סָלַק; the נ is merely compensative. סָלַק, *to mount up*, Aph. *to bring out;* by which, however, we are not to understand a being drawn up by ropes through the opening of the den from above. The *bringing out* was by the opened passage in the side of the den, for which purpose the stone with the seals was removed. To make the miracle of his preservation manifest, and to show the reason of it, ver. 24 (23) states that Daniel was found without any injury, because he had trusted in his God.

Ver. 25 (24). But now the destruction which the accusers of

Daniel thought to bring upon him fell upon themselves. The king commanded that they should be cast into the den of lions, where immediately, before they had reached the bottom, they were seized and torn to pieces by the lions. On אֲבַל קַרְצוֹהִי see at ch. iii. 8. By the accusers we are not (with Hitzig) to think of the 120 satraps together with the two chief presidents, but only of a small number of the special enemies of Daniel who had concerned themselves with the matter. The condemning to death of the wives and children along with the men was in accordance with Persian custom, as is testified by Herodotus, iii. 119, Amm. Marcell. xxiii. 6. 81, and also with the custom of the Macedonians in the case of treason (Curtius, vi. ii.), but was forbidden in the law of Moses; cf. Deut. xxiv. 16.

Vers. 26 (25)–29 (28). *The consequences of this occurrence.*

As Nebuchadnezzar, after the wonderful deliverance of Daniel's friends from the burning fiery furnace, issued an edict to all the nations of his kingdom forbidding them on pain of death from doing any injury to these men of God (ch. iii. 29), so now Darius, in consequence of this wonderful preservation of Daniel in the den of lions, gave forth an edict commanding all the nations of his whole kingdom to fear and reverence Daniel's God. But as Nebuchadnezzar by his edict, so also Darius, did not depart from the polytheistic standpoint. Darius acknowledged the God of Daniel, indeed, as the living God, whose kingdom and dominion were everlasting, but not as the only true God, and he commanded Him to be reverenced only as a God who does wonders in heaven and on earth, without prejudice to the honour of his own gods and of the gods of his subjects. Both of these kings, it is true, raised the God of Judea above all other gods, and praised the everlasting duration of His dominion (see ch. iii. 29, 32 [iv. 2] f., and ch. iv. 31 [28] ff., vi. 27 [26] f.), but they did not confess Him as the one only God. This edict, then, shows neither the conversion of Darius to the worship of the God of the Jews, nor does it show intolerance toward the gods of his subjects. On ver. 26 (25) cf. ch. iii. 31 (iv. 1). As Nebuchadnezzar, so also Darius, regarded his kingdom as a world-kingdom. On 27*a* (26) cf. ch. iii. 29. The reverence which all the nations were commanded to show to Daniel's God is described in the same words as is the fear and reverence which the might and greatness of Nebuchadnezzar inspired in all the nations that were subject to him (ch. v. 19), which has led Hitzig justly

to remark, that the words לְהֶוֹן פָּלְחִין לֶאֱלָהֵהּ (*they must worship his God*) are not used. God is described as living (cf. ver. 21 [20]) and eternal, with which is connected the praise of the everlasting duration of His dominion and of His rule in heaven and on earth; cf. ch. ii. 44 and iii. 33 (iv. 3). The דִּי after מַלְכוּתֵהּ is not a conjunction, but is the relative, and the expression briefly denotes that *His kingdom is a kingdom which is not destroyed*; cf. ch. iv. 31 (34). עַד סוֹפָא, *to the end*—not merely of all heathen kingdoms which arise on the earth, *i.e.* to their final destruction by the kingdom of the Messiah, ch. ii. 44 (Kranichfeld), for there is no thought of the Messianic kingdom here at all, but to the end of all things, to eternity. In ver. 28 (27) this God is lauded as the deliverer and wonder-worker, because in the case of Daniel He had showed Himself as such; cf. ch. iii. 32. מִן יַד, *from the hand*, *i.e.* from the power of; cf. Ps. xxii. 21.

Ver. 29 (28) closes the narrative in the same way as that regarding the deliverance of Daniel's friends (ch. iii. 30); only it is further stated, that Daniel continued in office till the reign of the Persian Cyrus. By the pronoun דְּנָה, *this* Daniel, the identity of the person is accentuated: *the same Daniel*, whom his enemies wished to destroy, prospered. From the repetition of בְּמַלְכוּת before כּוֹרֶשׁ it does not follow that Daniel separates the Persian kingdom from the Median; for מַלְכוּ here does not mean kingdom, but *dominion*, *i.e. reign*. The succession of the reign of Cyrus the Persian to that of Darius the Median does not show the diversity of the two kingdoms, but only that the rulers of the kingdom were of different races.

CHAP. VII. THE VISION OF THE FOUR WORLD-KINGDOMS; THE JUDGMENT; AND THE KINGDOM OF THE HOLY GOD.

After presenting to view (ch. iii.–vi.) in concrete delineation, partly in the prophetically significant experiences of Daniel and his friends, and partly in the typical events which befell the world-rulers, the position and conduct of the representatives of the world-power in relation to the worshippers of the living God, there follows in this chapter the record of a vision seen by Daniel in the first year of Belshazzar. In this vision the four world-monarchies which were shown to Nebuchadnezzar in a dream in the form of an image are represented under the symbol of beasts; and there is a further unfolding not only of the nature and character of the

four successive world-kingdoms, but also of the everlasting kingdom of God established by the judgment of the world-kingdoms. With this vision, recorded like the preceding chapters in the Chaldean language, the first part of this work, treating of the development of the world-power in its four principal forms, is brought to a conclusion suitable to its form and contents.

This chapter is divided, according to its contents, into two equal portions. Vers. 1–14 contain the vision, and vers. 15–28 its interpretation. After an historical introduction it is narrated how Daniel saw (vers. 2–8) four great beasts rise up one after another out of the storm-tossed sea; then the judgment of God against the fourth beast and the other beasts (vers. 9–12); and finally (vers. 13, 14), the delivering up of the kingdom over all nations to the Son of man, who came with the clouds of heaven. Being deeply moved (ver. 15) by what he saw, the import of the vision is first made known to him in general by an angel (vers. 16–18), and then more particularly by the judgment (vers. 19–26) against the fourth beast, and its destruction, and by the setting up of the kingdom of the saints of the Most High (ver. 27). The narrative of the vision is brought to a close by a statement of the impression made by this divine revelation on the mind of the prophet (ver. 28).[1]

Ver. 1. The time here indicated, "in the first year of Bel-

[1] According to the modern critics, this vision also is to be regarded as belonging to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes; and, as von Lengerke says, the representation of the Messianic kingdom (vers. 13 and 14) is the only prophetic portion of it, all the other parts merely announcing what had already occurred. According to Hitzig, this dream-vision must have been composed (cf. ver. 25, viii. 14) shortly before the consecration of the temple (1 Macc. iv. 52, 59). On the other hand, Kranichfeld remarks, that if this chapter were composed during the time of the persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes, "then it would show that its author was in the greatest ignorance as to the principal historical dates of his own time;" and he adduces in illustration the date in ver. 25, and the failure of the attempts of the opponents of its genuineness to authenticate in history the ten horns which grew up before the eleventh horn, and the three kingdoms (vers. 7 f., 20). According to ver. 25, the blaspheming of the Most High, the wearing out of the saints, and the changing of all religious ordinances continue for three and a half times, which are taken for three and a half years, after the expiry of which an end will be made, by means of the judgment, to the heathen oppression. But these three and a half years are not historically proved to be the period of the religious persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes. "In both of the books of the Maccabees (1 Macc. i. 54;

shazzar," which cannot, as is evident, mean "shortly before the reign of Belshazzar" (Hitz.), but that Daniel received the following revelation in the course of the first year of the reign of this king, stands related to the contents of the revelation. This vision accords not only in many respects with the dream of Nebuchadnezzar (ch. ii.), but has the same subject. This subject, however, the representation of the world-power in its principal forms, is differently given in the two chapters. In ch. ii. it is represented according to its whole character as an image of a man whose different parts consist of different metals, and in ch. vii. under the figure of four beasts which arise one after the other out of the sea. In the former its destruction is represented by a stone breaking the image in pieces, while in the latter it is effected by a solemn act of judgment. This further difference also is to be observed, that in this chapter, the first, but chiefly the fourth world-kingdom, in its development and relation to the people of God, is much more clearly exhibited than in ch. ii. These differences have their principal reason in the difference of the recipients of the divine revelation: Nebuchadnezzar, the founder of the world-power, saw this power in its imposing greatness and glory; while Daniel, the prophet of God, saw it in its opposition to God in the form of ravenous beasts of prey. Nebuchadnezzar had his dream in the second year of his reign, when he had just founded his world-monarchy;

2 Macc. x. 5) the period of the desecration of the temple (according to v. Leng.) lasted only three years; and Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 7. 6, speaks also of *three* years, reckoning from the year 145 *Seleucid.* and the 25th day of the month Kisleu, when the first burnt-offering was offered on the idol-altar (1 Macc. i. 57), to the 25th day of Kisleu in the year 148 *Seleucid.*, when for the first time sacrifice was offered (1 Macc. iv. 52) on the newly erected altar." But since the βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως was, according to 1 Macc. i. 54, erected on the 15th day of Kisleu in the year 145 *Seleucid.*, ten days before the first offering of sacrifice upon it, most reckon from the 15th Kisleu, and thus make the period three years and ten days. Hitzig seeks to gain a quarter of a year more by going back in his reckoning to the arrival in Judea (1 Macc. i. 29, cf. 2 Macc. v. 24) of the chief collector of tribute sent by Apollonius. C. von Lengerke thinks that the period of three and a half years cannot be reckoned with historical accuracy. Hilgenfeld would reckon the commencement of this period from some other event in relation to the temple, which, however, has not been recorded in history.—From all this it is clear as noonday that the three and a half years are not historically identified, and thus that the Maccabean pseudo-Daniel was ignorant of the principal events of his time. Just as little are these critics able historically to identify the ten kings (vers. 7 and 20), as we shall show in an Excursus on the four world-kingdoms at the close of this chapter.

while Daniel had his vision of the world-kingdoms and of the judgment against them in the first year of Belshazzar, *i.e.* Evil-merodach, the son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar, when with the death of the golden head of the world-monarchy its glory began to fade, and the spirit of its opposition to God became more manifest. This revelation was made to the prophet in a dream-vision by night upon his bed. Compare ch. ii. 28. Immediately thereafter Daniel wrote down the principal parts of the dream, that it might be publicly proclaimed—*the sum of the things* (רֵאשׁ מִלִּין) which he had seen in the dream. אֲמַר, *to say, to relate,* is not opposed to כְּתַב, *to write,* but explains it: by means of writing down the vision he said, *i.e.* reported, the chief contents of the dream, omitting secondary things, *e.g.* the minute description of the beasts.

With ver. 2 Daniel begins his written report: "Daniel began and said," introduces the matter. חֱזוֵי עִם־לֵילְיָא, *visions in (during) the night,* cf. ch. ii. 19. Vers. 2 and 3 describe the scene in general. The four winds of heaven break loose upon the great sea, and rage fiercely, so that four great beasts, each diverse from the others, arise out of its bosom. The great sea is not the Mediterranean (Berth., Ges., Hitz., Ewald), for such a geographical reference is foreign to the context. It is the ocean; and the storm on it represents the "tumults of the people," commotions among the nations of the world (Häv., Leng., Hofm., etc.), corresponding to the prophetic comparison found in Jer. xvii. 12, xlvi. 7 f. "Since the beasts represent the forms of the world-power, the sea must represent that out of which they arise, the whole heathen world" (Hofmann). In the interpretation of the image (ver. 17) מִן יַמָּא is explained by מִן אַרְעָא. גִּיחַ means *to break forth* (Ezek. xxxii. 2), *to burst out in storm,* not causative, "to make the great sea break forth" (Kran.). The causative meaning is not certainly found either in the Hebrew or the Chaldee. The four winds stand in relation to the four quarters of the heavens; cf. Jer. xlix. 39. Calvin remarks: *Mundus similis turbulento mari, quod non agitatur una procella vel uno vento, sed diversis ventis inter se confligentibus, ac si totum cœlum conspiraret ad motus excitandos.* With this, however, the meaning of the words is not exhausted. The four winds of heaven are not merely *diversi venti,* and their bursting forth is not only an image of a general commotion represented by a storm in the ocean. The winds *of the heavens* represent the heavenly powers and forces by which God sets the nations of the world in motion; and the number four has

a symbolical meaning: that the people of all regions of the earth are moved hither and thither in violent commotion. "Œcumenical commotions give rise to œcumenical kingdoms" (Kliefoth). As a consequence of the storm on the sea, there arise out of it four fierce beasts, not all at once, but, as vers. 6 and 7 teach, one after another, and each having a different appearance. The diversity of the form of the beasts, inasmuch as they represent kingdoms, is determined beforehand, not only to make it noticeable that the selection of this symbol is not arbitrary but is significant (Hävernick), but emphatically to intimate that the vision of different *kingdoms* is not to be dealt with, as many interpreters seem inclined to do, as one only of different *kings* of one kingdom.

Vers. 4–8. *In these verses there is a description of the four beasts.*—Ver. 4. The *first beast* resembled a lion with eagle's wings. At the entrance to a temple at *Birs Nimrud* there has been found (Layard, *Bab. and Nin.*) such a symbolical figure, viz. a winged eagle with the head of a man. There have been found also images of winged beasts at Babylon (Münter, *Relig. der Bab.*). These discoveries may be referred to as evidence that this book was composed in Babylon, and also as explaining the Babylonian colouring of the dream. But the representation of nations and kingdoms by the images of beasts is much more widely spread, and affords the prophetic symbolism the necessary analogues and substrata for the vision. Lions and eagles are not taken into consideration here on account of their strength, rapacity, and swiftness, but simply because they are kings among beasts and birds: "The beast rules royally like the lion, and wings its conquering royal flight high over the *οἰκουμένη* like the eagle" (Kliefoth). This emblem corresponds with the representation of the first kingdom with the golden head (ch. ii.). What the gold is among metals and the head among the members of the body, that the lion is among beasts and the eagle among birds.

After a time Daniel sees a change take place with this beast. The wings, *i.e.* the feathers by which it flies, are plucked off: it is deprived of its power of flight, so that it can no more fly conquering over the earth, or hover as a ruler over it; *i.e.* the kingdom will be deprived of the power of conquering, for it will be lifted up from the earth (הֻקִימַת is Hoph., cf. ch. iv. 33), and be placed on its feet as a man. The lifting up from the earth does not represent, accordingly, being taken away or blown away from the earth, not the destruction of the Chaldean kingdom (Theodrt., Hieron.,

Raschi, Hitzig, and others), but the raising of it up when lying prostrate on the ground to the right attitude of a human being. This change is further described by the words, "a man's heart was given to it," denoting that the beast-nature was transformed to that of a man. The three expressions thus convey the idea, that the lion, after it was deprived of its power of flight, was not only in external appearance raised from the form of a beast to that of a man, but also that inwardly the nature of the beast was ennobled into that of a man. In this description of the change that occurred to the lion there is without doubt a reference to what is said of Nebuchadnezzar in ch. iv.: it cannot, however, be thence concluded, with Hofmann and others, that the words refer directly to Nebuchadnezzar's insanity; for here it is not the king, but the kingdom, that is the subject with reference to whose fate that event in the life of its founder was significant. Forasmuch as it was on account of his haughtiness that madness came upon him, so that he sank down to the level of the beasts of the field, so also for the same reason was his kingdom hindered in its flight over the earth. "Nebuchadnezzar's madness was for his kingdom the plucking off of its wings;" and as when he gave glory to the Most High his reason returned to him, and then for the first time he attained to the true dignity of man, so also was his world-kingdom ennobled in him, although the continued influence of this ennobling may not be perceived from the events in the reign of his son, recorded in ch. v. Besides, there lies herein not only the idea of the superiority of the first world-kingdom over the others, as is represented in ch. ii. by the golden head of the metallic image, but also manifestly the typical thought that the world-kingdom will first be raised to the dignity of manhood when its beast-like nature is taken away. Where this transformation does not take place, or where it is not permanent, there must the kingdom perish. This is the prophetic meaning, for the sake of which that occurrence in the life of the founder of the world-monarchy is here transferred to his kingdom.

Ver. 5. *The second beast.*—וְאָרוּ signifies that this beast came first into sight after the lion, which also the predicates אָחֳרִי תִנְיָנָה prove. אָחֳרִי expresses the difference from the first beast, תִנְיָנָה the order in which it appears. The beast was like a bear. Next to the lion it is the strongest among animals; and on account of its voracity it was called by Aristotle *ζῶον παμφάγον*. The words לְשִׁטַר־חַד הֲקִימַת present some difficulty. They have been differently

explained. The explanation of Rabbi Nathan, "and it established a dominion," with which Kranichfeld also agrees, is not only in opposition to the חַד, but is also irreconcilable with the line of thought. חַד is not the indefinite article, but the numeral; and the thought that the beast established *one* dominion, or a united dominion, is in the highest degree strange, for the character of a united or compact dominion belongs to the second world-kingdom in no case in a greater degree than to the Babylonian kingdom, and in general the establishing of a dominion cannot properly be predicated of a beast = a kingdom. The old translators (LXX., Theod., Peshito, Saad.) and the rabbis have interpreted the word שִׁטַּר in the sense of *side*, a meaning which is supported by the Targ. סְטַר, and is greatly strengthened by the Arabic *s'thar*, without our needing to adopt the reading שִׁטַּר, found in several Codd The object to the verb הֻקִימַת is easily supplied by the context: *it raised up, i.e. its body, on one side.* This means neither that it leaned on one side (Ebrard), nor that it stood on its fore feet (Hävernick), for the sides of a bear are not its fore and hinder part; but we are to conceive that the beast, resting on its feet, raised up the feet of the one side for the purpose of going forward, and so raised the shoulder or the whole body on that side. But with such a motion of the beast the geographical situation of the kingdom (Geier, Mich., Ros.) cannot naturally be represented, much less can the near approach of the destruction of the kingdom (Hitzig) be signified. Hofmann, Delitzsch, and Kliefoth have found the right interpretation by a reference to ch. ii. and viii. As in ch. ii. the arms on each side of the breast signify that the second kingdom will consist of two parts, and this is more distinctly indicated in ch. viii. by the two horns, one of which rose up after the other, and higher, so also in this verse the double-sidedness of this world-kingdom is represented by the beast lifting itself up on the one side. The Medo-Persian bear, as such, has, as Kliefoth well remarks, two sides: the one, the Median side, is at rest after the efforts made for the erection of the world-kingdom; but the other, the Persian side, raises itself up, and then becomes not only higher than the first, but also is prepared for new rapine.

The further expression, *it had three ribs in its mouth between its teeth*, has also been variously interpreted. That עֶלְעִין means *ribs*, not sides, is as certain as that the ribs in the mouth between the teeth do not denote side-teeth, tusks, or fangs (Saad., Häv.). The עֶלְעִין in the mouth between the teeth are the booty which

the bear has seized, according to the undoubted use of the word; cf. Amos iii. 12, Ps. cxxiv. 6, Job xxix. 17, Jer. li. 44. Accordingly, by the ribs we cannot understand either the Persians, Medians, and Babylonians, as the nations that constituted the strength of the kingdom (Ephr. Syr., Hieron., Ros.), or the three Median kings (Ewald), because neither the Medes nor the three Median kings can be regarded as a prey of the Median or Medo-Persian world. The "ribs" which the beast is grinding between its teeth cannot be the peoples who constitute the kingdom, or the kings ruling over it, but only peoples or countries which it has conquered and annexed to itself. The determining of these peoples and countries depends on which kingdom is represented by the bear. Of the interpreters who understand by the bear the Median kingdom, Maurer and Delitzsch refer to the three chief satrapies (ch. vi. 3 [2]). Not these, however, but only the lands divided between them, could be regarded as the prey between the teeth of the beast, and then Media also must be excluded; so that the reference of the words to the three satrapies is altogether inadmissible. Hitzig thinks that the reference is to three towns that were destroyed by the Medians, viz. Nineveh, Larissa, and a third which he cannot specify; v. Leng. regards the number three as a round number, by which the voracity of the beast is shown; Kranichfeld understands by the three ribs constituent parts of a whole of an older national confederation already dissolved and broken asunder, of which, however, he has no proof. We see, then, that if the bear is taken as representing the Median kingdom, the three ribs in its mouth cannot be explained. If, on the other hand, the Medo-Persian world-kingdom is intended by the bear, then the three ribs in its mouth are the three kingdoms Babylon, Lydia, and Egypt, which were conquered by the Medo-Persians. This is the view of Hofm., Ebr., Zünd., and Klief. The latter, however, thinks that the number "Three" ought not to be regarded as symbolical, but as forming only the contrast to the number four in ver. 6, and intimating that the second beast will not devour in all the regions of the world, but only on three sides, and will make a threefold and not a fourfold plunder, and therefore will not reach absolute universality. But since the symbolical value of each number is formed from its arithmetical signification, there is no reason here, any more than there is in the analogous passages, ch. viii. 4, 22, to depart wholly from the exact signification.

The last expression of the verse, *Arise, devour much flesh*, most

interpreters regard as a summons to go forth conquering. But this exposition is neither necessary, nor does it correspond to the relative position of the words. The eating much flesh does not form such a contrast to the three ribs in the mouth between the teeth, that it must be interpreted of other flesh than that already held by the teeth with the ribs. It may be very well understood, with Ebrard and Kliefoth, of the consuming of the flesh of the ribs; so that the command to eat much flesh is only an explication of the figure of the ribs held between the teeth, and contains only the thought that the beast must wholly consume the plunder it has seized with its teeth. The plur. אָמְרִין (*they spoke*) is impersonal, and is therefore not to be attributed to the angel as speaking.

Ver. 6. *The third beast*, which Daniel saw after the second, was like a panther (leopard), which is neither so kingly as the lion nor so strong as the bear, but is like to both in rapacity, and superior to them in the springing agility with which it catches its prey; so that one may say, with Kliefoth, that in the subordination of the panther to the lion and the bear, the same gradation is repeated as that which is found (of the third kingdom) in ch. ii. of the copper (brass). Of the panther it is said, that *it had four wings of a fowl and four heads.* The representation of the beast with four wings increases the agility of its movements to the speed of the flight of a bird, and expresses the thought that the kingdom represented by that beast would extend itself in flight over the earth; not so royally as Nebuchadnezzar,—for the panther has not eagle's wings, but only the wings of a fowl,—but extending to all the regions of the earth, for it has four wings. At the same time the beast has four heads, not two only, as one might have expected with four wings. The number four thus shows that the heads have an independent signification, and do not stand in relation to the four wings, symbolizing the spreading out of the kingdom into the four quarters of the heavens (Bertholdt, Häv., Kran.). As little do the four wings correspond with the four heads in such a way that by both there is represented only the dividing of the kingdom into four other kingdoms (Häv. *Comment.*, Auberl.). Wings are everywhere an emblem of rapid motion; heads, on the contrary, where the beast signifies a kingdom, are the heads of the kingdom, *i.e.* the kings or rulers: hence it follows that the four heads of the panther are the four successive Persian kings whom alone Daniel knows (ch. xi. 2). Without regard to the false interpretations of ch. xi. 2 on which this

opinion rests, it is to be noticed that the four heads do not rise up one after another, but that they all exist contemporaneously on the body of the beast, and therefore can only represent four co-temporary kings, or signify that this kingdom is divided into four kingdoms. That the four wings are mentioned before the four heads, signifies that the kingdom spreads itself over the earth with the speed of a bird's flight, and then becomes a fourfold-kingdom, or divides itself into four kingdoms, as is distinctly shown in ch. viii. 5 ff.—The last statement, *and dominion was given to it*, corresponds with that in ch. ii. 39, *it shall bear rule over all the earth*, *i.e.* shall found an actual and strong world-empire.

Vers. 7 and 8. *The fourth beast.*—Introduced by a more detailed description, the fourth beast is presented more distinctly before our notice than those which preceded it. Its terribleness and its strength, breaking in pieces and destroying all things, and the fact that no beast is named to which it can be likened, represent it as different from all the beasts that went before. This description corresponds with that of the fourth kingdom denoted by the legs and the feet of the metallic image of the monarchies (ch. ii.). The iron breaking in pieces all things (ch. ii. 40) is here represented by the great iron teeth with which this monster devoured and brake in pieces. In addition to that, there are also feet, or, as ver. 19 by way of supplement adds, "claws of brass," with which in the mere fury of its rage it destroyed all that remained, *i.e.* all that it did not devour and destroy with its teeth. הִיא מְשַׁנְיָה וגו׳ (*it was made different*) denotes not complete diversity of being, from which Hitz. and Del. conclude that the expression suits only the Macedonian world-kingdom, which as occidental was different in its nature from the three preceding monarchies, which shared among themselves an oriental home and a different form of civilisation and despotic government. For although מְשַׁנְיָה expresses more than אָחֳרִי (ver. 5), yet the שְׁנַיִן דְּא מִן דְּא (*diverse one from another*), spoken (ver. 3) of all the beasts, shows that מְשַׁנְיָה cannot be regarded as expressing perfect diversity of being, but only diversity in appearance. The beast was of such terrible strength and destructive rage, that the whole animal world could furnish no representative by whose name it might be characterized. It had ten horns, by which its terrible strength is denoted, because a horn is in Scripture always the universal symbol of armed strength. With this the interpretation (ver. 24), that these horns are so many kings or kingdoms, fully corresponds. In the ten horns the ten toes of the

image (ch. ii.) are again repeated. The number ten comes into consideration only according to its symbolical meaning of comprehensive and definite totality. That the horns are on the head of the one beast, signifies that the unfolding of its power in the ten kingdoms is not a weakening of its power, but only its full display.

Ver. 8. Here a new event is brought under our notice. While continuing to contemplate the horns (the idea of continuance lies in the particip. with the *verb. fin.*), Daniel sees another little horn rise up among them, which uproots, *i.e.* destroys, three of the other horns that were already there. He observes that this horn had the eyes of a man, and a mouth which spake great things. The eye and the mouth suggest a human being as represented by the horn. Eyes and seeing with eyes are the symbols of insight, circumspection, prudence. This king will thus excel the others in point of wisdom and circumspection. But why the eyes of a *man?* Certainly this is not merely to indicate to the reader that the horn signified a man. This is already distinctly enough shown by the fact that eyes, a mouth, and speech were attributed to it. The eyes of a man were not attributed to it in opposition to a beast, but in opposition to a higher celestial being, for whom the ruler denoted by the horn might be mistaken on account of the terribleness of his rule and government; "*ne eum putemus juxta quorundam opinionem vel diabolum esse vel dæmonem, sed unum de hominibus, in quo totus Satanas habitaturus sit corporaliter,*" as Jerome well remarks; cf. Hofmann and Kliefoth.—A mouth which speaketh great things is a vainglorious mouth. רַבְרְבָן are *presumptuous things*, not directly blasphemies (Häv.). In the Apocalypse, xiii. 5, *μεγάλα* and *βλασφημίαι* are distinguished.

Vers. 9–14. *The judgment on the horn speaking great things and on the other beasts, and the delivering of the kingdom to the Son of Man.*

After Daniel had for a while contemplated the rising up of the little horn that appeared among the ten horns, the scene changed. There is a solemn sitting in judgment by God, and sentence is pronounced. Seats or chairs were placed. רְמִיו, *activ.* with an indefinite subject: *they were thrown, i.e.* they were placed in order quickly, or with a noise. Seats, not merely a throne for God the Judge, but a number of seats for the assembly sitting in judgment with God. That assembly consists neither of the elders of Israel (*Rabb.*), nor of glorified men (Hengstb. on Rev. iv. 4), but of angels

(Ps. lxxxix. 8), who are to be distinguished from the thousands and tens of thousands mentioned in ver. 10; for these do not sit upon thrones, but stand before God as servants to fulfil His commands and execute His judgments. עַתִּיק יוֹמִין, *one advanced in days, very old,* is not the Eternal; for although God is meant, yet Daniel does not see the everlasting God, but an old man, or a man of grey hairs, in whose majestic form God makes Himself visible (cf. Ezek. i. 26). When Daniel represents the true God as an aged man, he does so not in contrast with the recent gods of the heathen which Antiochus Epiphanes wished to introduce, or specially with reference to new gods, as Hitzig and Kran. suppose, by reference to Deut. xxxii. 17 and Jer. xxiii. 23; for God is not called the old God, but appears only as an old man, because age inspires veneration and conveys the impression of majesty. This impression is heightened by the robe with which He is covered, and by the appearance of the hair of His head, and also by the flames of fire which are seen to go forth from His throne. His robe is white as snow, and the hair of His head is white like pure wool; cf. Rev. i. 14. Both are symbols of spotless purity and holiness. Flames of fire proceed from His throne as if it consisted of it, and the wheels of His throne scatter forth fire. One must not take the fire exclusively as a sign of punishment. Fire and the shining of fire are the constant phenomena of the manifestation of God in the world, as the earthly elements most fitting for the representation of the burning zeal with which the holy God not only punishes and destroys sinners, but also purifies and renders glorious His own people; see under Ex. iii. 3. The fire-scattering wheels of the throne show the omnipresence of the divine throne of judgment, the going of the judgment of God over the whole earth (Kliefoth). The fire which engirds with flame the throne of God pours itself forth as a stream from God into the world, consuming all that is sinful and hostile to God in the world, and rendering the people and kingdom of God glorious. מִן קֳדָמוֹהִי (*from before Him*) refers to God, and not to His throne. A thousand times a thousand and ten thousand times ten thousand are hyperbolical expressions for an innumerable company of angels, who as His servants stand around God; cf. Deut. xxxiii. 2, Ps. lxviii. 18. The *Keri* presents the Chaldaic form אַלְפִין for the Hebraizing form of the text אַלְפִים (*thousands*), and for רִבְוָן the Hebraizing form רִבְבָן (*myriads*), often found in the Targg., to harmonize the plur. form with the singular רִבּוֹ going before.

Forthwith the judgment begins. דִּינָא יִתֵּב we translate, with most interpreters, *the judgment sets itself.* דִּינָא, *judgment, abstr. pro concreto,* as *judicium* in Cicero, *Verr.* 2. 18. This idea alone is admissible in ver. 26, and here also it is more simple than that defended by Dathe and Kran.: "He" (*i.e.* the Ancient of days) "sets Himself for judgment,"—which would form a pure tautology, since His placing Himself for judgment has been already (ver. 9) mentioned, and nothing would be said regarding the object for which the throne was set.—"*The books were opened.*" The actions of men are recorded in the books, according to which they are judged, some being ordained to eternal life and others condemned to eternal death; cf. Rev. xx. 12, and the notes under Dan. xii. 1. The horn speaking great things is first visited with the sentence of death.

Ver. 11. The construction of this verse is disputed. The second חָזֵה הֲוֵית (*I was seeing*) repeats the first for the purpose of carrying on the line of thought broken by the interposed sentence. בֵּאדַיִן (*then*) is separated by the accents from the first חָזֵה הֲוֵית and joined to the clause following: "*then on account of the voice of the great words.*" By this interposed sentence the occasion of the judgment which Daniel sees passed upon the beast is once more brought to view. מִן קָל, "*on account of the voice of the words,*" *i.e.* on account of the loud words, not "from the time of the words, or from the time when the voice of the great words made itself heard" (Klief.). The following expression, עַד דִּי (*till that*), does not by any means require the temporal conception of מִן. To specify the *terminus a quo* of the vision was as little necessary here as in the חָזֵה הֲוֵית עַד דִּי, ver. 9. The temporal conception of מִן alters not only the parallelism of the passage vers. 9 and 11, but also the course of thought in the representation, according to which Daniel remains overwhelmed during the vision till all the separate parts of it have passed before his view, *i.e.* till he has seen the close of the judgment. The first part of this scene consists of the constituting of the judgment (vers. 9, 10), the second of the death and extinction of the horn speaking great things (ver. 11), with which is connected (ver. 12) the mention of the destruction of the dominion of the other beasts. If one considers that the words "*I beheld till that*" correspond with the like expression in ver. 9, he will not seek, with Kran., in the עַד דִּי a reference to a lasting process of judicial execution ending with destruction. The thought is simply this: Daniel remained contemplating the vision

till the beast was slain, etc. חֵיוְתָא (*the beast*) is, by virtue of the explanatory sentence interposed in the first hemistich, the horn speaking great things. The ungodly power of the fourth beast reaches its climax in the blaspheming horn; in this horn, therefore, the beast is slain and destroyed, while its body is given to the burning. לִיקַדַת אֶשָּׁא (*to the burning fire*) corresponds with the Hebr. לִשְׂרֵפַת אֵשׁ, Isa. lxiv. 10. The burning in the fire is not the mere figure of destruction, specially justified by the thunder-storm which gathered as a veil around the scene of judgment (Kran.), for there is no mention of a storm either in ver. 9 or anywhere else in this entire vision. The supposition that the burning is only the figure of destruction, as *e.g.* in Isa. ix. 4, is decidedly opposed by the parallel passages, Isa. lxvi. 14, which Daniel had in view, and Rev. xix. 20 and xx. 10, where this prophecy is again taken up, and the judgment is expressed by a being cast into a lake of fire with everlasting torment; so that v. Lengerke is right when he remarks that this passage speaks of the fiery torments of the wicked after death, and thus that a state of retribution after death is indicated.

Ver. 12. In this verse it is in addition remarked, that the dominion of the other beasts was also destroyed, because the duration of their lives was determined for a time and an hour. The construction of the words forbids us (with Luther) to regard the first part of ver. 12 as dependent on עַד דִּי of ver. 11. The object שְׁאָר חֵיוָתָא (*the rest of the beasts*) is presented in the form of an absolute nominative, whereby the statement of ver. 12 is separated from the preceding. הֶעְדִּיו, impersonal, instead of the passive, as דֶּקוּ in ch. ii. 35: "their dominion was made to perish," for "their dominion was destroyed." "The other beasts" are not those that remained of the seven horns of the fourth beast, which were not uprooted by the horn coming up amongst them, the remaining kingdoms of the fourth monarchy after the destruction by that horn, for with the death of the beast the whole fourth world-monarchy is destroyed; nor are they the other kingdoms yet remaining at the time of the overthrow of the fourth world-monarchy or the destruction of the fourth beast (J. D. Mich., v. Leng.), which only lose their political power, but first of all would become subject to the new dominant people (Hitzig), for such other kingdoms have no existence in the prophetic view of Daniel, since the beasts represent world-kingdoms whose dominion stretches over the whole earth. The "remaining beasts" are much

rather the first three beasts which arose out of the sea before the fourth, as is rightly acknowledged by Chr. B. Mich., Ros., Häv., Hofm., Maur., Klief., and Kran., with the old interpreters. Although the four world-kingdoms symbolized by those beasts follow each other in actual history, so that the earlier is always overthrown by that which comes after it, yet the dominion of the one is transferred to the other; so in the prophetic representation the death or the disappearance of the first three beasts is not expressly remarked, but is here first indicated, without our needing for that reason to regard הֶעְדִּיו as the pluperfect. For the exposition of this verse also we may not appeal to ch. ii., where all the four world-kingdoms are represented in one human image, and the stone which rolled against the feet of this image broke not only the feet, but with them the whole image to pieces (ch. ii. 34 f.), which in ver. 44 is explained as meaning that the kingdom of God will bring to an end all those kingdoms. From this we cannot conclude that those kingdoms had long before already perished at the hour appointed for them, but that a remainder (שְׁאָר) of them yet continued to exist (Häv.), for the representation in this chapter is different; and *the rest of the beasts* cannot possibly mean that which remained of the beasts after their destruction, but only the beasts that remained after the death of the fourth beast. The mas. suff. to שָׁלְטָנֵהוֹן (*their dominion*) and לְהוֹן refer *ad sensum* to the possessor or ruler of the world-kingdom represented by the beasts. With that interpretation of "the rest of the beasts" the statement also of the second half of the verse does not agree, for it proves that the subject is the destruction of the dominion of all the beasts which arose up before the fourth. The length or duration of life is the time of the continuance of the world-kingdoms represented by the beasts, and thus the end of life is the destruction of the kingdom. The passive pret. יְהִיבַת is not to be taken thus as the imperf.: "a period of life was appointed to them," but as the pluperf.: "had been granted to them," and the passage formally connected by the simple ו is to be taken as confirming the preceding statement. זְמַן וְעִדָּן (placed together as ch. ii. 21 in the meaning there explained) is not to be identified with זִמְנָא, ver. 22 (v. Leng., Kran.). The form (*stat. absol.*, not *emphat.*) shows that not a definite time, the time of the divine judgment of the fourth beast, is meant, but the time of the continuance of the power and dominion for each of the several beasts (kingdoms), foreseen only in the counsel of the Most High, and not further defined. In accordance with

this, the statement of ver. 12 is that the first three beasts also had their dominion taken away one after another, each at its appointed time; for to each God gave its duration of life, extending to the season and time appointed by Him. Thus Kliefoth, with the older interpreters, correctly regards the connecting of the end of the first three beasts with that of the last as denoting that in the horn not merely the fourth kingdom, but also the first three kingdoms, the whole world-power, is brought to an end by the last judgment. This thought, right in itself, and distinctly announced in the destruction of the image (ch. ii.), appears, however, to lie less in the altogether loose connection of ver. 12 with ver. 11 than in the whole context, and certainly in this, that with the fourth beast in general the unfolding of the world-power in its diverse phases is exhausted, and with the judgment of this kingdom the kingdom of God is raised to everlasting supremacy.

Vers. 13. and 14. *The giving of the kingdom to the Son of Man.* —The judgment does not come to an end with the destruction of the world-power in its various embodiments. That is only its first act, which is immediately followed by the second, the erection of the kingdom of God by the Son of man. This act is introduced by the repetition of the formula, *I saw in the night-visions* (vers. 7 and 2). (*One*) *like a son of man came in the clouds of heaven.* עִם עֲנָנֵי, *with the clouds, i.e.* in connection with them, *in* or *on* them, as the case may be, surrounded by clouds; cf. Rev. i. 7, Mark xiii. 26, Matt. xxiv. 30, xxvi. 64. He who comes is not named, but is only described according to his appearance *like a son of man, i.e.* resembling a man (בַּר אֱנָשׁ as בֶּן אָדָם = אֱנוֹשׁ or אָדָם). That this was a man is not implied in these words, but only that he was like a man, and not like a beast or some other creature. Now, as the beasts signify not beasts but kingdoms, so that which appeared in the form of a man may signify something else than a human *individuum.* Following the example of Aben Ezra, Paulus, and Wegscheider, Hofmann (*Schriftbew.* ii. 1. 80, and 2, p. 582 f.), Hitzig, Weisse, Volkmar, Fries (*Jahrbb. f. D. Theol.* iv. p. 261), Baxmann, and Herzfeld (*Gesch. des V. Isr.* ii. p. 381) interpret this appearance in the form of a man not of the Messiah, as the Jewish and Christian interpreters in general do, but of the people of Israel, and adduce in support of this view the fact that, in the explanation of the vision, ver. 27, cf. ver. 24, the kingdom, the dominion, and the power, which according to ver. 14 the son of man received, was given to the people of the saints of

the Most High. But ver. 27 affords no valid support to this supposition, for the angel there gives forth his declaration regarding the everlasting kingdom of God, not in the form of an interpretation of Daniel's vision, as in the case of the four beasts in vers. 17 and 23, but he only says that, after the destruction of the horn and its dominion, the kingdom and the power will be given to the people of the saints, because he had before (ver. 26, cf. 22) spoken of the blasphemies of the horn against God, and of its war against the saints of the Most High. But the delivering of the kingdom to the people of God does not, according to the prophetic mode of contemplation, exclude the Messiah as its king, but much rather includes Him, inasmuch as Daniel, like the other prophets, knows nothing of a kingdom without a head, a Messianic kingdom without the King Messiah. But when Hofmann further remarks, that "somewhere it must be seen that by that appearance in the form of a man is meant not the holy congregation of Israel, but an individual, a fifth king, the Messiah," Auberlen and Kranichfeld have, with reference to this, shown that, according to ver. 21, the saints appear in their multiplicity engaged in war when the person who comes in the clouds becomes visible, and thus that the difference between the saints and that person is distinctly manifest. Hence it appears that the "coming with the clouds of heaven" can only be applied to the congregation of Israel, if we agree with Hofmann in the opinion that he who appeared was not carried by the clouds of heaven down to the earth, but from the earth up to heaven, in order that he might there receive the kingdom and the dominion. But this opinion is contradicted by all that the Scriptures teach regarding this matter. In this very chapter before us there is no expression or any intimation whatever that the judgment is held in heaven. No place is named. It is only said that judgment was held over the power of the fourth beast, which came to a head in the horn speaking blasphemies, and that the beast was slain and his body burned. If he who appears as a son of man with the clouds of heaven comes before the Ancient of days executing the judgment on the earth, it is manifest that he could only come from heaven to earth. If the reverse is to be understood, then it ought to have been so expressed, since the coming with the clouds of heaven in opposition to the rising up of the beasts out of the sea very distinctly indicates a coming down from heaven. The clouds are the veil or the "chariot" on which God comes from heaven to execute

judgment against His enemies; cf. Ps. xviii. 10 f., xcvii. 2–4, civ. 3, Isa. xix. 1, Nah. i. 3. This passage forms the foundation for the declaration of Christ regarding His future coming, which is described after Dan. vii. 13 as a coming of the Son of man with, in, on the clouds of heaven; Matt. xxiv. 30, xxvi. 64; Mark xiii. 26; Rev. i. 7, xiv. 14. Against this, Hofmann, in behalf of his explanation, can only adduce 1 Thess. iv. 17, in total disregard of the preceding context, ver. 16.[1]

With all other interpreters, we must accordingly firmly maintain that he who appears with the clouds of heaven comes from heaven to earth and is a personal existence, and is brought before God, who judges the world, that he may receive dominion, majesty, and a kingdom. But in the words "*as a man*" it is not meant that he was only a man. He that comes with the clouds of heaven may, as Kranichfeld rightly observes, "be regarded, according to current representations, as the God of Israel coming on the clouds, while yet he who appears takes the outward form of a man." The comparison (כְּ, *as* a man) proves accordingly much more, that this heavenly or divine being was in human form. This "*Son of man*" came near to the Ancient of days, as God appears in the vision of the judgment, ver. 9, and was placed before Him. The subject to הַקְרִבוּהִי is undefined; Kran. thinks that it is the clouds just mentioned, others think it is the ministering angels. Analogous passages may be adduced in support of both views: for the first, the *νεφέλη ὑπέλαβεν αὐτόν* in Acts i. 9; but the parallel passages with intransitive verbs speak more in favour of the impersonal translation, "*they brought him*" = he was brought. The words, "dominion, and glory, and a kingdom were given to him," remind us of the expression used of Nebuchadnezzar, ch. ii. 37 f., but they are elevated by the description following to the conception of the everlasting dominion of God. God gave to

[1] The force of these considerations is also recognised by Hitzig. Since the people of the saints cannot come from heaven, he resorts to the expedient that the Son of man is a "figure for the concrete whole, the kingdom, the saints—this kingdom comes down from heaven." The difficulties of such an idea are very obvious. Fries appears to be of opinion, with Hofmann, that there is an ascension to heaven of the people of the saints; for to him "clear evidence" that the "Son of man" is the people of Israel lies especially in the words, "and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before Him," which necessitates the adoption of the opposite *terminus a quo* from Matt. xxiv. 30, Mark xiv. 62, Rev. i. 7; and hence makes the direct parallelism of Dan. vii. 13 with the passages named impossible (?).

Nebuchadnezzar, the founder and first bearer of the world-power, a kingdom, and might, and majesty, and dominion over all the inhabitants of the earth, men, and beasts, and birds, that he might govern all nations, and tribes, and tongues (ch. v. 18, 19), but not indeed in such a manner as that all nations and tribes should render him religious homage, nor was his dominion one of everlasting duration. These two things belong only to the kingdom of God. פֶּלַח is used in biblical Chaldee only of the service and homage due to God; cf. ver. 27, ch. iii. 12, 14, 17 f., Ezra vii. 19, 24. Thus it indicates here also the religious service, the reverence which belong to God, though in the Targg. it corresponds with the Heb. עָבַד in all its meanings, *colere Deum*, *terram*, *laborare*. Regarding the expression "nations, tribes, and tongues," see under vers. 3, 4. The eternity of the duration of the dominion is in this book the constant predicate of the kingdom of God and His Anointed, the Messiah; cf. ch. iii. 33, iv. 31, ii. 44. For further remarks regarding the Son of man, see at the close of this chapter.

Vers. 15–28. *The interpretation of the vision.*—Ver. 14 concludes the account of the contents of the vision, but not the vision itself. That continues to the end of the chapter. Ver. 15. The things which Daniel saw made a deep impression on his mind. His spirit was troubled within him; the sight filled him with terror. It was not the mystery of the images, nor the fact that all was not clear before his sight, that troubled and disquieted him; for ver. 28 shows that the disquietude did not subside when an angel explained the images he had seen. It was the things themselves as they passed in vision before him—the momentous events, the calamities which the people of God would have to endure till the time of the completion of the everlasting kingdom of God—which filled him with anxiety and terror. רוּחִי stands for the Hebr. נַפְשִׁי, and אֲנָה דָּנִיֵּאל is in apposition to the suffix in רוּחִי, for the suffix is repeated with emphasis by the pronoun, ch. viii. 1, 15, Ezra vii. 21, and more frequently also in the Hebr.; cf. Winer, *Chald. Gram.* § 40, 4; Ges. *Hebr. Gram.* § 121, 3. The emphatic bringing forward of the person of the prophet corresponds to the significance of the vision, which made so deep an impression on him; cf. also ch. x. 1, 7, xii. 15. In this there is no trace of anxiety on the part of the speaker to make known that he is Daniel, as Hitzig supposes. The figure here used, "*in the sheath*" (E. V. "in the midst of my

body"), by which the body is likened to a sheath for the soul, which as a sword in its sheath is concealed by it, is found also in Job xxvii. 8, and in the writings of the rabbis (cf. Buxt. *Lex. talm. s.v.*) It is used also by Pliny, vii. 52. On "*visions of my head*," cf. ver. 1.

Ver. 16. Daniel turned himself towards an angel who stood by, with a request for an explanation of these things. *One of them that stood by* refers to those mentioned in ver. 10, who stood around the throne of God; whence it is obvious that the vision is still continued. אֶבְעָא is not the preterite, *I asked him*, but the subjunctive, *that* (ו) *I might ask.* So also וְיהוֹדְעִנַּנִי is to be taken with the ו going before: *he spake to me, that he informed me*, namely by his speaking.

In vers 17–27 the angel gives the wished-for explanation. In vers. 17 and 18 he gives first a general interpretation of the vision. The words, *these great beasts*, of which there were four, form an absolute nominal clause: "as for the beasts;" as concerning their meaning, it is this: "they represent four kings." The kings are named as founders and representatives of world-kingdoms. Four kingdoms are meant, as ver. 23 shows, where the fourth beast is explained as מַלְכוּ, "dominion," "kingdom." Compare also ch. viii. 20 and 21, where in like manner kings are named and kingdoms are meant. From the future יְקוּמוּן (*shall arise*) Hitzig concludes that the first kingdom was yet future, and therefore, that since Daniel had the vision under Belshazzar, the first king could only be Belshazzar, but could not represent the Chaldean monarchy. But if from the words *shall arise* it follows that the vision is only of kings who arise in the future, then, since Daniel saw the vision in the first year of Belshazzar, it cannot of course be Belshazzar who is represented by the first beast; and if Belshazzar was, as Hitzig thinks, the last king of Chaldea, then the entire Chaldean monarchy is excluded from the number of the four great beasts. Kranichfeld therefore understands this word as modal, and interprets it *should arise.* This was the divine decree by which also the duration of their kingdoms was determined (vers. 12, 25). But the modal interpretation does not agree with ver. 16, according to which the angel wishes to make known the meaning of the matter to Daniel, not to show what was determined in the divine counsel, but what God had revealed to him by the beasts rising up out of the sea. The future, *shall arise*, is rather (Ros., v. Leng., Maur., Klief., etc.) for the purpose of declaring that the vision represents the development of the world-power as a whole,

as it would unfold itself in four successive phases; whereupon the angel so summarily interprets the vision to the prophet, that, dating from the time of their origin, he points out the first world-kingdom as arising along with the rest, notwithstanding that it had already come into existence, and only its last stages were then future. The thought of this summary interpretation is manifestly nothing else than this: "Four kingdoms shall arise on the earth, and shall again disappear; but the saints of God shall receive the kingdom which shall have an everlasting duration." יְקַבְּלוּן, *receive;* not found and establish by their own might, but receive through the Son of man, to whom God (ver. 14) has given it. עֶלְיוֹנִין (cf. vers. 22, 25, 27) is the name of God, *the Most High*, analogous to the plur. forms אֱלֹהִים, קְדֹשִׁים. "The saints of the Most High," or briefly "the saints" (vers. 21, 22), are neither the Jews, who are accustomed to call themselves "saints," in contrast with the heathen (v. Leng., Maur., Hitzig, etc.), nor the converted Israel of the millennium (Hofmann and other chiliasts), but, as we argue from Ex. xix. 6, Deut. vii. 6, the true members of the covenant nation, the New Testament Israel of God, *i.e.* the congregation of the New Covenant, consisting of Israel and the faithful of all nations; for the kingdom which God gives to the Son of man will, according to ver. 14, comprehend those that are redeemed from among all the nations of the earth. The idea of the everlasting duration of their kingdom is, by the words עָלַם עָלְמַיָּא (*for ever and ever*), raised to the superlative degree.

The angel does not here give further explanations regarding the first three kingdoms. Since the second chapter treats of them, and the eighth also gives further description of the second and third, it is enough here to state that the first three beasts represent those kingdoms that are mentioned in ch. ii. The form of the fourth beast, however, comprehends much more regarding the fourth world-kingdom than the dream-image of Nebuchadnezzar did. Therefore Daniel asks the angel further for certain information (certainty) regarding the dreadful form of this beast, and consequently the principal outlines of the representation before given of it are repeated by him in vers. 19–21, and are completed by certain circumstances there omitted. Thus ver. 19 presents the addition, that the beast had, along with iron teeth, also claws of brass, with which it stamped to pieces what it could not devour; and ver. 20, that the little horn became greater than its fellows, made war against the people of God and overcame them, till the

judgment brought its dominion to an end. צְבִית לְיַצְבָּא, *I wished for sure knowledge, i.e.* to experience certainty regarding it.

In ver. 20, from וּנְפַלוּ (*fell down*) the relative connection of the passage is broken, and the direct description is continued. וְקַרְנָא דִכֵּן (*and that horn*) is an absolute idea, which is then explained by the *Vav* epexegetic. חֲזוֵהּ, the appearance which it presented, *i.e.* its *aspect*. מִן חַבְרָתֵהּ (*above his fellows*), for מִן חֲזוֵ חַבְרָתֵהּ (*above the aspect of his fellows*), see under ch. i. 10.

Ver. 21. קַדִּישִׁין (without the article), although used in a definite sense of the saints already mentioned, appertains to the elevated solemn style of speech, in which also in the Hebr. the article is frequently wanting in definite names; cf. Ewald's *Lehrb.* § 277.

Ver. 22. As compared with vers. 13 and 14, this verse says nothing new regarding the judgment. For דִּינָא יְהִיב לְקַדִּ' is not to be rendered, as Hengstenberg thinks (*Beitr.* i. p. 274), by a reference to 1 Cor. vi. 2: "to the saints of the Most High the judgment is given," *i.e.* the function of the judge. This interpretation is opposed to the context, according to which it is God Himself who executes judgment, and by that judgment justice is done to the people of God, *i.e.* they are delivered from the unrighteous oppression of the beast, and receive the kingdom. דִּינָא is *justice* procured by the judgment, corresponding to the Hebrew word מִשְׁפָּט, Deut. x. 18.

Ver. 23 ff. Daniel receives the following explanation regarding the fourth beast. It signifies a fourth kingdom, which would be different from all the preceding, and would eat up and destroy the whole earth. "The whole earth is the *οἰκουμένη*," the expression, without any hyperbole, for the "whole circle of the historical nations" (Kliefoth). The ten horns which the beast had signify ten kings who shall arise out of that kingdom. מִנַּהּ מַלְכוּתָה, *from it, the kingdom, i.e. from this very kingdom.* Since the ten horns all exist at the same time together on the head of the beast, the ten kings that arise out of the fourth kingdom are to be regarded as contemporary. In this manner the division or dismemberment of this kingdom into ten principalities or kingdoms is symbolized. For the ten contemporaneous kings imply the existence at the same time of ten kingdoms. Hitzig's objections against this view are of no weight. That מַלְכוּ and מַלְכָּה are in this verse used as distinct from each other proves nothing, because in the whole vision king and kingdom are congruent ideas. But that the horn,

ver. 8, *unmistakeably* denotes a person, is only so far right, as things are said of the horn which are *in abstracto* not suitable to a kingdom, but they can only be applicable to the bearer of royal power. But ch. viii. 20 and 21, to which Hitzig further refers, furnishes no foundation for his view, but on the contrary confutes it. For although in ch. viii. 21 the great horn of the goat is interpreted as the first king of Javan, yet the four horns springing up immediately (ver. 22) in the place of this one which was broken, are interpreted as four kingdoms (not kings), in distinct proof not only that in Daniel's vision king and kingdom are not "separate from each other," but also that the further assertion, that "horn" is less fitted than "head" to represent a kingdom, is untenable.

After those ten kingdoms another shall arise which shall be different from the previous ten, and shall overthrow three of them. יַהַשְׁפִּיל, in contrast with אָקִים (cf. ch. ii. 21), signifies *to overthrow, to deprive of the sovereignty*. But the king coming after them can only overthrow three of the ten kingdoms when he himself has established and possesses a kingdom or empire of his own. According to this, the king arising after the ten is not an isolated ruler, but the monarch of a kingdom which has destroyed three of the kingdoms already in existence.

Ver. 25 refers to the same king, and says that he shall speak against the Most High. לְצַד means, properly, *against or at the side of*, and is more expressive than עַל. It denotes that he would use language by which he would set God aside, regard and give himself out as God; cf. 2 Thess. ii. 4. Making himself like God, he will destroy the saints of God. בְּלָא, *Pa.*, not "make unfortunate" (Hitzig), but consume, afflict, like the Hebr. בָּלָה, 1 Chron. xvii. 9, and Targ. Jes. iii. 15. These passages show that the assertion that בָּלָה, in the sense of to destroy, never takes after it the accusative of the person (Hitz.), is false. Finally, "he thinks to change times and laws." "To change times" belongs to the all-perfect power of God (cf. ch. ii. 21), the creator and ordainer of times (Gen. i. 14). There is no ground for supposing that זְמָנִין is to be specially understood of "festival or sacred times," since the word, like the corresponding Hebr. מוֹעֲדִים, does not throughout signify merely "festival times;" cf. Gen. i. 14, xvii. 21, xviii. 14, etc. The annexed וְדָת does not point to arrangements of divine worship, but denotes "law" or "ordinance" in general, human as well as divine law; cf. ch. ii. 13, 15 with ch. vi. 6, 9. "Times and laws" are the foundations and main conditions, emanating from God, of

the life and actions of men in the world. The sin of the king in placing himself with God, therefore, as Kliefoth rightly remarks, "consists in this, that in these ordinances he does not regard the fundamental conditions given by God, but so changes the laws of human life that he puts his own pleasure in the place of the divine arrangements." Thus shall he do with the ordinances of life, not only of God's people, but of all men. "But it is to be confessed that the people of God are most affected thereby, because they hold their ordinances of life most according to the divine plan; and therefore the otherwise general passage stands between two expressions affecting the conduct of the horn in its relation to the people of God."

This tyranny God's people will suffer "till, *i.e.* during, a time, (two) times, and half a time." By these specifications of time the duration of the last phase of the world-power is more definitely declared, as a period in its whole course measured by God; vers. 12 and 22. The plural word עִדָּנִין (*times*) standing between time and half a time can only designate the simple plural, *i.e. two times* used in the dual sense, since in the Chaldee the plural is often used to denote a pair where the dual is used in Hebrew; cf. Winer, *Chald. Gr.* § 55, 3. Three and a half times are the half of seven times (ch. iv. 13). The greater number of the older as well as of the more recent interpreters take *time* (עִדָּן) as representing the space of a year, thus three and a half times as three and a half years; and they base this view partly on ch. iv. 13, where seven times must mean seven years, partly on ch. xii. 7, where the corresponding expression is found in Hebrew, partly on Rev. xiii. 5 and xi. 2, 3, where forty-two months and 1260 days are used interchangeably. But none of these passages supplies a proof that will stand the test. The supposition that in ch. iv. 13 the seven times represent seven years, neither is nor can be proved. As regards the *time* and *times* in ch. xii. 7, and the periods named in the passages of the Rev. referred to, it is very questionable whether the *weeks* and the *days* represent the ordinary weeks of the year and days of the week, and whether these periods of time are to be taken chronologically. Still less can any explanation as to this designation of time be derived from the 2300 days (evening-mornings) in ch. viii. 14, since the periods do not agree, nor do both passages treat of the same event. The choice of the chronologically indefinite expression עִדָּן, *time*, shows that a chronological determination of the period is not in view, but that the designation of time is to be

understood symbolically. We have thus to inquire after the symbolical meaning of the statement. This is not to be sought, with Hofmann (*Weiss.* i. 289), in the supposition that as three and a half years are the half of a Sabbath-period, it is thus announced that Israel would be oppressed during half a Sabbath-period by Antichrist. For, apart from the unwarrantable identification of *time* with *year*, one does not perceive what Sabbath-periods and the oppression of the people of God have in common. This much is beyond doubt, that three and a half times are the half of seven times. The meaning of this half, however, is not to be derived, with Kranichfeld, from ch. iv. 13, where "*seven times*" is an expression used for a long continuance of divinely-ordained suffering. It is not hence to be supposed that the dividing of this period into two designates only a proportionally short time of severest oppression endured by the people of God at the hands of the heathen. For the humbling of the haughty ruler Nebuchadnezzar (ch. iv. 13) does not stand in any inner connection with the elevation of the world-power over the people of God, in such a way that we could explain the three and a half times of this passage after the seven times of ch. iv. 13. In general, the question may be asked, Whether the meaning of the three and a half times is to be derived merely from the symbolical signification of the number seven, or whether, with Lämmert, we must not much rather go back, in order to ascertain the import of this measure of time, to the divine judgments under Elias, when the heavens were shut for three years and six months; Luke iv. 25 and Jas. v. 17. "As Ahab did more to provoke God to anger than all the kings who were before him, so this king, Dan. vii. 24, in a way altogether different from those who went before him, spake words against the Most High and persecuted His saints, etc." But should this reference also not be established, and the three and a half times be regarded as only the half of seven times, yet the seven does not here come into view as the time of God's works, so that it could be said the oppression of the people of God by the little horn will last (Kliefoth) only half as long as a work of God; but according to the symbolical interpretation of the seven times (see p. 152), the three and a half, as the period of the duration of the circumstances into which the people of God are brought by the world-power through the divine permission, indicate "a testing period, a period of judgment which will (Matt. xxiv. 22; Prov. x. 27), for the elect's sake, be interrupted and shortened (*septenarius truncus*)." Leyrer in Herz.'s *Real. Enc.*

xviii. 369. Besides, it is to be considered how this space of time is described, not as three and a half, but a time, two times, and half a time. Ebrard (*Offenb.* p. 49) well remarks regarding this, that "it appears as if his tyranny would extend itself always the longer and longer: first a time, then the doubled time, then the fourfold —this would be a seven times; but it does not go that length; suddenly it comes to an end in the midst of the seven times, so that instead of the fourfold time there is only half a time." "The proper analysis of the three and a half times," Kliefoth further remarks, "in that the periods first mount up by doubling them, and then suddenly decline, shows that the power of the horn and its oppression of the people of God would first quickly manifest itself, in order then to come to a sudden end by the interposition of the divine judgment (ver. 26)." For, a thing which is not here to be overlooked, the three and a half times present not the whole duration of the existence of the little horn, but, as the half of a week, only the latter half of its time, in which dominion over the saints of God is given to it (ver. 21), and at the expiry of which it falls before the judgment. See under ch. xii. 7.

In vers. 26 and 27 this judgment is described (cf. ver. 10), but only as to its consequences for the world-power. The dominion of the horn in which the power of the fourth beast culminates is taken away and altogether annihilated. The destruction of the beast is here passed by, inasmuch as it is already mentioned in ver. 11; while, on the other hand, that which is said (ver. 12) about the taking away of its power and its dominion is strengthened by the *inf.* לְהַשְׁמְדָה (*to destroy*), וּלְהוֹבְדָה (*and to consume*), being added to יְהַעְדִּין (*they shall take away*), to which שָׁלְטָנֵהּ (*his dominion*) is to be repeated as the object. עַד סוֹפָא, *to the end, i.e.* not absolutely, but, as in ch. vi. 27, to the end of the days, *i.e.* for ever.

Ver. 27. After the destruction of the beast, the kingdom and the dominion, which hitherto comprehended the kingdom under the whole heaven, are given to the people of God, *i.e.* under the reign of the Son of man, as is to be supplied from ver. 14. As in ver. 26 nothing is further said of the fate of the horn, because all that was necessary regarding it had been already said (ver. 11), so also all that was to be said of the Son of man was already mentioned in vers. 13 and 14; and according to the representation of the Scripture, the kingdom of the people of the saints without the Son of man as king is not a conceivable idea. דִּי מַלְכוּת (*of the kingdom*) is a subjective genitive, which is required by the idea of the

intransitive רְבוּתָא (*the greatness*) preceding it. The meaning is thus not "power over all kingdoms," but "the power which the kingdoms under the whole heaven had." With regard to ver. 27, cf. vers. 14 and 18.

In ver. 28 the end of the vision is stated, and the impression which it left on Daniel. *Hitherto*, to this point, was the end of the history; *i.e.* thus far the history, or, with this the matter is at an end. מִלְּתָא, *the matter*, is not merely the interpretation of the angel, but the whole revelation, the vision together with its interpretation. Daniel was greatly moved by the event (cf. ch. v. 9), and kept it in his heart.

The Four World-kingdoms.

There yet remains for our consideration the question, What are the historical world-kingdoms which are represented by Nebuchadnezzar's image (ch. ii.), and by Daniel's vision of four beasts rising up out of the sea? Almost all interpreters understand that these two visions are to be interpreted in the same way. "The four kingdoms or dynasties, which were symbolized (ch. ii.) by the different parts of the human image, from the head to the feet, are the same as those which were symbolized by the four great beasts rising up out of the sea." This is the view not only of Bleek, who herein agrees with Auberlen, but also of Kranichfeld and Kliefoth, and all church interpreters. These four kingdoms, according to the interpretation commonly received in the church, are the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Macedo-Grecian, and the Roman. "In this interpretation and opinion," Luther observes, "all the world are agreed, and history and fact abundantly establish it." This opinion prevailed till about the end of the last century, for the contrary opinion of individual earlier interpreters had found no favour.[1] But from that time, when faith in the supernatural

[1] This is true regarding the opinion of Ephrem Syrus and of Cosmas Indicopleustes, who held that the second kingdom was the Median, the third the Persian, and the fourth the kingdom of Alexander and his successors. This view has been adopted only by an anonymous writer in the *Comment. Var. in Dan.* in Mai's *Collectio nov. Script. Vett.* p. 176. The same thing may be said of the opinion of Polychronius and Grotius, that the second kingdom was the Medo-Persian, the third the monarchy of Alexander, and the fourth the kingdom of his followers—a view which has found only one weak advocate in J. Chr. Becmann in a *dissert. de Monarchia Quarta*, Franc. ad Od. 1671.

origin and character of biblical prophecy was shaken by Deism and Rationalism, then as a consequence, with the rejection of the genuineness of the book of Daniel the reference of the fourth kingdom to the Roman world-monarchy was also denied. For the pseudo-Daniel of the times of the Maccabees could furnish no prophecy which could reach further than the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. If the reference of the fourth kingdom to the Roman empire was therefore *a priori* excluded, the four kingdoms must be so explained that the pretended prophecy should not extend further than to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. For this end all probabilities were created, and yet nothing further was reached than that one critic confuted another. While Ewald and Bunsen advanced the opinion that the Assyrian kingdom is specially to be understood by the first kingdom, and that the Maccabean author of the book was first compelled by the reference to Nebuchadnezzar to separate, in opposition to history, the Median from the Persian kingdom, so as to preserve the number four, Hitzig, in agreement with von Redepenning, has sought to divide the Babylonian kingdom, and to refer the first kingdom to Nebuchadnezzar and the second to his successor Belshazzar; while Bertholdt, Jahn, and Rosenmüller, with Grotius, have divided the kingdom of Alexander from the kingdom of his successors. But as both of these divisions appear to be altogether too arbitrary, Venema, Bleek, de Wette, Lücke, v. Leng., Maurer, Hitzig (ch. vii.), Hilgenfeld, and Kranichfeld have disjoined the Medo-Persian monarchy into two world-kingdoms, the Median and the Persian, and in this they are followed by Delitzsch. See Art. *Daniel* in Herz.'s *Real. Encyc.*

When we examine these views more closely, the first named is confuted by what Ewald himself (*Die Proph.* iii. 314) has said on this point. The four world-kingdoms "must follow each other strictly in chronological order, the succeeding being always inferior, sterner, and more reckless than that which went before. They thus appear in the gigantic image (ch. ii.), which in its four parts, from head to feet, is formed of altogether different materials; in like manner in ch. vii. four different beasts successively appear on the scene, the one of which, according to ch. viii., always destroys the other. Now it cannot be said, indeed, in strict historical fact that the Chaldean kingdom first gave way to the Median, and this again to the Persian, but, as it is always said, the Persian and Median together under Cyrus overthrew the Chaldean and formed one kingdom. This is stated by the author himself in ch. viii., where

the Medo-Persian kingdom is presented as one under the image of a two-horned ram. According to this, he should have reckoned from Nabucodrossor only three world-kingdoms, if he had not received the number of four world-kingdoms from an old prophet living under the Assyrian dominion, who understood by the four kingdoms the Assyrian, the Chaldean, the Medo-Persian, and the Grecian. Since now this number, it is self-evident to him, can neither be increased nor diminished, there remained nothing else for him than to separate the Median from the Persian kingdom at that point where he rendered directly prominent the order and the number *four*, while he at other times views them together." But what then made it necessary for this pseudo-prophet to interpret the golden head of Nebuchadnezzar, and to entangle himself thereby, in opposition not only to the history, but also to his own better judgment, ch. viii., if in the old sources used by him the Assyrian is to be understood as the first kingdom? To this manifest objection Ewald has given no answer, and has not shown that in ch. ii. and vii. the Median kingdom is separated from the Persian. Thus this hypothesis is destitute of every foundation, and the derivation of the number four for the world-kingdoms from a prophetic book of the Assyrian period is one of the groundless ideas with which Ewald thinks to enrich biblical literature.

Hitzig's opinion, that Daniel had derived the idea of separating the heathen power into four kingdoms following each other from the representation of the four ages of the world, has no better foundation. It was natural for him to represent Assyria as the first kingdom, yet as he wished not to refer to the past, but to the future, he could only begin with the kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar. Regarding himself as bound to the number four, he divided on that account, in ch. ii., the Chaldean dominion into two periods, and in ch. vii., for the same reason, the Medo-Persian into two kingdoms, the Median and the Persian. This view Hitzig founds partly on this, that in ch. ii. 38 not the Chaldean kingdom but Nebuchadnezzar is designated as the golden head, and that for Daniel there exist only two Chaldean kings; and partly on this, that the second מַלְכוּ (ch. ii. 39) is named as inferior to the Chaldean, which could not be said of the Medo-Persian as compared with the Chaldean; and, finally, partly on this, that in the vision seen in the first year of Belshazzar (ch. vii.), Nebuchadnezzar already belonged to the past, while according to ver. 17 the first kingdom was yet future. But apart from the incorrectness of the assertion, that for the author

of this book only two Chaldean kings existed, it does not follow from the circumstance that Nebuchadnezzar is styled the golden head of the image, that he personally is meant as distinct from the Chaldean king that succeeded him; on the contrary, that Nebuchadnezzar comes to view only as the founder, and at that time the actual ruler, of the kingdom, is clear from ch. ii. 39, "after thee shall arise another kingdom" (מַלְכוּ), not another king (מֶלֶךְ), as it ought to be read, according to Hitzig's opinion. Belshazzar did not found another kingdom, or, as Hitzig says, another dominion (*Herschaft*), but he only continued the kingdom or dominion of Nebuchadnezzar. The two other reasons advanced have been already disposed of in the interpretation of ch. ii. 39 and of ch. vii. 17. The expression, "*inferior to thee*" (ch. ii. 39), would not relate to the Medo-Persian kingdom as compared with the Chaldean only if it referred to the geographical extension of the kingdom, which is not the case. And the argument deduced from the words "shall arise" in ch. vii. 17 proves too much, and therefore nothing. If in the word יְקוּמוּן (*shall arise*) it be held that the first kingdom was yet to arise, then also the dominion of Belshazzar would be thereby excluded, which existed at the time of that vision. Moreover the supposition that מַלְכוּ means in ch. ii. 39 the government of an individual king, but in ch. ii. 4 a kingdom, the passages being parallel in their contents and in their form, and that מַלְכִין in ch. vii. 17 ("the four beasts are four kings") means, when applied to the first two beasts, separate kings, and when applied to the two last, kingdoms, violates all the rules of hermeneutics. "Two rulers personally cannot possibly be placed in the same category with two kingdoms" (Kliefoth).

But the view of Bertholdt, that the third kingdom represents the monarchy of Alexander, and the fourth that of his διάδοχοι (successors), is at the present day generally abandoned. And there is good reason that it should be so; for it is plain that the description of the iron nature of the fourth kingdom in ch. ii. breaking all things in pieces, as well as of the terribleness of the fourth beast in ch. vii., by no means agrees with the kingdoms of the successors of Alexander, which in point of might and greatness were far inferior to the monarchy of Alexander, as is indeed expressly stated in ch. xi. 4. Hitzig has, moreover, justly remarked, on the other hand, that "for the author of this book the kingdom of Alexander and that of his successors form together the מַלְכוּת יָוָן, ch. viii. 21 (*the kingdom of Javan* = Grecia). But

if he had separated them, he could not have spoken of the kingdom of the successors as 'diverse' in character from that of Alexander, ch. vii. 7, 19. Finally, by such a view a right interpretation of the four heads, ch. vii. 6, and the special meaning of the legs which were wholly of iron, ch. ii. 33, is lost."

Now, since the untenableness of these three suppositions is obvious, there only remains the expedient to divide the Medo-Persian world-kingdom into a Median and a Persian kingdom, and to combine the former with the second and the latter with the third of Daniel's kingdoms. But this scheme also is broken to pieces by the twofold circumstance, (1) that, as Maurer himself acknowledges, history knows nothing whatever of a Median world-kingdom; and (2) that, as Kranichfeld is compelled to confess (p. 122 ff.), "it cannot be proved from Dan. v. 28, vi. 1, 29, ix. 1, xi. 1, that the author of the book, in the vision in ch. ii. or vii., or at all, conceived of an exclusively Median world-kingdom, and knew nothing of the Persian race as an inner component part of this kingdom." It is true the book of Daniel, according to ch. viii., recognises a distinction between a Median and a Persian dynasty (cf. ver. 3), but in other respects it recognises only one kingdom, which comprehends in its unity the Median and the Persian race. In harmony with this, the author speaks, at the time when the Median government over Babylon was actually in existence, only of one law of the kingdom for Medes and Persians (ch. vi. 9, 13, 16), *i.e.* one law which rested on a common agreement of the two nations bound together into one kingdom. "The author of this book, who at the time of Darius, king of the Medes, knew only of one kingdom common to both races," according to Kran., "speaks also in the preceding period of the Chaldean independence of the Medes only in conjunction with the Persians (cf. ch. v. 28, viii. 20), and, after the analogy of the remark already made, not as of two separated kingdoms, but in the sense of one kingdom, comprehending in it, along with the Median race, also the Persians as another and an important component part. This finds its ratification during the independence of Babylon even in ch. viii. 20; for there the kings of the Medes and the Persians are represented by *one* beast, although at the same time two separate dynasties are in view. This actual fact of a national union into *one* kingdom very naturally and fully explains why, in the case of Cyrus, as well as in that of Darius, the national origin of the governors, emphatically set forth, was of interest for the author (cf.

ch. ix. 1, vi. 1, xi. 1, vi. 28), while with regard to the Chaldean kings there is no similar particular notice taken of their origin; and generally, instead of a statement of the personal descent of Darius and Cyrus, much rather only a direct mention of the particular people ruled by each—*e.g.* for these rulers the special designations 'king of the Persians,' 'king of the Medes'—was to be expected[1] (cf. ch. viii. 20, x. 1, 13, 20, xi. 2)." Hence, as Kranichfeld further rightly judges, it could not (ch. viii.) appear appropriate to suppose that the author had Persia in view as the third kingdom, while in the visions ch. ii. and vii. we would regard Persia as a kingdom altogether separated from the Median kingdom. Moreover the author in ch. viii. speaks of the one horn of the ram as growing up after the other, in order thereby to indicate the growing up of the Persian dynasty after the Median, and consequently the two dynasties together in one and the same kingdom (ver. 3, cf. ver. 20). Yet, in spite of all these testimonies to the contrary, Daniel must in ch. ii. and vii. have had in view by the second world-kingdom the Median, and by the third the Persian, because at that time he did not think that in the relation of the Median and the Persian no other change in the future would happen than a simple change of dynasty, but because, at the time in which the Median kingdom stood in a threatening attitude toward the Chaldean (both in the second year of Nebuchadnezzar and in the first year of his son Belshazzar, *i.e.* Evilmerodach), he thought that a sovereign Persian kingdom would rise up victoriously opposite the Median rival of Nebuchadnezzar.

[1] Kranichfeld goes on to say, that Hilgenfeld goes too far if he concludes from the attribute, *the Mede* (ch. vi. 1 [v. 31]), that the author wished to represent thereby a separate kingdom of the Medes in opposition to a kingdom of the Persians at a later time nationally distinct from it; further, that as in the sequel the Median dynasty of the Medo-Persian kingdom passed over into a Persian dynasty, and through the government of the Persian Cyrus the Persian race naturally came forth into the foreground and assumed a prominent place, the kingdom was designated *a potiori* as that of the Persians (ch. x. 1, 13, 20, xi. 2), like as, in other circumstances (Isa. xiii. 17; Jer. li. 11, 28), the Medians alone are *a potiori* represented as the destroyers of Babylon. "As there was, during the flourishing period of the Median dynasty, a kingdom of the Medes and Persians (cf. Dan. v. 28, viii. 20), so there is, since the time of Cyrus the Persian, a kingdom of the Persians and Medes (cf. Esth. i. 3, 18, 1 Macc. i. 1, xiv. 2). We find in Daniel, at the time of the Median supremacy in the kingdom, the law of the Medes and Persians (Dan. vi. 9, 13, 16), and subsequently we naturally find the law of the Persians and Medes, Esth. i. 19."

As opposed to this expedient, we will not insist on the improbability that Daniel within two years should have wholly changed his opinion as to the relation between the Medians and the Persians, though it would be difficult to find a valid ground for this. Nor shall we lay any stress on this consideration, that the assumed error of the prophet regarding the contents of the divine revelation in ch. ii. and vii. appears irreconcilable with the supernatural illumination of Daniel, because Kranichfeld regards the prophetic statements as only the product of enlightened human mental culture. But we must closely examine the question how this reference of the world-kingdoms spoken of stands related to the characteristics of the third and fourth kingdoms as stated in ch. ii. and vii.

The description of the second and third kingdoms is very briefly given in ch. ii. and vii. Even though the statement, ch. ii. 39, that the second kingdom would be smaller than the kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar could point to a Median kingdom, and the statement that the third kingdom would rule over the whole earth might refer to the spread of the dominion of the Persians beyond the boundaries of the Chaldean and Medo-Persian kingdom under Darius, yet the description of both of these kingdoms in ch. vii. 5 sufficiently shows the untenableness of this interpretation. The second kingdom is represented under the image of a bear, which raises itself up on one side, and has three ribs in its mouth between its teeth. The three ribs in its mouth the advocates of this view do not know how to interpret. According to Kran., they are to be regarded as pointing out constituent parts of a whole, of an older kingdom, which he does not attempt more definitely to describe, because history records nothing of the conquests which Darius the Mede may have gained during the two years of his reign after the conquest of Babylon and the overthrow of the Chaldean kingdom by Cyrus. And the leopard representing (ch. vii. 6) the third kingdom has not only four wings, but also four heads. The four heads show beyond a doubt the division of the kingdom represented by the leopard into four kingdoms, just as in ch. viii. the four horns of the he-goat, which in ver. 22 are expressly interpreted of four kingdoms rising out of the kingdom of Javan. But a division into four kingdoms cannot by any means be proved of the Persian world-kingdom. Therefore the four heads must here, according to Kran., represent only the vigilant watchfulness and aggression over all the regions of the earth,

the pushing movement toward the different regions of the heavens, or, according to Hitzig, the four kings of Persia whom alone Daniel knew. But the first of these interpretations confutes itself, since heads are never the symbol of watchfulness or of aggressive power; and the second is set aside by a comparison with ch. viii. 22. If the four horns of the he-goat represent four world-kingdoms rising up *together*, then the four heads of the leopard can never represent four kings reigning *after* one another, even though it were the case, which it is not (ch. xi. 2), that Daniel knew only four kings of Persia.

Yet more incompatible are the statements regarding the fourth world-kingdom in ch. ii. and vii. with the supposition that the kingdom of Alexander and his followers is to be understood by it. Neither the monarchy of Alexander nor the Javanic world-kingdom accords with the iron nature of the fourth kingdom, represented by the legs of iron, breaking all things in pieces, nor with the internal division of this kingdom, represented by the feet consisting partly of iron and partly of clay, nor finally with the ten toes formed of iron and clay mixed (ch. ii. 33, 40–43). As little does the monarchy of Alexander and his successors resemble a fearful beast with ten horns, which was without any representative in the animal world, according to which Daniel could have named it (ch. vii. 7, 19). Kranichfeld rejects, therefore, the historical meaning of the image in ch. ii., and seeks to interpret its separate features only as the expression of the irreparable division of the ungodly kingdom assailing the theocracy with destructive vehemence, and therein of dependent weakness and inner dissolution. Hitzig finds in the two legs the representation of a monarchy which, as the Greek domination, sets its one foot on Europe and its other on Asia; and he regards Syria and Egypt as the material of it—Syria as the iron, Egypt as the clay. Others, again, regard the feet as the kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies, and in the ten horns they seek the other kingdoms of the *Διάδοχοι*. On the other hand, Kliefoth justly asks, "How came Syria and Egypt to be feet? And the toes go out of the feet, but the other kingdoms of the *Διάδοχοι* do not arise out of Syria and Egypt." And if in this circumstance, that it is said of the fourth terrible beast that it was different from all the beasts that went before, and that no likeness was found for it among the beasts of prey, Kran. only finds it declared "that it puts forth its whole peculiarity according to its power in such a way that no name can any longer be

found for it," then this in no respect whatever agrees with the monarchy of Alexander. According to Hitz., the difference of the fourth beast is to be sought in the monarchy of Alexander transplanted from Europe into Asia, as over against the three monarchies, which shared in common an oriental home, a different kind of culture, and a despotic government. But was the transference of a European monarchy and culture into Asia something so fearful that Daniel could find no name whereby to represent the terribleness of this beast? The relation of Alexander to the Jews in no respect corresponds to this representation; and in ch. viii. Daniel does not say a word about the terribleness of the Javanic kingdom, but presents only the great rapidity of its conquests. He had thus an entirely different conception of the Greek monarchy from that of his modern interpreters.

Finally, if we take into consideration that the terrible beast which represents the fourth world-power has ten horns (ch. vii. 7), which is to be explained as denoting that out of the same kingdom ten kings shall arise (ch. vii. 24), and, on the contrary, that by the breaking off from the he-goat, representing the monarchy of Alexander, of the one great horn, which signified the first king, and the subsequent springing up of four similar horns, is to be understood that four kingdoms shall arise out of it (ch. viii. 5, 8, 21, 22); then the difference of the number of the horns shows that the beast with the ten horns cannot represent the same kingdom as that which is represented by the he-goat with four horns, since the number four is neither according to its numerical nor its symbolical meaning identical with the number ten. Moreover, this identifying of the two is quite set aside by the impossibility of interpreting the ten horns historically. Giving weight to the explanation of the angel, that the ten horns represent the rising up of ten kings, Berth., v. Leng., Hitz., and Del. have endeavoured to find these kings among the Seleucidæ, but they have not been able to discover more than seven: 1. Seleucus Nicator; 2. Antiochus Soter; 3. Antiochus Theus; 4. Seleucus Callinicus; 5. Seleucus Ceraunus; 6. Antiochus the Great; 7. Seleucus Philopator, the brother and predecessor of Antiochus Epiphanes, who after Philopator's death mounted the throne of Syria, having set aside other heirs who had a better title to it, and who must be that little horn which reached the kingdom by the rooting up of three kings. The three kings whom Antiochus plucked up by the roots (cf. ch. vii. 8, 20, 24) must be Heliodorus, the murderer of Philopator;

Demetrius, who was a hostage in Rome, the son of Philopator, and the legitimate successor to the throne; and the son of Ptolemy Philometor, for whom his mother Cleopatra, the sister of Seleucus Philopator and of Antiochus Epiphanes, claimed the Syrian throne. But no one of these three reached the royal dignity, and none of them was dethroned or plucked up by the roots by Antiochus Epiphanes. Heliodorus, it is true, strove for the kingdom (Appian, *Syriac.* 45); but his efforts were defeated, yet not by Antiochus Epiphanes, but by Attalus and Eumenes. Demetrius, after his death, was the legitimate heir to the throne, but could not assert his rights, because he was a hostage in Rome; and since he did not at all mount the throne, he was not of course dethroned by his uncle Antiochus Epiphanes. Finally, Ptolemy Philometor, after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, for a short time, it is true, united the Syrian crown with the Egyptian (1 Macc. xi. 13; Polyb. xl. 12), but during the life of Antiochus Epiphanes, and before he ascended the throne, he was neither *de jure* nor *de facto* king of Syria; and the "pretended efforts of Cleopatra to gain for her son Philometor the crown of Syria are nowhere proved" (Hitzig).

Of this historical interpretation we cannot thus say even so much as that it "only very scantily meets the case" (Delitzsch); for it does not at all accord with the prophecy that the little horn (Antiochus Epiphanes) plucked up by the roots three of the existing kings. Hitzig and Hilgenfeld (*Die Proph. Esra u. Dan.* p. 82) have therefore dropped out of view the Syrian kingdom of Philometor, and, in order to gain the number ten, have ranked Alexander the Great among the Syrian kings, and taken Seleucus Philopator into the triad of the pretended Syrian kings that were plucked up by the roots by Antiochus Epiphanes. But Alexander the Great can neither according to the evidence of history, nor according to the statement of the book of Daniel, be counted among the kings of Syria; and Seleucus Philopator was not murdered by Antiochus Epiphanes, but Antiochus Epiphanes lived at the time of this deed in Athens (Appian, *Syr.* 45); and the murderer Heliodorus cannot have accomplished that crime as the instrument of Antiochus, because he aspired to gain the throne for himself, and was only prevented from doing so by the intervention of Attalus and Eumenes. Hilgenfeld also does not venture to reckon Heliodorus, the murderer of the king, among the triad of uprooted kings, but seeks to supply his place by an older son of Seleucus Philopator, murdered at the instigation of Antiochus

Epiphanes according to Gutschmid; but he fails to observe that a king's *son* murdered during the lifetime of his father, reigning as king, could not possibly be represented as a king whom Antiochus Epiphanes drove from his throne. Of the ten kings of the Grecian world-kingdom of the branch of the Seleucidæ before Antiochus Epiphanes, whom Hilgenfeld believes that he is almost able "to grasp with his hands," history gives as little information as of the uprooting of the three Syrian kings by Antiochus Epiphanes.

But even though the historical relevancy of the attempt to authenticate the ten Syrian kings in the kingdom of the Seleucidæ were more satisfactory than, from what has been remarked, appears to be the case, yet this interpretation of the fourth beast would be shattered against the ten horns, because these horns did not grow up one after another, but are found simultaneously on the head of the beast, and consequently cannot mean ten Syrian kings following one another, as not only all interpreters who regard the beast as representing the Roman empire, but also Bleek and Kran., acknowledge, in spite of the reference of this beast to the Javanic world-kingdom. "We are induced," as Bleek justly observes, "by ver. 8, where it is said of the little horn that it would rise up between the ten horns, to think of ten contemporaneous kings, or rather kingdoms, existing along with each other, which rise out of the fourth kingdom." Therefore he will "not deny that the reference to the successors of Alexander is rendered obscure by the fact that ch. viii. speaks of four monarchies which arise out of that of Alexander after his death." This obscurity, however, he thinks he is able to clear up by the remark, that "in the kind of development of the historical relations after the death of Alexander, the parts of his kingdom which formed themselves into independent kingdoms might be numbered in different ways." Thus, in ch. vii., "as ten from the number of the generals who in the arrangements of the division of the kingdom (323 B.C.) retained the chief provinces: 1. Kraterus (Macedonia); 2. Antipater (Greece); 3. Lysimachus (Thrace); 4. Leonatus (Phrygia Minor on the Hellespont); 5. Antigonus (Phrygia Major, Lycia, and Pamphylia); 6. Cassander (Karia); 7. Eumenes (Cappadocia and Paphlagonia); 8. Laomedon (Syria and Palestine); 9. Pithon (Media); 10. Ptolemy Lagus (Egypt)." But Zündel justly observes in opposition to this view, that "these kingdoms could only have significance if this number, instead of being a selection from the whole, had been itself the whole. But this is not the

case. For at that time the kingdom, according to Justin, *hist.* L. xiii. 4, was divided into more than thirty separate parts.[1] Although all the names do not perfectly agree as given by different writers, yet this is manifest, that there is no information regarding a division of the kingdom of Alexander into ten exclusively. History knows nothing of such a thing; not only so, but much more, this reckoning of Bleek's falls into the same mistake as the oldest of Porphyry, that it is an arbitrary selection and not a fixed number." But if Bleek wishes to support his arbitrary selection by references to the Sibylline Oracles, where also mention is made of the horns of Daniel in connection with Alexander, Hilgenfeld (*Jüd. Apokal.* p. 71 ff.) has, on the contrary, shown that this passage is derived from Daniel, and is therefore useless as a support to Bleek's hypothesis, because in it the immediate successors of Alexander are not meant, but ten kings following one another; this passage also only shows that the sibyllist had given to the number ten an interpretation regarded by Bleek himself as incompatible with the words of Daniel.

But notwithstanding the impossibility of interpreting the ten horns of the Greek world-kingdom, and notwithstanding the above-mentioned incompatibility of the statements of ch. ii. and vii. regarding the third kingdom with those of ch. viii. regarding the Medo-Persian kingdom,[2] yet, according to Kranichfeld, the identi-

[1] Justinus, *l.c.*, mentions the following, viz.: 1. Ptolemy (Egypt, Africa, Arabia); 2. Laomedon (Syria and Palestine); 3. Philotas (Cilicia); 4. Philo (Illyria); 5. Atropatos (Media Major): 6. Scynus (Susiana); 7. Antigonus (Phrygia Major); 8. Nearchus (Lycia and Pamphylia); 9. Cassander (Caria); 10. Menander (Lydia); 11. Leonatus (Phrygia Minor); 12. Lysimachus (Thracia and Pontus); 13. Eumenes (Cappadocia and Paphlagonia); 14. Taxiles (the countries between the Hydaspes and the Indus); 15. Pithon (India); 16. Extarches (Caucasus); 17. Sybirtios (Gedrosia); 18. Statanor or Stasanor (Drangiana and Aria); 19. Amyntas (Bactria); 20. Scytæus (Sogdiana); 21. Nicanor (Parthia); 22. Philippus (Hyrcania); 23. Phrataphernes (Armenia); 24. Tlepolenus (Persia); 25. Peucestes (Babylonia); 26. Archon (the Pelasgi); 27. Arcesilaus (Mesopotamia). Besides these there were other generals not named.

[2] This incompatibility Kliefoth has so conclusively (p. 245 f.) stated, that in confirmation of the above remarks we quote his words. "The bear and the panther," he says, "are related to each other as the ram and the he-goat; but how, in two visions following each other and related to each other, the one Medo-Persian kingdom could be likened to beasts so entirely different as a winged panther and a he-goat is quite inconceivable. The interpreters must help themselves by saying that the choice of the beasts is altogether arbitrary. Ch. viii. describes Medo-Persia as a kingdom comprehending two peoples united

fication of the fourth kingdom of Daniel with the Javanic world-kingdom receives a confirmation from the representation of ch. xi. and xii., particularly by the striking resemblance of the description of the fourth kingdom in ch. ii. and vii. with that of the Javanic in ch. viii. ff. "As in ch. ii. and vii. the inward discord of the fourth kingdom is predicated, so this is obviously represented in the inner hateful strife of the kingdom, of which ch. xi. 3 ff. treats; as here the discord appears as inextinguishable, so there; as to the special means also for preventing the ominous ruin, cf. ch. ii. 43 with ch. xi. 6, 17."

But is, then, this resemblance indeed so striking that it can overbalance the fundamental differences? "Of all that ch. viii. says, in vers. 5–8, 21, 22, of Macedonia, nothing at all is found in the statements of ch. ii. and vii. regarding the fourth kingdom." Kliefoth. Also the inner dissolution predicated of the fourth kingdom, ch. ii. 41 ff., which is represented by the iron and clay of the feet of the image, is fundamentally different from the strife of the prince of the south with the prince of the north represented in ch. xi. 3 ff. The mixing of iron and clay, which do not unite together, refers to two nationalities essentially different from each other, which cannot be combined into one nation by any means of human effort, but not at all to the wars and conflicts of princes (ch. xi. 3 ff.), the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ, for the supremacy; and the attempts to combine together national individualities into one kingdom by means of the mingling together of different races by external force, are essentially different from the political marriages by which the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ sought to establish peace and friendship with each other.[1]

together within it; but ch. vii. says regarding its third kingdom with four heads, that after an original unity it shall fall to pieces on all sides. And interpreters are compelled to meet this contradiction by explaining the four heads, some in one way, and others in another, but all equally unsuccessfully. According to ch. viii. Medo-Persia will extend itself only into three regions of the earth, while according to ch. vii. the third kingdom with its four wings will extend itself on all sides. It comes to this, therefore, that these interpreters must divide Medo-Persia in ch. ii. and ch. vii. into two kingdoms, of Media and Persia, while in ch. viii. they must recognise but one Medo-Persian kingdom."

[1] How little political marriages were characteristic of the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ, rather how much more frequently they took place among the Romans, from the time of Sulla down to that of Diocletian, and that often in a violent way—*cum frequenti divortio et raptu gravidarum*—as a means of obtaining or holding the government, is shown from the numerous collection of cases

There is more plausibility in criticism which gives prominence to the resemblance in the description of the two violent persecutors of the people of God who arise out of the Javanic and the fourth world-kingdom, and are represented in ch. viii. as well as in ch. vii. under the figure of a little horn. "If"—for thus Kran. has formulated this resemblance—"in the fourth kingdom, according to ch. vii. 8, 11, 20, 21, 25, the heathen oppressor appears speaking insolent words against the Most High and making war with the saints, so ch. viii. 10 ff., 24, xi. 31, 36, unfolds, only more fully, in his fundamental characteristics, the same enemy; and as in ch. vii. 25 the severe oppression continues for three and a half times, so also that contemplated in ch. viii. 14 and in xii. 7, in connection with ch. xii. 1 ff. and ch. xi." On the ground of this view of the case, Delitzsch (p. 280) asks, "Is it likely that the little horn which raised itself up and persecuted the church of God is in ch. viii. Antiochus Epiphanes rising up out of the divided kingdom of Alexander, and in ch. vii., on the contrary, is a king rising up in the Roman world-kingdom? The representation of both, in their relation to Jehovah, His people, and their religion, is the same. The symbolism in ch. vii. and viii. coincides, in so far as the arch-enemy is a little horn which rises above three others." We must answer this question decidedly in the affirmative, since the difference between the two enemies is not only likely, but certain. The similarity of the symbol in ch. vii. and viii. reaches no further than that in both chapters the persecuting enemy is represented as a little horn growing gradually to greater power. But in ch. viii. 9 this little horn arises from one of the four horns of the he-goat, without doing injury to the other three horns; while in ch. vii. 8 the little horn rises up between the ten horns of the dreadful beast, and outroots three of these horns. The little horn in ch. viii., as a branch which grows out of one of these, does not increase the number of the existing horns, as that in ch. vii., which increases the number there to eleven. This distinc-

of this sort compiled by J. C. Velthusen in his treatise *Animad. ad Dan.* ii. 27–45, *imprimis de principum Romanorum connubiis ad firmandam tyrannidem inventis*, Helmst. 1783, in vol. v. of the *Comentatt. Theolog.* of Velth., edited by Kuinoel and Ruperti. Since this treatise has not received any attention from modern critics, we will quote from it the judgment which Cato passed on Cæsar's *triplex ad evertendam rempublicam inventa politicarum nuptiarum conspiratio.* His words are these: "*rem esse plane non tolerabilem, quod connubiorum lenociniis imperium collocari* (διαμαστροπεύεσθαι) *cœperit, et per mulieres sese mutuo ad præfecturas, exercitus, imperia auderet introducere*" (p. 379).

tion cannot, as Kranichfeld supposes, be regarded merely as a formal difference in the figurative representation; it constitutes an essential distinction for which the use of different symbols for the representation of the world-kingdoms in ch. ii. and vii. furnishes no true analogue. By these two different images two wholly different things are compared with each other.

The representations of the four world-kingdoms in ch. ii. and in ch. vii. are only formally different,—in ch. ii. a human image, in ch. vii. four beasts,—but in reality these representations answer to each other, feature for feature, only so that in ch. vii. further outlines are added, which entirely agree with, but do not contradict, the image in ch. ii. On the contrary, in ch. vii. and viii. essential contradictions present themselves in the parallel symbols—four horns and ten horns—which cannot be weakened down to mere formal differences. As little does the description of the enemy of the people of God, portrayed as a little horn in ch. viii., correspond with that in ch. vii. The fierce and crafty king arising out of the kingdoms of Alexander's successors will become "great toward the south and toward the east and toward the pleasant land, and wax great even to the host of heaven, and cast down some of the host and of the stars to the ground; yea, he will magnify himself even to the prince of the host, and take away the daily sacrifice, and cast down the place of the sanctuary" (ch. viii. 9–12, 23–25). On the other hand, the king who rises up out of the fourth world-kingdom, who overthrows three other kings, will "speak great things against the Most High, and make war against the saints of the Most High, and prevail against them, and think to change times and laws" (ch. vii. 8, 20, 25). These two enemies resemble each other in this, that they both make war against the people of God; but they differ in that he who arises out of the third world-kingdom, extending his power toward the south and the east, *i.e.* towards Egypt and Babylon, and towards the Holy Land, shall crush some of the people of God, and by the taking away of the daily worship and the destruction of the sanctuary in Jerusalem, will rise up against God; while, on the contrary, he that shall arise out of the fourth world-kingdom will go much further. He will establish his kingdom by the destruction of three kingdoms, by great words put himself in the place of God, and as if he were God will think to change the times and the laws of men. Conformably to this, the length of time during which the persecution of these two adversaries will continue is different. The laying waste of the sanctuary

by the power of the little horn arising out of the Javanic world-kingdom will continue 2300 evening-mornings (ch. viii. 14): to the power of the little horn arising out of the fourth world-kingdom the saints of the Most High must be given up for a time, two times, and half a time (ch. vii. 25). No one will be persuaded, with Kranichfeld, that these two entirely different periods of time are alike. This difference of the periods of time again appears in ch. xii. 7, 11, 12, where also the three and a half times (ver. 7) agree neither with the 1290 nor with the 1335 days. It is therefore not correct to say that in ch. viii. and vii. Antichrist, the last enemy of the church, is represented, and that the aspects of the imagery in both chapters strongly resemble each other. The very opposite is apparent as soon as one considers the contents of the description without prejudice, and does not, with Kranichfeld and others, hold merely by the details of the representation and take the husk for the kernel. The enemy in ch. viii. proceeds only so far against God that he attacks His people, removes His worship, and lays waste the sanctuary; the enemy in ch. vii. makes himself like God (לְצַד, ver. 25), thinks himself to be God, and in his madness dares even to seek to change the times and the laws which God has ordained, and which He alone has the power to change. The enemy in ch. viii. it is an abuse of words to call Antichrist; for his offence against God is not greater than the crime of Ahaz and Manasseh, who also took away the worship of the true God, and set up the worship of idols in His stead. On the other hand, it never came into the mind of an Ahaz, nor of Manasseh, nor of Antiochus Epiphanes, who set himself to put an end to the worship of God among the Jews, to put themselves in the place of God, and to seek to change times and laws. The likeness which the enemy in ch. viii., *i.e.* Antiochus Epiphanes, in his rage against the Mosaic religion and the Jews who were faithful to their law, has to the enemy in ch. vii., who makes himself like God, limits itself to the relation between the type and the antitype. Antiochus, in his conduct towards the Old Testament people of God, is only the type of Antichrist, who will arise out of the ten kingdoms of the fourth world-kingdom (ch. vii. 24) and be diverse from them, arrogate to himself the omnipotence which is given to Christ, and in this arrogance will put himself in the place of God.

The sameness of the designation given to both of these adversaries of the people of God, a "*little horn*," not only points to the relation of type and antitype, but also, as Kliefoth has justly remarked,

to "intentional and definite" parallelism between the third world-kingdom (the Macedonian) and the fourth (the Roman). "On all points the changes of the fourth kingdom are described similarly to the changes which took place in the Macedonian kingdom; but in every point of resemblance also there is indicated some distinct difference, so that the Macedonian kingdom in its development comes to stand as the type and representative of the fourth kingdom, lying as yet in the far-off future." The parallelism appears in this, that in the he-goat, representing the Javanic kingdom, after the breaking of the one great horn four considerable horns come up; and the fourth beast has ten horns; and the horns in both show that out of the one kingdom four, and out of the other ten, kingdoms shall arise;—further, that as out of one of the Javanic *Diadoch* kingdoms, so also from among the ten kingdoms into which the fourth kingdom is divided, a little horn comes up; the little horn in the Javanic kingdom, however, developes itself and founds its dominion differently from that of the fourth kingdom. If one carefully considers the resemblances and the differences of this description, he cannot fail to observe "the relation of an imperfect preliminary step of heathenish ungodliness to a higher step afterwards taken," which Kran. (p. 282) seeks in a typical delineation. For the assertion of this critic, that "in the pretended typical, as in the antitypical situation, the same thoughts of the rising up against the Most High, the removal of His worship, and the destruction of the sanctuary always similarly occur," is, according to the exegetical explanation given above, simply untrue. The difference reduces itself not merely to the greater fulness with which, "not the chief hero, but the type," is treated, but it shows itself in the diversity of the thoughts; for the elevation to the place of God, and the seeking to change the times and the laws, manifests one of a higher degree of godlessness than the removing of the Jewish sacrificial worship and the desecration of the Jewish temple.

Finally, the relation of the type to the antitype appears yet more distinctly in the determining of the time which will be appointed to both enemies for their opposition to God; for, though apparently they are alike, they are in reality very differently designated, and particularly in the explanation of the angel, ch. viii. 17, 19, and in the representation of the conduct of both enemies in ch. xi. and xii., as we shall show in our exposition of these chapters.

Since, then, neither the division of the Medo-Persian kingdom

into the Median and the Persian is allowable, nor the identification of the fourth kingdom, ch. ii. and vii., with the Javanic world-kingdom in ch. viii., we may regard as correct the traditional church view, that the four world-kingdoms are the Chaldean, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman. This opinion, which has been recently maintained by Häv., Hengst., Hofm., Auberl., Zündel, Klief., and by C. P. Caspari and H. L. Reichel, alone accords without any force or arbitrariness with the representation of these kingdoms in both visions, with each separately as well as with both together. If we compare, for instance, the two visions with each other, they are partly distinguished in this, that while Nebuchadnezzar sees the world-power in its successive unfoldings represented by *one* metallic image, Daniel, on the other hand, sees it in the form of *four* ravenous beasts; partly in this, that in ch. vii. the nature of the world-power, and its relation to the kingdom of God, is more distinctly described than in the image seen by Nebuchadnezzar, ch. ii. These diversities have their foundation in the person of the respective recipients of the revelation. Nebuchadnezzar, the founder of the world-power, sees its development in its unity and in its earthly glory. As opposed to the kingdom of God, the world-kingdoms, in all the phases of their development, form a united power of outward glory. But its splendour gradually decreases. The image with the golden head has its breast and arms of silver, its belly of brass, its legs of iron, its feet of iron and clay mixed. Thus the image stands on feet that are weak and easily broken, so that a stone rolling against them can break in pieces the whole colossus. Since, then, the image must represent four phases of the world-kingdoms following each other, they must be represented by the separate parts of the image. Beginning with the head, as denoting the first kingdom, the second kingdom is in natural order represented by the breast and arms, the third by the belly, and the fourth by the legs and feet. Since this of necessity follows from the image being that of the human body, yet in the interpretation we may not attach any weight to the circumstance that the second kingdom is represented by the breast and the two arms, and the fourth by the two legs; but this circumstance may be taken into consideration only in so far as importance is given to it by the interpretation which is furnished in the text, or as it finds corresponding importance in the vision of ch. vii.

If we thus consider now the image, ch. ii., the selection of dif-

ferent metals for its separate parts must be regarded as certainly designed not only to distinguish the four world-kingdoms from each other, but also at the same time to bring to view their different natures and qualities. This is evident from the interpretation in ch. ii. 39 ff., where the hardness and the crushing power of the iron, and the brittleness of the clay, are brought to view. From this intimation it is at the same time obvious that the metals are not, as Auberlen, p. 228 ff., thinks, to be viewed only as to their worth, and that by the successive depreciation of the materials—gold, silver, brass, iron, clay—a continuous decline of the world-power, or a diminution of the world-kingdoms as to their inner worth and power, is intended. Though Aub. says many things that are true and excellent regarding the downward progress of the world-development in general, the successive deterioration of humanity from paradise to the day of judgment, yet this aspect of the subject does not come here primarily before us, but is only a subordinate element in the contemplation. Daniel does not depict, as Aub. with P. Lange supposes, the world-civilisations in the world-monarchies; he does not describe "the progress from a state of nature to one of refined culture—from a natural, vigorous, solid mode of existence to a life of refinement and intellectualism, which is represented by the *eye* (ch. vii. 8) of Antichrist;" but he describes in both visions only the development of the world-power opposite to the kingdom of God, and its influence upon it in the future. If Aub. holds as the foundation of his opinion, that "gold and silver are nobler and more valuable metals, but that, on the other hand, iron and brass are infinitely more important for the cause of civilisation and culture," he has confounded two different points of view: he has made the essential worth and value of the former metals, and the purpose and use of the latter, the one point of comparison. Gold and silver are nobler and more valuable than brass and iron, yet they have less intrinsic worth. The difference is frequently noticed in the Old Testament. Gold and silver are not only more highly valued than brass and iron (cf. Isa. lx. 17), but silver and gold are also metonymically used to designate moral purity and righteousness (cf. Mal. iii. 3 with Isa. i. 22); brass and iron, on the contrary, are used to designate moral impurity (cf. Jer. vi. 28, Ezek. xxii. 18) and stubborn rebellion against God (Isa. xlviii. 4). With reference to the relative worth of the metals, their gradation in the image shows, without doubt, an increasing moral and religious deterioration of the world-king-

doms. It must not, however, be hence thought, as Auberlen does, "that the Babylonian and Persian religions presuppose more genuine truthfulness, more sacred reverence for that which is divine, deeper earnestness in contending against the evil, in the nations among whom they sprung up, than the Hellenic, which is so much richer and more beautifully developed;" for this distinction is not supported by history. But although this may be said of the Persian, it cannot be held as true of the Babylonian religion, from all we know of it. Kranichfeld (p. 107) is more correct when in the succession of the metals he finds "the thought conceived by the theocrat of a definite fourfold procedure or expression of character comparatively corresponding to them, of a fourfold דֶּרֶךְ (*way*, Jer. vi. 27) of the heathen kingdoms manifesting an increasing deterioration." The two first kingdoms, the golden and the silver, in general appear to him in their conduct as proportionally noble, virtuous, and in their relation to the theocracy even relatively pious; the two latter, on the contrary, which presented themselves to him in the likeness of brass and iron, as among the four morally base, as standing in the moral scale lower and lowest, and in relation to the theocracy as more relentless and wicked (see ver. 40[1]). With this the declaration of the text as to the position of the four world-kingdoms and their rulers with reference to the people of God stand in accord; for, on the one hand, Nebuchadnezzar, and the first rulers of the second kingdom, Darius the Median and Cyrus the Persian, respect the revelations of the living God, and not only in their own persons give honour to this God, but also command their heathen subjects to render unto Him fear and reverence; on the other hand, on the contrary, from the third and the fourth kingdoms the greatest persecutors of the kingdom of God, who wish utterly to destroy it (ch. vii., viii.), arise. In this

[1] Kliefoth (p. 93) in a similar manner says, "From the application which in ch. ii. 40 is made of the iron material, we see that the substances representing the different kingdoms, and their deterioration from the gold down to the iron, must denote something else than that the world-power, in the course of its historical formation, will become always baser and more worthless—that also its more tender or more cruel treatment of the nations, and of the men subdued by it, must be characterized. If the bonds which the Babylonian world-monarchy wound around the nations which were brought into subjection to it, by its very primitive military and bureaucratic regulations, were loose, gentle, pliable as a golden ring, those of the Medo-Persian were of harder silver, those of the Macedonian of yet harder copper, but the yoke of the fourth will be one of iron."

respect the two first world-kingdoms, seen in their rulers, are like gold and silver, the two latter like copper and iron.

The relation of the world-kingdoms to the kingdom and people of God, represented by this gradation of the metals, corresponds only to the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman world-kingdoms, but not to the Babylonian, Median, and Persian. This appears more manifest in the representation of them by four ravenous beasts, the lion, the bear, the leopard, and another beast to which no likeness can be found, ch. vii. Its eagle's wings were torn from the lion, and it had given to it, by God, a man's heart; the bear shows only wild voracity,—holding its prey between its teeth, it raises its one side for new prey; the leopard with four heads and four wings springs forward as in flight over the whole earth, to seize it and to exercise dominion over it; the fourth, nameless beast devours and breaks in pieces with its iron teeth all that remains, and stamps upon it with its iron feet, and thus represents godless barbarity in its fullest development. But for the historical interpretation there comes yet particularly into view the circumstance that the fourth beast is represented by no animal existing in nature, and is designated by no historical name, as in the case of the first (ch. ii. 38) and the second and third (ch. viii. 20, 21); for the two first had already come into existence in Daniel's time, and of the third, the people at least out of whom it was to arise had then already come into relation to the people of Israel (Joel iv. 6, 8). The fourth kingdom, on the contrary, is represented by a nameless beast, because in Daniel's time Rome had not come into contact with Israel, and as yet lay beyond the circle of vision of Old Testament prophecy. Although Daniel receives much more special revelations regarding this world-kingdom (ch. vii.) than Nebuchadnezzar does in his dream (ch. ii.), yet all the separate lines of the representation of the beast and its horns are given with so much want of precision that every reference to a historical people is at fault, and from the vision and its interpretation it was not to be known where this kingdom would arise, whether in Asia or elsewhere. The strength of the monster, devouring and trampling mercilessly on all things, is in harmony with its iron nature, and in its ten horns its powerful armour is depicted. The very concrete expressions regarding the little or eleventh horn contain only ideal traces respecting the position of the king or kingdom represented by it, which distinctly show, indeed, the elevation of the same above all human and divine

authority, but give no indication at all of any special historical connections.

Thus it appears that the two visions, on the one hand, do not copy their prophetic representation from historical facts, that the prophecy is not *vaticinium ex eventu;* but, on the other hand, also that it is not derived from general ideas, as Hitz. and Kran. have attempted to show. While Hitzig thinks that the idea of the four ages of the world lies at the foundation, not of the fourfoldness of the monarchies, but of the kind of representation given of them in Dan. ii.,—an idea which came from India to Greece, and was adopted by Daniel in its Greek form,—Kranichfeld considers that, under divine enlightenment, Daniel delineated the ideal of the advancing completion of heathen depravation in four stages (not in five, six, etc.), after the notion of the four ages of the world which we find not only in the Indian four *jugas*, but also in the Greco-Roman representation of the metallic æons. Now although for this book of Daniel no special dependence on the Greeks can be proved from the use and value of the metals, because they were used by the ancient Hebrews as metaphorical symbols, yet the combination of the idea of the ages of the world so firmly and definitely stamped with just the number four remains a very noteworthy phenomenon, which must have had a deeper foundation lying in the very fact itself. This foundation, he concludes, is to be sought in the four stages of the age of man.

This conjecture might appear plausible if Kranichfeld had proved the supposed four stages of the age of man as an idea familiar to the O. T. He has not, however, furnished this proof, but limited himself to the remark, that the combination of the number four with the ages of the life of man was one lying very near to Daniel, since the four phases of the development of heathenism come into view (ch. ii.) in the image of a human being, the personification of heathendom. A very marvellous conclusion indeed! What, then, have the four parts of the human figure—the head, breast, belly, feet—in common with the four stages of the age of man? The whole combination wants every point of support. The idea of the development of the world-power in four kingdoms following after each other, and becoming continually the more oppressive to the people of God, has no inward connection with the representation of the four ages of the world, and—as even Ewald (*Dan.* p. 346), in opposition to this combination, remarks—"the mere comparison with gold, silver, brass, iron lies too near for the author

of this book to need to borrow it from Hesiod." The agreement of the two ideas in the number four (although Hesiod has inserted the age of the heroes between the brazen and the iron æon, and thus has not adhered to the number four) would much more readily have been explained from the symbolical meaning of *four* as the number of the world, if it were the mere product of human speculation or combination in the case of the world-ages as of the world-kingdoms, and not much rather, in the case of the world-ages, were derived from the historical development of humanity and of Daniel's world-kingdoms, from divine revelation. Yet much less are the remaining declarations regarding the development and the course of the world-kingdoms to be conceived of as the product of enlightened human thought. This may be said of the general delineation of the second and third world-kingdoms (ch. ii. and vii.), and yet much more of the very special declaration regarding them in ch. viii., but most of all of the fourth world-kingdom. If one wished to deduce the fearful power of this kingdom destroying all things from the idea of the rising up of hostility against that which is divine, closely bound up with the deterioration of the state of the world, and to attach importance to this, that the number ten of the horns of the fourth beast, corresponding to the number of the toes of the feet, is derived from the apprehension of heathendom as the figure of a man, and is not to be understood numerically, but symbolically; yet there remains, not to mention other elements, the growth of the little horn between the ten existing horns, and its elevation to power through the destruction of three existing horns, which are deduced neither from the symbolical meaning of the numbers nor are devised by enlightened human thought, but much rather constrain us to a recognition of an immediate divine revelation.

If we now approach more closely to the historical reference of the fourth world-kingdom, it must be acknowledged that we cannot understand by it the Grecian, but only the Roman world-power. With it, not with the Macedonian monarchy, agree both the iron nature of the image (ch. ii.), and the statements (ch. vii. 23) that this kingdom would be different from all that preceded it, and that it would devour and break and trample upon the whole earth. The Roman kingdom was the first universal monarchy in the full sense. Along with the three earlier world-kingdoms, the nations of the world-historical future remained still unsubdued: along with the

Oriental kingdoms, Greece and Rome, and along with the Macedonian, the growing power of Rome.

First the Roman kingdom spread its power and dominion over the whole οἰκουμένη, over all the historical nations of antiquity in Europe, Africa, and Asia. "There is" (says Herodian, ii. 11. 7) "no part of the earth and no region of the heavens whither the Romans have not extended their dominion." Still more the prophecy of Daniel reminds us of the comparison of the Roman world-kingdom with the earlier world-kingdoms, the Assyrico-Babylonian, the Persian, and the Grecian, in Dionys. Halicar., when in the *proœm.* 9 he says: "These are the most famous kingdoms down to our time, and this their duration and power. But the kingdom of the Romans ruled through all the regions of the earth which are not inaccessible, but are inhabited by men; it ruled also over the whole sea, and it alone and first made the east and the west its boundaries." Concerning the other features of the image in ch. ii., we can seek neither (see p. 261) in the two legs and feet of the image, nor in the twofold material of the feet, any hint as to the division of the Roman kingdom into the Eastern and Western Rome. The iron and clay are in the image indeed not so divided as that the one foot is of iron and the other of clay, but iron and clay are bound together in both of the feet. In this union of two heterogeneous materials there also lies no hint that, by the dispersion of the nations, the plastic material of the Germanic and the Sclavic tribes was added to the Old Roman universal kingdom (ver. 40) with its thoroughly iron nature (Auberl. p. 252, cf. with Hof. *Weiss. u. Erf.* i. p. 281).. For the clay in the image does not come into view as a malleable and plastic material, but, according to the express interpretation of Daniel (ver. 42), only in respect of its brittleness. The mixing of iron and clay, which do not inwardly combine together, shows the inner division of the nations, of separate natural stocks and national characters, which constituted the Roman empire, who were kept together by external force, whereby the iron firmness of the Roman nation was mingled with brittle clay.

The kingdoms represented by the ten horns belong still to the future. To be able to judge regarding them with any certainty, we must first make clear to ourselves the place of the Messianic kingdom with reference to the fourth world-kingdom, and then compare the prophecy of the Apocalypse of John regarding the formation of the world-power—a prophecy which rests on the book of Daniel.

The Messianic Kingdom and the Son of Man.

In the image of the monarchies, ch. ii., the everlasting kingdom of God is simply placed over against the kingdoms of the world without mention being made of the king of this kingdom. The human image is struck and broken to pieces by a stone rolling down against its feet, but the stone itself grows into a great mountain and fills the whole earth (ch. ii. 34 ff.). This stone is a figure of that kingdom which the God of heaven will erect in the days of the kings of the fourth world-kingdom; a kingdom which to all eternity shall never be destroyed, and which shall crush all the kingdoms of the world (ch. ii. 44). In ch. vii., on the contrary, Daniel sees not only the judgment which God holds over the kingdoms of the world, to destroy them for ever with the death of their last ruler, but also the deliverance of the kingdom to the Messiah coming with the clouds of heaven in the likeness of a son of man, whom all nations shall serve, and whose dominion shall stand for ever (ch. vii. 9–14, cf. ver. 26 f.).

In both visions the Messianic kingdom appears in its completion. Whence Auberlen (p. 248), with other chiliasts, concludes that the beginning of this kingdom can refer to nothing else than to the coming of Christ for the founding of the so-called kingdom of the thousand years; an event still imminent to us. In favour of this view, he argues (1) that the judgment on Antichrist, whose appearance is yet future, goes before the beginning of this kingdom; (2) that this kingdom in both chapters is depicted as a kingdom of glory and dominion, while till this time the kingdom of heaven on the earth is yet a kingdom of the cross. But the judgment on Antichrist does not altogether go before the beginning of this kingdom, but only before the final completion of the Messianic kingdom; and the Messianic kingdom has the glory and dominion over all the kingdoms under heaven, according to ch. ii. and vii., not from the beginning, but acquires them only for the first time after the destruction of all the world-kingdoms and of the last powerful enemy arising out of them. The stone which breaks the image becomes for the first time after it has struck the image a great mountain which fills the whole earth (ch. ii. 35), and the kingdom of God is erected by the God of heaven, according to ch. ii. 44, not for the first time after the destruction of all the world-kingdoms, but in the days of the kings of the fourth world-monarchy, and thus during its continuance.

With this ch. vii. harmonizes; for, according to vers. 21, 22, 25, 27, the little horn of the fourth beast carries on war with the saints of the Most High till the Ancient of days executes judgment in their behalf, and the time arrives when the saints shall possess the kingdom. Here we distinctly see the kingdom of heaven upon earth bearing the form of the cross, out of which condition it shall be raised by the judgment into the state of glory. The kingdom of the Messiah is thus already begun, and is warred against by Antichrist, and the judgment on Antichrist only goes before the raising of it to glory. (3) Auberlen adduces as a third argument, that (according to Roos, Hofm., etc.) only the people of Israel in opposition to the heathen nations and kingdoms can be understood by the "people of the saints of the Most High" (ch. vii. 18, 27), because Daniel could only think of this people. But to this Kranichfeld has rightly replied, that Daniel and the whole O. T. knew nothing whatever of such a distinction between a non-Israelitish and an Israelitish epoch within the kingdom of Messiah, but only a Messianic kingdom in which Israel forms the enduring centre for the heathen believing nations drawing near to them. To this we add, that the division of the kingdom of heaven founded by Christ on the earth into a period of the church of the Gentiles, and following this a period of a thousand years of the dominion of Jewish Christians, contradicts the clear statements of Christ and the apostles in the N. T., and is only based on a misconception of a few passages of the Apocalypse (cf. *Comm. on Ezek.* p. 504 ff.).

Daniel certainly predicts the completion of the kingdom of God in glory, but he does not prophesy that the kingdom of heaven will then for the first time begin, but indicates its beginnings in a simple form, although he does not at large represent its gradual development in the war against the world-power, just as he also gives only a few brief intimations of the temporary development of the world-kingdoms. If Aub. (p. 251) replies that the words of the text, ch. ii. 35, "then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold broken to pieces together," cannot at all permit the thought of the co-existence of the fourth world-kingdom and the kingdom of God, he attributes to these words a meaning which they do not bear. The "*together*" refers only to the breaking in pieces of the five substances named, of which the world-kingdoms are formed, the destruction of the world-power in all its parts, but not that this happened at one and the

same moment, and that then for the first time the kingdom of God which is from heaven began. The stone which brake the image in pieces, then first, it is true, grows up into a great mountain filling the whole earth. The destruction of the world-kingdoms can in reality proceed only gradually along with the growth of the stone, and thus also the kingdom of God can destroy the world-kingdoms only by its gradual extension over the earth. The destruction of the world-power in all its component parts began with the foundation of the kingdom of heaven at the appearance of Christ upon earth, or with the establishment of the church of Christ, and only reaches its completion at the second coming of our Lord at the final judgment. In the image Daniel saw in a moment, as a single act, what in its actual accomplishment or in its historical development extends through the centuries of Christendom. Auberlen has in his argument identified the image with the actual realization, and has not observed that his conception of the words ch. ii. 35 does not accord with the millennium, which according to Rev. xx. does not gradually from small beginnings spread itself over the earth—is not to be likened to a stone which first after the destruction of the world-kingdom grows up into a mountain.

So also in ch. vii. Daniel sees the judgment of the world-kingdoms in the form of an act limited to a point of time, by which not only the beast whose power culminates in the little horn is killed, but also the dominion and the kingdom over all nations is given over to the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven and appearing before God the Judge. If one here identifies the form of the prophetic vision with the actual fact, then he places Daniel in opposition to the teaching of the N. T. regarding the judgment of the world. According to N. T. doctrine, Christ, the Son of man, receives the dominion and power over all nations not for the first time on the day of judgment, after the destruction of the world-kingdoms by the Father, but He received it (Matt. xxviii. 18) after the completion of His work and before His ascension; and it is not God the Father who holds the judgment, but the Son raised to the right hand of the Father comes in the clouds of heaven to judge the world (Matt. xxv. 31). The Father committed the judgment to the Son even while He yet sojourned on this earth in the form of a servant and founded the kingdom of heaven (John v. 27). The judgment begins not for the first time either before or after the millennium, about which chiliasts contend with one another, but the last judgment forms

only the final completion of the judgment commencing at the first coming of Christ to the earth, which continues from that time onward through the centuries of the spread of the kingdom of heaven upon earth in the form of the Christian church, till the visible return of Christ in His glory in the clouds of heaven to the final judgment of the living and the dead. This doctrine is disclosed to us for the first time by the appearance of Christ; for by it are unfolded to us for the first time the prophecies regarding the Messiah in His lowliness and in His glory, in the clear knowledge of the first appearance of Christ in the form of a servant for the founding of the kingdom of God by His death and resurrection, and the return of the Son of man from heaven in the glory of His Father for the perfecting of His kingdom by the resurrection of the dead and the final judgment.

That which has been said above, avails also for explaining the revelation which Daniel received regarding the King of the kingdom of God. While His appearance in the form of a son of man with the clouds of heaven, according to the statements of the N. T. regarding the second coming of Christ, points to His coming again in glory, yet, as above remarked, His coming before the Ancient of days, *i.e.* before God, and receiving from God the kingdom and the dominion, does not accord with the statements of the N. T. regarding the return of Christ to judge the world; so that we must here also distinguish between the actual contents and the form of the prophetic representation, and between the thought of the prophecy and its realization or historical fulfilment. Only because of a disregard of this distinction could Fries, *e.g.*, derive from Dan. vii. 13 an argument against the parallelizing of this passage with Matt. xxiv. 30, Mark xiv. 62, and Rev. i. 7, as well as against the reference to the Messias of the personage seen by Daniel in the clouds of heaven as a son of man.

In the vision, in which the Ancient of days, *i.e.* God, holds judgment over the world and its rulers, and in the solemn assembly for judgment grants to the Son of man appearing before Him the kingdom and the dominion, only this truth is contemplated by the prophet, that the Father gave to the Son all power in heaven and in earth; that He gave the power over the nations which the rulers of the earth had, and which they used only for the oppression of the saints of God, to the Son of man, and in Him to the people of the saints, and thereby founded the kingdom which shall endure for ever. But as to the way and manner in which God

executes judgment over the world-power, and in which He gives (ch. vii. 22, 27) to the Son of man and to the people of the saints the dominion and the power over all the kingdoms under the heavens—on this the prophecy gives no particular disclosures; this much, however, is clear from ver. 27, that the judgment held by the Ancient of days over the world-power which was hostile to God is not a full annihilation of the kingdoms under the whole heavens, but only an abolition of their hostile dominion and power, and a subjection of all the kingdoms of this earth to the power and dominion of the Son of man, whereby the hostile rulers, together with all ungodly natures, shall be for ever destroyed. The further disclosures regarding the completion of this judgment are given us in the N. T., from which we learn that the Father executes judgment by the Son, to whom He has given all power in heaven and on earth. With this further explanation of the matter the passages of the N. T. referring to Dan. vii. 13, regarding the coming of the Son of man in the clouds of heaven to execute judgment over the world, easily harmonize. To show this, we must examine somewhat more closely the conception and the use of the words "Son of man" in the N. T.

The Son of Man, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

It is well known that Jesus only during His sojourn on earth made use of this designation of Himself, as appears in the N. T. Bengel on Matt. xvi. 13 remarks: "*Nemo nisi solus Christus a nemine dum ipse in terra ambularet, nisi a semetipso appellitatus est filius hominis.*" Even after Christ's ascension the apostles do not use this name of Christ. In the passages Acts vii. 56 and Rev. i. 13, xiv. 14, where alone it is found in the N. T. beyond the Gospels, the title is borrowed from Dan. vii. 13. It is, moreover, generally acknowledged that Jesus wished by thus designating Himself to point Himself out as the Messiah; and "this pointing Himself out as the Messiah is founded," as H. A. W. Meyer on Matt. viii. 20 rightly remarks, "not on Ps. viii., but, as is manifest from such passages as Matt. xxiv. 30, xxvi. 64 (cf. also Acts vii. 56), on the description of that prophetic vision, Dan. vii. 13, well known to the Jews (John xii. 34), and found also in the pre-Christian book of Enoch, where the Messiah appears in the clouds of heaven כְּבַר אֱנָשׁ = ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, amid the angels of the divine judgment-seat." The comparison

in the כְּ = ὡς to a son of man refers to the form in which He is seen by the prophet (see p. 234), and affirms neither the true humanity nor the superhuman nature of Him who appeared. The superhuman or divine nature of the person seen in the form of a man lies in the coming with the clouds of heaven, since it is true only of God that He makes the clouds His chariot; Ps. civ. 3, cf. Isa. xix. 1. But on the other hand, also, the words do not exclude the humanity, as little as the ὅμοιος υἱῷ ἀνθρώπου, Rev. i. 13; for, as C. B. Michaelis has remarked, כְּ *non excludit rei veritatem, sed formam ejus quod visum est describit;* so that with Oehler (Herz. *Realenc.*) we may say: The Messiah here appears as a divine being as much as He does a human. The union of the divine and the human natures lies also in the self-designation of Christ as ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, although as to the meaning Jesus unites with it there is diversity of opinion.

That this was a designation of the Messiah common among the Jews in the time of Jesus, we cannot positively affirm, because only Jesus Himself made use of it; His disciples did not, much less did the people so style the Messiah. If, then, Jesus speaks of Himself as the Son of man, He means thereby not merely to say that He was the Messiah, but He wishes to designate Himself as the Messiah of Daniel's prophecy, *i.e.* as the Son of man coming to the earth in the clouds of heaven. He thereby lays claim at once to a divine original, or a divine pre-existence, as well as to affirm true humanity of His person, and seeks to represent Himself, according to John's expression, as the Logos becoming flesh.[1] This view of the expression will be confirmed by a comparison of the passages in which Jesus uses it. In John i. 51, "Hereafter ye shall see heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man," the divine glory is intimated

[1] Meyer justly remarks: "The consciousness from which Jesus appropriates to Himself this designation by Daniel was the antithesis of the *God*-sonship, the necessary (contrary to Schleiermacher) self-consciousness of a divine pre-existence appearing in the most decided manner in John, the glory (δόξα) of which He had laid aside that He might appear as that ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου of Daniel in a form not originally appertaining to Him. . . Whatever has, apart from this, been found in the expression, as that Christ hereby designated Himself *as the Son of man in the highest sense* of the word, as the second Adam, as the ideal of humanity (Böhme, Neander, Ebrard, Olsh., Kahnis, Gess, and Weisse), or as *the* man whom the whole history of mankind since Adam *has in view* (Hofm. *Schriftbew.* ii. 1, p. 81; cf. Thomas. Chr. *Pers. u. Werk*, ii. p. 15), is introduced unhistorically with reference to Dan. vii."

as concealed in the lowliness of the Son of man: the Son of man who walks on the earth in the form of a man is the Son of God. So also in the answer which Jesus gave to the high priest, when he solemnly adjured Him to say "whether He were the Christ, the Son of God" (Matt. xxvi. 63), pointing distinctly to Dan. vii. 13, "Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven." In like manner in all the other passages in the Gospels in which Jesus designates Himself the Son of man, He points either to His present lowliness or to His future glory, as is abundantly proved by Fr. A. Philippi (*Kirch. Glaubenslehre*, iv. 1, p. 415, der 2 Aufl.) by a lucid comparison of all the passages in the Gospel of Matthew.

From the use of the expression "the Son of man" by Jesus (not only where He refers to His supernatural greatness or His divine pre-existence, but also where He places His human lowliness in contrast with His divine nature), it follows that even in those passages which treat of His coming to judgment, connected with the description, borrowed from Dan. vii. 13, of His coming in the clouds of heaven, He seeks to prove not so much His appearance for judgment, as rather only the divine power and glory which the Father gave Him, or to indicate from the Scriptures that the Father gave Him dominion over all people, and that He will come to reveal this dominion by the judgment of the world and the completion of His kingdom. The power to execute judgment over the living and the dead, the Father, *i.e.* God as the Lord of the world, has given to His Son, to Christ, because He is the Son of man (John v. 27), *i.e.* because He as man is at the same time of a divine nature, by virtue of which He is of one essence with the Father. This truth is manifested in the vision, Dan. vii. 13, 14, in this, that the Ancient of days gives glory and the kingdom to Him who appears before Him in the form of a man coming in the clouds of heaven, that all people and nations might honour Him. Therewith He gave Him also *implicite* the power to execute judgment over all peoples; for the judgment is only a disclosure of the sovereignty given to Him.

The giving of the kingdom to the Son of man goes before the appearance of the great adversary of the people of God repre-

sented by the little horn—the adversary in whom the enmity of the world against the kingdom of God reaches its highest manifestation. But to form a well-founded judgment regarding the appearance of this last enemy, we must compare the description given of him in Dan. vii. 8, 24 f. with the apocalyptic description of the same enemy under the image of the *beast out of the sea* or *out of the abyss*, Rev. xiii. 1–8 and xvii. 7–13.

John saw a BEAST RISE UP OUT OF THE SEA which had seven heads and ten horns, and on its horns ten crowns; it was like a leopard, but had the feet of a bear and the mouth of a lion, and the dragon gave him his throne and great power. One of its heads appears as if it had received a deadly wound, but its deadly wound was healed, Rev. xiii. 1-3. In this beast the four beasts of Daniel, the lion, the bear, the leopard, and the nameless ten-horned beast (Dan. vii. 7), are united, and its heads and horns are represented, like the beasts of Daniel, as kings (Rev. xvii. 9, 12). The beast seen by John represents accordingly the world-power, in such a way that the four aspects of the same, which Daniel saw in the form of four beasts rising up one after another, are a whole united together into one. In this all interpreters are agreed. Hofmann is wrong (*Schriftbew.* ii. 2, p. 699), however, when from the circumstance that this beast has the body of a leopard, has its peculiar form like that of a leopard, he draws the conclusion "that John sees the Grecian kingdom rise again in a new form, in which it bears the lion's mouth of the Chaldean, the bear's feet of the Median or Persian, and the ten horns of the last kingdom." For the apocalyptic beast has the body of a leopard from no other reason than because the fourth beast of Daniel was to be compared with no other beast existing in nature, whose appearance could be selected for that purpose. In these circumstances nothing else remained than to lay hold on the form of Daniel's third beast and to make choice of it for the body of the beast, and to unite with it the feet, the mouth or the jaws, and the ten horns of the other beasts.

But that the apocalyptic beast must represent not the rising again of Daniel's third world-kingdom, but the appearance of the fourth, and that specially in its last form, which Daniel had seen as the little horn, appears evidently from this, not to mention the explanation given in Rev. xvii., that the beast with the seven heads and ten horns, with the name of blasphemy on its heads (Rev. xiii. 1), the marks of the little horn of Daniel, speaks great

things and blasphemies, and continues forty and two months (ch. xiii. 5), corresponding to the three and a half times of Daniel, ch. vii. 25. Hofmann, on the other hand, rightly remarks, that the beast must represent not merely the last world-power, but at the same time the last world-ruler, the chief enemy of the saints of God. As with Daniel the world-power and its representative are conceived of as one and the same, so here also with John. This is seen in the insensible transition of the neuter to the masculine, *τῷ θηρίῳ ὃς ἔχει*, ver. 14. In this beast not only does the whole world-power concentrate itself, but in it also attains to its personal head. The ten horns are to be conceived of as on one of the heads, and that the seventh or last, and not (Düsterdieck, etc.) as distributed among the seven heads, so that one horn should be assigned to each head, and three horns should be conceived as between the sixth and the seventh head. This wonderful supposition owes its origin only to the historical reference of the beast to the first Roman emperor, and stands in opposition to the interpretation of the beast which is given by John, ch. xvii. 7 ff. There John sees the woman, the great Babylon, the mother of harlots and abominations, sitting on a scarlet-coloured beast, which was full of names of blasphemy, and had ten horns (ch. xvii. 3). The identity of the seven-headed beast (ch. xiii.) with the scarlet-coloured beast (ch. xvii.) is justly recognised by the greater number of recent interpreters, even by Düst. Of this red beast the angel, ch. xvii. 8, says first, "The beast that thou sawest was (*ἦν*) and is not, and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit and go into perdition; and they that dwell on the earth shall wonder . . . when they behold the beast that was and is not, and yet is" (*καὶ πάρεσται* = shall come, be present, *i.e.* again, according to a more accurate reading). In these words the most of interpreters find a paraphrase of the statement, ch. xiii. 3, 12, 14, that the beast was wounded to the death, but that its deadly wound was healed. "The distinguishing of the two statements (viz. of the not-being and the death-wound, the coming again and the healing of the wound) has," as A. Christiani (*uebersichtl. Darstellung des Inhalts der Apok.*, in der *Dorpater Zeitschrift f. Theol.* 1861, iii. p. 219) rightly remarks, "its foundation (against Ebrard) either in the false supposition that the beast in ch. xvii. is different from that in ch. xiii., or in this, that there must abstractly be a distinction between the world-power (ch. xiii.) and the ruler of the world (ch. xvii.); whereby, moreover, it is not clear wherein the difference between

the death-wound and the not-being consists (against Aub.)." The being, the not-being, and the appearing again of the beast, are not to be understood of the present time as regards the seer, so as to mean: the beast existed before John's time, after that it was not, and then one day shall again appear, which has been combined with the fable of Nero's coming again; but the past, the present, and the future of the beast are, with Vitringa, Bengel, Christ., to be regarded from the standpoint of the vision, according to which the time of the fulfilment, belonging to the future, is to be regarded as the point of time from which the being, the not-being, and the appearing again are represented, so that these three elements form the determination of the nature of the beast in its historical manifestation.

Hereupon the angel points out to the seer the secret of the woman and of the beast which bears the woman, beginning with the interpretation of the beast, ch. xvii. 9. "The seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth; and there are seven kings." The heads are thus defined in a twofold way: For the woman they are seven mountains, on which she sits; but in so far as they belong to the beast, they are seven kings (Hofm. p. 711, Christ., etc.). The reference of the mountains to the seven hills of Rome is to be rejected, because it is difficult to understand how the heads can represent at one and the same time both mountains and kings. Mountains are, according to the prophetic view, seats of power, symbols of world-kingdoms (cf. Ps. lxviii. 17, lxxvi. 5; Jer. li. 25; Ezek. xxxv. 2), and thus are here as little to be thought of as occupying space along with one another as are the seven kings to be thought of as contemporaneous (Hofm., Aub.). According to this, the βασιλεῖς are not also separate kings of one kingdom, but kingships, dominions, as in Daniel ruler and kingdom are taken together. One need not, however, on this account assume that βασιλεῖς stands for βασιλεῖαι; for, according to Dan. viii. 20–22, "the kingdom is named where the person of the ruler is at once brought into view; but where it is sought to designate the sovereignty, then the king is named, either so that he represents it altogether, or so that its founder is particularly distinguished" (Hofm. p. 714).

The angel further says of the seven heads: "Five (of these sovereignties) are fallen," *i.e.* are already past, "one is," *i.e.* still exists, "the other is not yet come; and when it cometh, it must continue a short space." This explanation is obviously given from the

point of view of the present of the seer. The five fallen βασιλεῖς (sovereignties) are Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Medo-Persia, and Greece (Hengst., Aub., Christ.), and not Assyria, Chaldea, Persia, Grecia, and the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, as Hofmann, with Ebrard and Stier, affirms. The reception of the Seleucidæ or of Antiochus Epiphanes into the rank of world-rulers, depends, with Hofmann, on the erroneous interpretation of the apocalyptic beast-image as representing the reappearance of the Grecian world-kingdom, and falls with this error. The chief argument which Hofmann alleges against Egypt, that it was never a power which raised itself up to subdue or unite the world under itself, or is thus represented in the Scriptures, Aub. (p. 309) has already invalidated by showing that Egypt was the first world-power with which the kingdom of God came into conflict under Moses, when it began to exist as a nation and a kingdom. Afterwards, under the kings, Israel was involved in the wars of Egypt and Assyria in like manner as at a later period they were in those of the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ. For this reason Egypt and Assyria are often named together by the prophets, particularly as the world-powers with which the people of God committed whoredom, yea, by the older prophets generally as the representatives of the world-power (2 Kings xvii. 4; Hos. vii. 11, xii. 1, ix. 3, xi. 5, 11; Micah vii. 12; Isa. lii. 4, xix. 23–25; Jer. ii. 18, 36; Zech. x. 10). On the other hand, the Seleucidan appears before us in Dan. viii. and xi. 1–35 as an offshoot of the Grecian world-kingdom, without anything further being intimated regarding him. In Dan. vii. there is as little said of him as there is in Zechariah's vision of the four-horsed chariots.

The sixth sovereignty, which "is" (ὁ εἷς ἔστιν), is the Roman world-power exercising dominion at the time of John, the Roman emperor. The seventh is as yet future (οὔπω ἦλθεν), and must, when it comes, continue a short time (ὀλίγον). If the sixth sovereignty is the Roman, then by the seventh we may understand the world-powers of modern Europe that have come into its place. The angel adds (ver. 11), "The beast that was and is not, even he is the eighth (king), and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition." By that which is called "even the eighth" can properly be meant only the seventh. The contrast lying in the καὶ αὐτὸς ὀγδοός demands this. But that instead of the seventh (ver. 10, ὁ ἄλλος) the beast itself is named, therewith it is manifestly intimated that in the eighth the beast embodies itself, or passes into

its completed form of existence as a beast. This is supported partly by the expression ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά which is added to ὀγδοός, partly by the designation as "the beast that was and is not." That addition does not merely say, one out of the seven, for which John would have written εἷς ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά (cf. ch. xvii. 1 and xxi. 9), or, formed like the seven, but, growing up out of the seven, as the blossom out of the plant (βλαστάνων, as the Greek Andreas explains, and erroneously adds ἐκ μίας αὐτῶν). It is the comprehensive essence of these seven, the embodiment of the beast itself, which for the first time reaches in it to its perfect form (Aub., Düsterd., Christ.). As such it is placed over against the seven as the eighth; but it is not therefore an eighth kingdom, for it is not represented by an eighth head, but only by the beast—only the beast which was, and is not, and then shall be again (πάρεσται, ver. 11, cf. ver. 8). If now this definition, according to the above, means the same thing as is intended in ch. xiii. by the deadly wound of the beast and the healing again of the wound, then these words mean that the world-power in one of its heads (the seventh?) receives the deadly wound, so that the beast *is not—i.e.* it cannot show its power, its beast-nature—till the healing of the same, but after the healing of the wound it will appear as the eighth ruler in its full nature as a beast, and will unfold the power of its ten horns. Of these ten horns the angel says, ver. 12, "They are ten kings which have received no βασιλείαν, but will receive power as kings one hour with the beast." By this it is affirmed, on the one side, that the ten horns belong to the seventh beast; but, on the other, it appears from this interpretation of the angel, taken in connection with that going before, that the ruler with the ten horns growing up as the eighth out of the seven represents the last and the highest phases of the development of the world-power, and is to be regarded as contemporary with the ten βασιλεῖς which receive power as kings with the beast.

The statement, however, that the seventh ruler is also an eighth, and must represent the beast in its perfect form, without his being denoted by an eighth head to the beast, has its foundation, without doubt, in the dependence of the apocalyptic delineation on Daniel's prophecy of the fourth world-power, in which (ch. ii.) the iron legs are distinguished from the feet, which consist partly of iron and partly of clay; and yet more distinctly in ch. vii. the climax of the power of the fourth beast is represented in the little horn growing up between its ten horns, and yet neither is it called in ch. ii. a

fifth kingdom, nor yet in ch. vii. is the little horn designated as a fifth world-ruler.

The apocalyptic delineation of the world-power and the world-ruler is related, therefore, to the prophecy of Daniel in such a manner that, in the first place, it goes back to the elements of the same, and gathers them together into one combined image, according to its whole development in the past, present, and future, while Daniel's prophecy goes forth from the present, beginning with the Chaldean world-kingdom. Moreover, the Apocalypse discloses the spiritual principle working in the world-power. The dragon, *i.e.* Satan, as prince of this world, gave his throne and his power to the beast. Finally, the Apocalypse extends itself at large over the unfolding, as yet future, of the ungodly world-kingdom; for it places in view, in addition to the sixth ruler existing in the presence of the seer, the rising up of yet a seventh, in which the beast, healed of its death-wound, will first as the eighth ruler fully reveal its ungodly nature. The dividing of the fourth world-kingdom of Daniel between two rulers has its foundation in the purpose to gain the significant number seven. By the number seven of the heads, while Daniel saw only four beasts, the apocalyptic beast must be represented as the diabolical contrast to the Lamb. The seven heads and ten horns the beast has in common with the dragon, which gave his power to the beast (cf. Rev. xiii. 1, 2 with xii. 3). The seven heads of the dragon and of the beast are the infernal caricature and the antithesis of the seven Spirits of God, the seven eyes and seven horns of the Lamb (Rev. v. 6), just as the seven mountains on which the woman sits are the antitype and the antithesis of the hill of Zion, the chosen mountain of the Lord. (Cf. Lämmert, *Babel, das Thier u. der falsche Prophet*, 1863, p. 84.) From the symbolical signification of the numbers, it is also clear how the beast which was and is not can also appear as the eighth ruler. The eighth, arising from the addition of one to seven, denotes a new beginning, or the beginning of a new life, as frequently in the laws relating to religious worship, as *e.g.* regarding circumcision, the consecration of priests, the purification of lepers, the eight days of the Feast of Tabernacles, etc. Cf. Leyrer in Herz.'s *Real. Encycl.* xviii. p. 370. According to him, the beast is called *καὶ αὐτὸς ὀγδοός* (Rev. xvii. 11), "because, although it is of the seven which hitherto have constituted the antichristian development in its completeness, a new one presumes to establish itself in self-deification, and in open rebellion against God, raising

itself to the experiment of an absolute world-monarchy before the final judgment passes upon it."

As the number seven of the heads of the beast in the Apocalypse, so also the number four of the beasts rising up out of the sea in Daniel's vision comes first under consideration, according to their symbolical meaning as the number of the world. For the sake of this significance of the number four, only the four world-kingdoms are spoken of, while in the fourth there are distinctly two different phases of the development of the world-kingdom. If we look at this significance of the numbers, the difference between the representation of Daniel and that of the Apocalypse reduces itself to this, that Daniel designates the world-power simply only in opposition to the kingdom of God; the Apocalypse, on the contrary, designates it according to its concealed spiritual background, and in its antichristian form. The world-number four appears here augmented to the antichristian contrast to the divine number seven. But in both representations the beast forming the last phase of the world-kingdom has ten horns. This number also has a symbolical meaning; it is the signature of definitive completeness, of fullest development and perfection. "The ten horns are kings; for 'horn' as well as 'king' signifies might crushing, conquering" (Lämmert, p. 78). The little horn which outrooted three existing ones and entered into their place, makes, with the remaining seven, eight; but eight is seven augmented. It is therefore the beast itself in its highest power, and ripe for judgment, just as the beast which was and is not mounts up as the eighth ruler, to be destroyed, after a short period of action, by the judgment.

But while we attach a symbolical import to the numbers, we do not, however, wish to dispute that their numerical worth may not also be realized in the fulfilment. As the comparison of Daniel vii. with viii. beyond doubt shows that the second and third kingdoms which the prophet saw have historically realized themselves in the succession of the Medo-Persian and Grecian kingdoms after the Babylonian; as, moreover, in the prophetic delineation of the fourth world-kingdom the character of the Roman world-power is not to be mistaken; finally, as in the Apocalypse the first six heads of the beast are referred to the world-powers that have hitherto appeared in history: so may also the prophecy of the seven heads and of the ten horns of the beast (in Dan. and the Apoc.) perhaps yet so fulfil itself in the future, that the anti-

christian world-power may reach its completion in ten rulers who receive power as kings one hour with the beast, *i.e.*, as companions and helpers of Antichrist, carry on war for a while against the Lord and His saints, till at the appearance of the Lord to judgment they shall be destroyed, together with the beast and the dragon.

How indeed this part of the prophecy, relating to the last unfolding of the ungodly and antichristian world-power, shall fulfil itself, whether merely according to the symbolical meaning of the numbers, or finally also actually, the day will first make clear.

PART SECOND.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

CHAP. VIII.–XII.

This Part contains three revelations, which Daniel received during the reigns of Belshazzar, Darius the Mede, and Cyrus the Persian, regarding the development of the kingdom of God. After describing in the First Part the development of the world-power and its relation to the people and kingdom of God from the days of Nebuchadnezzar, its founder, down to the time of its final destruction by the perfected kingdom of God, in this Second Part it is revealed to the prophet how the kingdom of God, in war against the power and enmity of the rulers of the world, and amid severe oppressions, is carried forward to final victory and is perfected.

The first vision, ch. viii., represents what will happen to the people of God during the developments of the second and third world-kingdoms. The second revelation, ch. ix., gives to the prophet, in answer to his penitential prayer for the restoration of the ruined holy city and the desolated sanctuary, disclosures regarding the whole development of the kingdom of God, from the close of the Babylonish exile to the final accomplishment of God's plan of salvation. In the last vision, in the third year of Cyrus, ch. x.–xii., he received yet further and more special revelations regarding the severe persecutions which await the people of God for their purification, in the nearer future under Antiochus Epiphanes, and in the time of the end under the last foe, the Antichrist.

CHAP. VIII. THE ENEMY ARISING OUT OF THE THIRD WORLD-KINGDOM.

At Susa, in the province of Elam, Daniel saw in vision (vers. 1, 2) a ram with two horns, which a he-goat coming from the west, running over the earth, having a great horn on his brow, smote and destroyed (vers. 3–7). After that the goat waxed very mighty, till his great horn was broken; and in its place four notable horns grew up toward the four winds of heaven, and out of one of them there came forth a little horn, which directed its might toward the south and the east and toward the holy land, contended against the host of heaven, and magnified itself to the Prince of the heavenly host, took away the daily sacrifice, and desolated the place of the sanctuary (vers. 8–12). He then hears from an angel how long this sacrilege shall continue (vers. 13, 14). Another angel thereafter gives him an explanation (vers. 15–26) of the vision; and with a remark (ver. 27) regarding the effect of this revelation on the mind of Daniel, the chapter closes.

This vision, it is manifest from the definition of the time in ver. 1, stands in relation to the vision of the foregoing chapter, and in its contents is united to it also in so far as it gives more particular revelations regarding the relations of the second and third world-kingdoms, which are only briefly set forth in ch. vii. But notwithstanding this point of union, this chapter does not form a mere appendix to the foregoing, but gives a new revelation regarding a phase in the development of the world-power and its enmity against the people of God of which nothing is prophesied in ch. vii. The opinion that this chapter forms only an appendix to ch. vii. is based on the erroneous idea that the fourth world-kingdom, the Macedonian, and the little horn in ch. vii. are identical with that prophesied of in this chapter.[1]

[1] According to the modern critics (Berth., v. Leng., Hitz., Bleek), this chapter must have been written shortly before the re-consecration of the temple, or immediately thereafter, before or immediately after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. This supposition is drawn from ver. 14, according to which the period of oppression shall continue 2300 evening-mornings. But, overlooking the circumstance that these critics cannot agree as to the reckoning of this period of time, and thus announce the uncertainty of their hypothesis, the whole of the other contents of the chapter stand in contradiction to this supposition. It contains no hint whatever of the great victories of the Maccabees which preceded the consecration of the temple, and first made it possible, but, on the contrary, speaks of the oppression as continuing unchanged till the

Vers. 1–14. *The Vision.*

Vers. 1, 2 contain the historical introduction to this new revelation. This was given to Daniel in the third year of the reign of Belshazzar, and thus two years after the vision of the four world-kingdoms (ch. vii. 1), but not in a dream as that was, but while he was awake. The words *I, Daniel*, are neither a pleonasm (Häv.) nor a sign that the writer wished specially to give himself out for Daniel (Ewald), but expressly denote that Daniel continues to speak of himself in the first person (Kliefoth). The article in הַנִּרְאָה (*that which appeared*) takes the place of the relative אֲשֶׁר, and the expression is concise for הֶחָזוֹן אֲשֶׁר נִרְאָה (*the vision which appeared*); cf. Ewald's *Lehr.* § 335 *a.* בַּתְּחִלָּה (*at the first*), as in ch. ix. 21, in the general signification *earlier*, and in Gen. xiii. 3, xli. 21, xliii. 18, 20, Isa. i. 26, synonymous with בָּרִאשֹׁנָה (*in the beginning*). Here the word points back to ch. vii., and in ch. ix. 21 it refers to ver. 16 of this chapter.

"In vision," *i.e.* ἐν πνεύματι, not ἐν σώματι, Daniel was placed in the city of Susa, in the province of Elam (Elymaïs). By the words, "I saw in vision; and it came to pass when I saw," which precede the specification of the scene of the vision, is indicated the fact that he was in Susa only in vision, and the misconception is sufficiently guarded against that Daniel was actually there in the body. This is acknowledged by v. Leng., Hitzig, Maurer, Häv., Hgstb., Kran., and Kliefoth, against Bertholdt and Rosenmüller, who understand this, in connection with ver. 27, as meaning that Daniel was personally present in Susa to execute the king's business, from which Bertholdt frames the charge against the pseudo-Daniel, that he was not conscious that Elam under Nabonned did not belong to Babylon, and that the royal palace at Susa had as yet no existence. But this accusation has no historical foundation. We have no accurate information whether under Belshazzar Elam was added to Babylon or the Chaldean empire. It is true that not Hengstenberg (*Beitr.* i. p. 42 f.) only has, with older theologians, concluded from the prophecies of Jer. xlix. 34 ff., com-

oppressor is himself destroyed (ver. 25), and then it breaks off without any Messianic view, as one should expect from a parenetic poem of a Maccabean Jew; so that Bleek finds himself compelled from his own resources to add "the intimation, that the beginning of the deliverance destined by God for His people is closely and immediately joined to the discontinuance of the worship of Jehovah by Antioch. Epiph., and to the destruction of this prince," in order to give to the vision "a Messianic character."

pared with ch. xxv. 25 and Ezek. xxxii. 24, that Nebuchadnezzar subjugated Susa, but Niebuhr also (*Gesch. Assurs*, p. 211 ff.) seeks from these and other passages of the O. T. to establish the view, that Nebuchadnezzar, after the death of Cyaxares (Uwakhshatra), to whom he owed allegiance, refused to do homage to his successor, and entered on a war against Media, which resulted in the annexation of Elam to his kingdom. But, on the contrary, Hävernick has well remarked, that the subjugation of Elam by Nebuchadnezzar can scarcely harmonize with the fact of the division of the Assyrian kingdom between the Babylonian king Nabopolassar and the Median king Cyaxares, whereby the former obtained the western and the latter the eastern half, and that from these passages of prophecy a subjugation of Elam by the Chaldeans cannot be concluded. Jeremiah announces neither in ch. xxv. 25 nor in ch. xlix. 34 ff. a conquest of Elam by Nebuchadnezzar, but rather in ch. xlix. prophesies the complete destruction of Elam, or a divine judgment, in language which is much too strong and elevated for a mere making of it tributary and annexing it to a new state.

Besides, this passage in no respect requires that Susa and Elam should be regarded as provinces of the Chaldean kingdom, since the opinion that Daniel was in Susa engaged in some public business for the Chaldean king is founded only on a false interpretation of vers. 2 and 27. From the prophet's having been placed in an ecstasy in the city of Susa, there follows nothing further than that this city was already at the time of the existing Chaldean kingdom a central-point of Elamitish or Persian power. And the more definite description of the situation of this city in the words, "which was in the province of Elam," points decidedly to the time of Daniel, in which Susa as yet belonged to the province of Elam, while this province was made a satrapy, Susis, Susiana, now Chusistan, by the kings of Persia, and Susa became the capital of this province; therefore the capital Susa is not reckoned as situated in Elam by writers, who after this time distinguish between Susis (Susiana) and Elymais (Elam), as Strabo, xvi. 1. 17 f., Pliny, *hist. nat.* vi. 27: *Susianen ab Elymaide disterminat amnis Eulæus.*

Still more groundless is the assertion, that the city of Susa was not in existence in the time of Daniel, or, as Duncker (*Gesch. der Alterth.* ii. p. 913, 3 Aufl.) affirms, that Darius first removed the residence or seat of the king to Susa with the intention that it

should become the permanent residence for him and his successors, the central-point of his kingdom and of his government, and that Pliny and Ælian say decidedly that Darius built Susa, the king's city of Persia, and that the inscriptions confirm this saying. For, to begin with the latter statement, an inscription found in the ruins of a palace at Susa, according to the deciphering of Mordtmann (*in der D. morgl. Ztschr.* xvi. pp. 123 ff.), which Duncker cites as confirming his statement, contains only these words: "Thus speaks Artaxerxes the great king, the son of Darius the son of Achämenides Vistaçpa: This building my great-great-grandfather Darius erected; afterwards it was improved by Artaxerxes my grandfather." This inscription thus confirms only the fact of the building of a palace in Susa by Darius, but nothing further, from which it is impossible to conclude that Darius first founded the city, or built the first tower in it. Still less does such an idea lie in the words of Ælian, *nat. animal.* i. 59: "Darius was proud of the erection of a celebrated building which he had raised in Susa." And Pliny also, taken strictly, speaks only of the elevation of Susa to the rank of capital of the kingdom by Darius, which does not exclude the opinion that Susa was before this already a considerable town, and had a royal castle, in which Cyrus may have resided during several months of the year (according to Xenophon, *Cyrop.* viii. 6. 22, *Anab.* iii. 5. 15; cf. Brissonius, *de regio Pers. princ.* p. 88 seq.).[1] The founding of Susa, and of the old tower in Susa, reaches back into pre-historic times. According to Strabo, xv. 2. 3, Susa must have been built by Tithonos, the father of Memnon. With this the epithet *Μεμνόνια Σοῦσα*, which Herod. vii. 151, v. 54, 53, and Ælian, *nat. anim.* xiii. 18, give to the town of Susa, stands in unison. For if this proves nothing more than that in Susa there was a tomb of Memnon (Häv.), yet would this sufficiently prove that the city or its citadel existed from ancient times—times so ancient that the mythic Memnon lived and was buried there.

The city had its name שׁוּשַׁן, *Lily*, from the lilies which grew in great abundance in that region (Athen. *Deipnos.* xii. p. 409;

[1] Pliny, *hist. nat.* vi. 27, says regarding *Susiana*, "*In qua vetus regia Persarum Susa a Dario Hystaspis filio condita*," which may be understood as if he ascribed to Darius the founding of the city of Susa. But how little weight is to be given to this statement appears from the similar statement, *hist. nat.* vi. 14 (17): "*Ecbatana caput Mediæ Seleucus rex condidit*," which plainly contains an error, since Ecbatana, under the name of *Achmeta*, is mentioned (Ezra vi. 2) in the time of Darius Hystaspes, in the tower of which the archives of the Persian kings were preserved

Stephan. Byz., etc.), and had, according to Strabo, xv. 3. 2, a circuit of 120 (twelve English miles), and according to others, 200 stadia. Its palace was called *Memnoneion*, and was strongly fortified. Here was "the golden seat;" here also were "the apartments of Darius, which were adorned with gold," as Æschylos says (*Pers.* 3. 4. 159, 160), "the widely-famed palace,"—the *περιβόητα βασιλεῖα*, as Diod. Sic. xvii. 65, expresses himself.

The ruins of Susa are now only a wilderness, inhabited by lions and hyænas, on the eastern banks of the Shapur, between it and the Dizful, where three great mountains of ruins, from 80 to 100 feet high, raise themselves, showing the compass of the city, while eastward smaller heaps of ruins point out the remains of the city, which to this day bear the name *Schusch;* cf. Herz.'s *Realenc.* xv. p. 263 f., and Duncker, *Gesch. d. Alt.* ii. p. 942 ff.

The designation of Elam as מְדִינָה, a *province*, does not refer to a Chaldean province. עֵילָם, in Greek *Ἐλυμαΐς*, formed the western part of the Persian satrapy of Susis or Susiana, which lay at the foot of the highlands of Iran, at the beginning of the valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates, between Persia and Babylon, called by the Persians *Uvaja*, and by the Greeks *Susis* or *Susiana* after the capital, or *Cissia* after its inhabitants. It is bounded by the western border mountains of Persia and the Tigris, and on the south terminates in a warm, swampy and harbourless coast, which stretches from the mouth of the Tigris to that of the Aurvaiti (Oroatis). Strabo (xv. 732) says Susiana is inhabited by two races, the Cissæi and the Elymäi; Herodotus (iii. 91, v. 49, vii. 62), on the contrary, names only the Cissæi as the inhabitants of the country of the same name. The saying put into circulation by Josephus (*Antt.* i. 6. 4, *Ἔλαμος γὰρ Ἐλαμαίους Περσῶν ὄντας ἀρχηγέτας κατέλιπεν*), that the Elamites are the primitive race of the Persians, has no historical foundation. The deep valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates was the country of the Semites. "The names of the towns and rivers of the country confirm the statements of Genesis, which names Elam among the sons of Shem, although the erecting of the Persian royal residence in Elam, and the long continuance of the Persian rule, could not but exercise, as it did, an influence on the manners and arts of the Semitish inhabitants" (Duncker, p. 942).

The further statement, that Daniel in vision was by the river *Ulai*, shows that Susa lay on the banks of that river. אוּלַי is the *Εὐλαῖος*, *Eulæus*, of the Greeks and Romans, of which Pliny

says, "*circuit arcem Susorum*," and which Arrian (*Exped. Alex.* vii. 7) also mentions as a navigable river of Susis. On the contrary, Herodotus, i. 188, v. 49, 52, and Strabo, xv. 3, 4, place Susa on the river *Choaspes*. These contradictory statements are reconciled in the simplest manner by the supposition that *Ulai*, *Eulæus*, was the Semitish, *Choaspes* the Aryan (Persian) name of the *Kuran*, which received the Shapur and Dizful. In favour of this, we have not only the circumstance that the name *Choaspes* is undoubtedly of Persian origin, while, on the other hand, אוּלַי is a word of Semitic formation; but still more, that Herodotus knows nothing whatever of the *Eulæus*, while Ptolemy (vi. 3. 2) does not mention the *Choaspes*, but, on the contrary, two sources of the *Eulæus*, the one in Media, the other in Susiana; and that what Herod. i. 188, says of the Choaspes, that the kings of Persia drink its water only, and caused it to be carried far after them, is mentioned by Pliny of the Eulæus, *h. n.* vi. 27, and in xxxi. 3 of the Choaspes and Eulæus.[1]

Daniel was in spirit conveyed to Susa, that here in the future royal citadel of the Persian kingdom he might witness the destruction of this world-power, as Ezekiel was removed to Jerusalem that he might there see the judgment of its destruction. The placing of the prophet also on the river of Ulai is significant, yet it is not to be explained, with Kranichfeld, from vers. 3 and 6, "where the kingdom in question stands in the same relation to the flowing river as the four kingdoms in ch. vii. 2 do to the sea." For the geographically defined river Ulai has nothing in common with the sea as a symbol of the nations of the world (ch. vii. 2). The Ulai is rather named as the place where afterwards the ram and the he-goat pushed against one another, and the shock followed, deciding the fate of the Persian kingdom.

As, then, the scene of the vision stands in intimate relation to its contents, so also the time at which the revelation was made to Daniel. With the third year of Belshazzar the dynasty of Nebuchadnezzar, the founder of the Babylonian world-kingdom, was extinguished. In this year Belshazzar, the son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar, died, and the sovereignty was transferred to a

[1] There is little probability in the supposition that *Choaspes* is the modern *Kerrah* or *Kerkha*, the *Eulæus* the modern *Dizful*, as Susa lay between these two rivers (Ker Porter, Winer, Ruetschi in Herz.'s *Realen.* xv. 246), and receives no sufficient support from the bas-relief of Kojundshik discovered by Layard, which represents the siege of a town lying between two rivers, since the identification of this town with Susa is a mere conjecture.

collateral branch, and finally to an intruder, under whom that world-kingdom, once so powerful, in a few years fell to pieces. Shortly before the death of Belshazzar the end of the Babylonian monarchy was thus to be seen, and the point of time, not very remote, which must end the Exile with the fall of Babylon. This point of time was altogether fitted to reveal to the prophet in a vision what would happen after the overthrow of Babylon, and after the termination of the Exile.

Vers. 3–14. *The vision.*—Ver. 3. Daniel first sees *one* ram, אַיִל, standing by the river. The אֶחָד (*one*) does not here stand for the indefinite article, but is a numeral, in contradistinction to the *two* horns which the *one* ram has. The two horns of the ram were high, but the one was higher than the other, the higher coming up later. הָרִאשֹׁנָה does not mean *the first*, but *the one*, and הַשֵּׁנִית *the other*; for the higher grew up last. This is not to be understood as if Daniel first saw the ram without horns, and then saw the horns grow up, and at length the one horn become higher than the other (v. Leng., Hitzig); but that from the first Daniel saw the ram with two horns, but afterwards saw the one horn grow higher than the other (Kliefoth). The angel (ver. 20) explains the ram with two horns of the kings of Media and Persia. This does not mean that the two horns are to be understood (with Theodoret) of the two dynasties of Cyrus and of Darius Hystaspes; but since the ram represents the one kingdom of the Medes and Persians, so the two horns represent the people of the Medes and Persians, from the union of which the Medo-Persian kingdom grew up. Both nations were the horns, *i.e.* the power of the monarchy; therefore are they both high. The one horn, which afterwards grew up higher than the other, represents the Persians, who raised themselves above the Medians. A ram and goat, as emblems of kings, princes, chiefs, often occur; cf. Isa. xiv. 9; Ezek. xxxiv. 17, xxxix. 18; Jer. l. 8; Zech. x. 3. In *Bundehesch* the guardian spirit of the Persian kingdom appears under the form of a ram with clean feet and sharp-pointed horns, and, according to Amm. Marcell. xix. 1, the Persian king, when he stood at the head of his army, bore, instead of the diadem, the head of a ram (cf. Häv.). The point of resemblance of this symbol is to be sought, not in the richness (the wool) and in the aggressive nature (the horns) of the ram (Theod., Venema), but the ram and the he-goat form, as Hofmann has justly remarked, a contrast to dull firmness and nimble lightness, as the bear and the panther.

The ram stands by the river and pushes toward the west, north, and south, but not toward the east. The river is thus not the one flowing on the east of Susa, for, standing there, the ram pushing toward the west from Susa would push against the capital of his kingdom, but the one flowing on the west; and the ram is to be conceived of as standing on the western bank of this river, from whence he pushed down with his horns all beasts before him, *i.e.* subdued all nations and kingdoms to his power in three regions of the earth. In the west he pushed against Babylon, Syria, and Asia Minor; in the south, Egypt; in the north, the Armenian and Scythian nations. These he subdued and incorporated in the Persian kingdom. He did not push toward the east—not because he could only push forwards and against that which was nearer, but not, without changing his position, backwards (Hitzig); nor because the Medo-Persians themselves came from the east (v. Leng., Kran.); nor yet because the conquests of the Persians did not stretch toward the east (Häv.), for Cyrus and Darius subdued nations to the east of Persia even as far as to the Indus; but because, for the unfolding of the Medo-Persian monarchy as a world-power, its conquests in the east were subordinate, and therefore are not mentioned. The pushing toward the three world-regions corresponds to the three ribs in the mouth of the bear, ch. vii. 5, and intimates that the Medo-Persian world-kingdom, in spite of the irresistibility of its arms, did not, however, extend its power into all the regions of the world. נָגַח, *to push*, of beast, Ex. xxi. 28, in the Piel figuratively is used of nations, Deut. xxxiii. 17, Ps. xliv. 6. יַעַמְדוּ is *potentialis: could not stand.* The masculine is here used, because חַיּוֹת (*beasts*) represents *kingdoms* and *nations.* עָשָׂה כִרְצֹנוֹ, *did according to his will*, expresses arbitrary conduct, a despotic behaviour. הִגְדִּיל, *became great.* The word does not mean to become haughty, for בִּלְבָבוֹ, *in his heart*, is not added here as it is in ver. 25, but *to magnify the action.* It is equivalent to הִגְדִּיל לַעֲשׂוֹת in Joel ii. 20 (*hath done great things*), and Ps. cxxvi. 2, 3, in the sense of *to become great, powerful;* cf. ver. 8.

Vers. 5–7. After Daniel had for a while contemplated the conduct of the ram, he saw a he-goat come from the west over the earth, run with furious might against the two-horned ram, and throw it to the ground and tread upon it. The he-goat, according to the interpretation of the angel, ver. 21, represents the king of Javan (Greece and Macedonia)—not the person of the king (Gesen.), but the kingship of Javan; for, according to ver. 21, the great horn

of the goat symbolizes the first king, and thus the goat itself cannot represent a separate king. The goat comes from the west; for Macedonia lay to the west of Susa or Persia. Its coming over the earth is more definitely denoted by the expression וְאֵין נוֹגֵעַ בָּאָרֶץ, *and he was not touching the earth, i.e.* as he hastened over it in his flight. This remark corresponds with the four wings of the leopard, ch. vii. 6. The goat had between its eyes קֶרֶן חָזוּת; *i.e.* not *a horn of vision*, a horn such as a goat naturally has, but here only *in vision* (Hofm., Klief.). This interpretation would render חָזוּת an altogether useless addition, since the goat itself, only seen in vision, is described as it appeared in the vision. For the right explanation of the expression reference must be made to ver. 8, where, instead of *horn of vision*, there is used the expression הַקֶּרֶן הַגְּדוֹלָה (*the great horn*). Accordingly חָזוּת has the meaning of מַרְאֶה, in the *Keri* אִישׁ מַרְאֶה, 2 Sam. xxiii. 21, *a man of countenance or sight* (cf. Targ. Esth. ii. 2): *a horn of sight, consideration, of considerable greatness; κέρας θεορητόν* (LXX., Theodot.), which Theodoret explains by *ἐπίσημον καὶ περίβλεπτον.*

The horn was between the eyes, *i.e.* in the middle of the forehead, the centre of its whole strength, and represents, according to ver. 21, the first king, *i.e.* the founder of the Javanic world-kingdom, or the dynasty of this kingdom represented by him. The he-goat ran up against the ram, the possessor of the two horns, *i.e.* the two-horned ram by the river Ulai, in the fire of his anger, *i.e.* in the glowing anger which gave him his strength, and with the greatest fury threw him down. The prophet adds, "And I saw him come close unto the ram," as giving prominence to the chief matter, and then further describes its complete destruction. It broke in pieces both of the horns, which the ram still had, *i.e.* the power of the Medes and Persians, the two component elements of the Persian world-kingdom. This representation proves itself to be genuine prophecy, whilst an author writing *ex eventu* would have spoken of the horn representing the power of the Medes as assailed and overthrown earlier by that other horn (see under ch. vii. 8, 20). The pushing and trampling down by the Ulai is explained from the idea of the prophecy, according to which the power of the ram is destroyed at the central seat of its might, without reference to the historical course of the victories by which Alexander the Great completed the subjugation of the Persian monarchy. In the concluding passage, ver. 7, the complete destruction is described in the words of the fourth verse, to express

the idea of righteous retribution. As the Medo-Persian had crushed the other kingdoms, so now it also was itself destroyed.

Ver. 8. *The transformation of the Javanic kingdom.*—By the kingdom of the ram the he-goat became very great, powerful (הִגְדִּיל as in ver. 4). But the great horn was broken at the height of his strength, and four similar horns grew up in its stead, toward the four regions of heaven. חָזוּת is here used adverbially, *conspicuously:* there came forth conspicuously four in its place. This statement does not contradict ver. 22 and ch. xi. 4, according to which the four kingdoms have not the power of the one great horn; for the thought is only this: they represent in themselves a considerable power, without, however, gaining the power of the one undivided kingdom. The breaking of the great horn indicates the breaking up of the monarchy of Alexander by his death. The four horns which grow up in the place of the one great horn are, according to ver. 22, four kingdoms. These are the dynasties of the Diadochs, of whom there were indeed five: Antigonus, Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus laid claim to the title of king; but for the first time after the overthrow of Antigonus at the battle of Ipsus, 301 B.C., and thus twenty-two years after the death of Alexander (323 B.C.), they became in reality four kings, and so divided the kingdom among themselves, that Lysimachus had Thrace and Bithynia,—Cassander, Macedonia and Greece,—Seleucus, Syria, Babylonia, and the Eastern countries as far as India,—and Ptolemy, Egypt, Palestine, and Arabia Petrea. But from the fact that this first happened after all the descendants of the royal family had been extirpated, we are not to conclude, with Hävernick, that the breaking of the great horn did not denote the death of Alexander, but the extinction of his race or house; a conclusion which derives no valid support from these words of Justin: "All of them abstained from the use of the insignia of this (royal) dignity while the sons of their king survived. So great was their veneration, that although they had royal wealth and resources, they cared not for the name of kings so long as there existed a legitimate heir to Alexander" (*Hist.* xv. 2. 13). If the breaking of the horn is placed at the point of time when the horn was powerful, here as well as at ch. xi. 4, the reference of the words to the sudden death of Alexander in the prime of his days, and when in the very height of his victorious career, cannot be disputed; and by the breaking of the horn we can only understand Alexander's death, and the breaking up of the kingdom founded

by him, although it was still held together in a considerable degree for two decenniums by his generals, till the most imperious and the most powerful amongst them usurped the rank of kings, and then, after the conquest of Antigonus, a formal division of the kingdom into the four considerable kingdoms here named raised them to royal dignity.

The prophetic representation is not a prediction of historical details, but it gives only the fundamental traces of the development of the world-kingdoms, and that not in the form of a historiographical prophecy, but only so that it sketches the ground-thoughts of the divinely ordained unfolding of these world-kingdoms. This ideal fundamental thought of the prophecy has so wrought itself out in actual history, that from the one great kingdom, after the death of the founder, in the course of time four considerable kingdoms arise. The number four in the prophetic contemplation comes into view only according to its symbolical idea as the number of the world in its extension toward the four regions of heaven, so that thereby only the thought is declared, that a kingdom embracing the world will fall to ruins in a plurality of kingdoms toward all the regions of heaven (Kliefoth). This has been so historically realized, that out of the wars of the Diadochs for the supremacy four kingdoms arose toward the four regions of the earth into longer duration,—that of Cassander (Macedonia) toward the west, that of Seleucus (Babylonia, etc.) toward the east, that of Lysimachus (Thracia and Bithynia) toward the north, and finally that of Ptolemy (Egypt) toward the south.[1]

Vers. 9–12. *The interpretation of the vision.*

Ver. 9. Without following the development of the four horns further, the prophecy passes over to the little horn, which grew up out of one of the four horns, and gained great significance in relation to the history of the people of God. The masculine forms מֵהֶם and יָצָא (*out of them came*) are to be explained as a *constructio ad sensum*. אַחַת (*one*) after קֶרֶן (*horn*) is as little super-

[1] When, on the other hand, Hitzig seeks to explain the prophetic representation, here as well as at ch. xi. 4, that with or immediately after the death of Alexander his kingdom was divided, by reference to 1 Macc. i. 6, according to which Alexander himself, shortly before his death, divided the kingdom among his generals, he thereby not only misapprehends the ideal character of the prophecy, but does not in the least degree clear up the matter itself. For the passage in 1 Macc. i. 6, which not only Arabic and Persian authors repeat, but also Moses v. Chorene, and even later Greek and Latin historiographers, as Ammian Marcell., has been explained by Curtius (x. 10. 5) as a *fama vana*, and is proved

fluous as is the מִן in מִצָּעִירָה. אַחַת is a numeral, *one* horn, not several; מִן is either comparative, less than little, *i.e. very little* (Ewald), or, as less than insignificance, wretchedness, *i.e. in an altogether miserable way* (Häv.). The one explanation is more forced than the other, and the idea of wretchedness is altogether untenable. Yet the מִן serves as a circumlocution for the superlative = *perpaucus* (Gesen., Win., Aub.), while verbal analogies for it are wanting. מִן signifies *from, out of;* but it is not to be united with קֶרֶן: *one horn of smallness* (v. Leng.), in which case מִן would be superfluous, but with the verb יָצָא: *it came up out of littleness, a parvo, i.e. a parvis initiis* (Maur., Hofm., Kran., Klief.). Thus it corresponds with וְעֵירָה סְלֻקָת, ch. vii. 8. In the words "it arose out of littleness" there lies the idea that it grew to great power from a small beginning; for it became very great, *i.e.* powerful, toward the south, toward the east, and toward the הַצְּבִי (*the splendour, glory*), *i.e.* toward the glorious land. אֶרֶץ הַצְּבִי = הַצְּבִי, ch. xi. 16, 41. This designation of the land of Israel is framed after Jer. iii. 19 and Ezek. xx. 6, 15, where this land is called "a heritage of the greatest glory of nations" (a goodly heritage of the host of nations, E. V.), "a glory of all lands," *i.e.* the most glorious land which a people can possess. The expression is synonymous with אֶרֶץ חֶמְדָּה ("pleasant land"), Jer. iii. 19, Zech. vii. 14, Ps. cvi. 24. Canaan was so designated on account of its great fruitfulness as a land flowing with milk and honey; cf. Ezek. xx. 6.

The one of the four horns from which the little horn grew up is the Syrian monarchy, and the horn growing up out of it is the king Antiochus Epiphanes, as Josephus (*Ant.* x. 11. 7) and all interpreters acknowledge, on the ground of 1 Macc. i. 10. The south, against which he became great, is Egypt (cf. ch. xi. 5 and 1 Macc. i. 16 ff.). The east is not Asia (Kranichfeld), but Babylon, and particularly Elymaïs and Armenia, 1 Macc. i. 31, 37, iii. 31, 37, vi. 1–4, according to which he subdued Elymaïs and

by Wernsdorf (*de Fide Libr. Macc.* p. 40 sq.) and Droysen (*das Test. Alex. 3te Beilage, zur Gesch. des Hellen.* i.) to be without foundation (cf. Grimm, *K. ex. Hdb. zu* 1 *Macc.* i. 6). This may have been originally put into circulation by the partisans of the Hellenic kings, in order to legitimatize their sovereignty in the eyes of the people, as Grimm conjectures; yet the confirmation which the book of Daniel appears to give to it contributed to its wide diffusion by Oriental and Byzantine authors, and the author of the first book of the Maccabees had without doubt the book of Daniel before his eyes in the representation he gives.

overcame Artaxias, king of Armenia (App. Syr. c. 45, 46; Polyb. xxxi. 11). Besides the south and the east, Canaan, the holy land, as lying between, is named as the third land, as in Isa. xix. 23 ff. it is named as third, between Egypt and Assyria; but וְאֶל הַצְּבִי ("and toward the glorious land") is not, with Kranichfeld, to be regarded as an exegetical addition to וְאֶל הַמִּזְרָח ("and toward the east"). Palestine lay neither to the east of Daniel, nor geographically to the east of the kingdom denoted by the little horn, because the text gives no support to the identifying of this kingdom with the Javanic, the horn operating from the west.

Ver. 10. As this horn became great in extent toward the south and toward the east, so also it grew up in height even unto the host of heaven, and some of them it cast down, *i.e.* some of the stars, to the earth. *The host of heaven* is here, as in Jer. xxxiii. 22, the whole body of the stars of heaven, the constellations, and *of the stars* is epexegetical of *of the host.* Daniel in the vision sees the horn grow so great in height, that it reaches even to the heavens, can reach the heavenly bodies with the hand, and throws some of the stars (מִן is partitive) down to the earth and tramples upon them, destroys them with scorn. The words of the angel, ver. 24, show that by the stars we are to understand the people of the saints, the people of God. The stars cast down to the earth are, according to this, neither the Levites (Grotius), nor the *viri illustres* in Israel (Glass.), nor the chief rulers of the Jews in church and state (Dathe). If the people of the saints generally are compared to the host of heaven, the stars, then the separate stars cannot be the ecclesiastical or civil chiefs, but the members of this nation in common. But by "the people of the saints" is to be understood (since the little horn denotes Antiochus Epiphanes) the people of God in the Old Covenant, the people of Israel. They are named the people of the saints by virtue of their being called to be an holy nation (Ex. xix. 6), because "they had the revelation of God and God Himself dwelling among them, altogether irrespective of the subjective degrees of sanctification in individuals" (Kliefoth). But the comparing of them with the host of the stars does not arise from Jewish national pride, nor does it mean that Daniel thought only of the truly faithful in Israel (Theod., Häv.), or that the pseudo-Daniel thought that with the death of Antiochus the Messiah would appear, and that then Israel, after the extermination of the godless, would become a people of pure holiness. The comparison rather

has its root in this, that God, the King of Israel, is called the God of hosts, and by the צְבָאוֹת (*hosts*) are generally to be understood the stars or the angels; but the tribes of Israel also, who were led by God out of Egypt, are called "the hosts of Jehovah" (Ex. vii. 4, xii. 41). As in heaven the angels and stars, so on earth the sons of Israel form the host of God; and as the angels on account of the glory of their nature are called קְדוֹשִׁים (*holy ones*), so the Israelites by virtue of their being chosen to be the holy nation of God, forming the kingdom of heaven in this world. As God, the King of this people, has His throne in heaven, so there also Israel have their true home, and are in the eyes of God regarded as like unto the stars. This comparison serves, then, to characterize the insolence of Antiochus as a wickedness against Heaven and the heavenly order of things.[1] Cf. 2 Macc. ix. 10.

Ver. 11. This horn raised its might even to the Prince of the host. שַׂר הַצָּבָא, *the Prince of the host of heaven*, is obviously not the high priest Onias (Grotius), but the God of heaven and the King of Israel, the Prince of princes, as He is called in ver. 25. הִגְדִּיל עַד (*he magnified himself to*) is repeated in ver. 25 by יַעֲמוֹד עַל (*he shall stand up against*). Wherein this rising up against God consisted, the second half of the verse indicates in the statement that the תָּמִיד (*daily* sacrifice) was taken away, and the building of His sanctuary was destroyed. This verse does not record a part of the vision, but is a further development of that which was seen in prophetic words. Hence we may not, with Ebrard, refer its contents to heavenly events, to a putting away of the sacrifice from before the throne of God and a destruction of the heavenly sanctuary. On the contrary, Kliefoth has well remarked that it is "without example in Scripture that men penetrate into heaven to insult God; what men do against God is done on the

[1] The deep practical explanation of Calvin deserves attention:—"Although the church often lies prostrate in the world and is trodden under foot, yet is it always precious before God. Hence the prophet adorns the church with this remarkable praise, not to obtain for it great dignity in the sight of men, but because God has separated it from the world and provided for it a sure inheritance in heaven. Although the sons of God are pilgrims on the earth, and have scarcely any place in it, because they are as castaways, yet they are nevertheless citizens of heaven. Hence we derive this useful lesson, that we should bear it patiently when we are thrown prostrate on the ground, and are despised by tyrants and contemners of God. In the meantime our seat is laid up in heaven, and God numbers us among the stars, although, as Paul says, we are as dung and as the offscourings of all things."—CALV. *in loc.*

earth." הַתָּמִיד is everything in the worship of God which is not used merely temporarily, but is permanent, as the daily sacrifice, the setting forth of the shew-bread, and the like. The limitation of it to the daily morning and evening service in the writings of the Rabbis is unknown in the O. T. The word much rather comprehends *all that is of permanent use in the holy services of divine worship* (Hgst., Häv., Hofm., Kran., Klief.). Thus interpreted, the prophetic announcement corresponds with history; for, according to 1 Macc. i. 45, Antiochus gave orders that they should "forbid burnt-offerings, and sacrifice, and drink-offerings in the temple; and that they should profane the Sabbath and festival days."

The horn also overthrew the place of the sanctuary of Jehovah. הַשְׁלִיךְ, *to cast away, to cast forth*,—used of buildings, *to lay waste;* cf. Jer. ix. 18. מָכוֹן, properly, *that which is set up*, erected; here, as frequently, of the dwelling-place of God, *the temple:* so also מְכוֹן שִׁבְתְּךָ (*a settled place for thee to dwell in*), Ex. xv. 17, 1 Kings viii. 13. It is used also of the heavenly dwelling-place of God, 1 Kings viii. 39, 43; here, of the temple in Jerusalem. With regard to the historical fulfilment, cf. the expressions, "her (Jerusalem's) sanctuary was laid waste like a wilderness," and "pollute the sanctuary," 1 Macc. i. 39, 46; and "the sanctuary was trodden down," 1 Macc. iii. 45.

Ver. 12. The actions of the little horn are definitively comprehended in this verse, as may be seen from this, that in the first hemistich צָבָא and תָּמִיד are mentioned together. But this hemistich has been very variously interpreted. We must altogether reject the interpretation of the Vulgate, "*Robur autem datum est contra jugę sacrificium propter peccata*," which is reproduced in Luther's translation, "There was given to him such strength against the daily sacrifice on account of sin;" or Calvin's, "*Et tempus datum est super jugi sacrificio in scelere*," whereby, after Raschi's example, צָבָא is interpreted of the *statio militaris*, and thence the interpretation *tempus* or *intervallum* is derived. For צָבָא means neither *robur*, nor *tempus*, nor *statio militaris*, but only *military service*, and perhaps *military forces*. Add to this that צָבָא both in vers. 10 and 13 means *host*. If we maintain this, with the majority of interpreters, only two explanations are admissible, according as we understand צָבָא of the host of heaven, *i.e.* of Israel, or of some other host. The latter interpretation is apparently supported partly by the absence of the article in צָבָא, and partly by the construction of the word as fem. (תִּנָּתֵן). Accordingly,

Hitzig says that a Hebrew reader could not understand the words otherwise than as meaning, "and a warlike expedition was made or conducted against the daily sacrifice with wickedness" (*i.e.* the impure service of idols); while others translate, "and a host placed against the daily sacrifice on account of sin" (Syr., Grot., Harenb., J. D. Michaelis); or, "a host is given against the daily sacrifice in wickedness" (Wieseler); or, "given against that which was continual with the service of idols," *i.e.* so that, in the place of the "continual," wickedness, the worship of idols, is appointed (Hofmann); or, "the power of an army is given to it (the horn) against the daily sacrifice through wickedness," *i.e.* by the evil higher demons (Ebrard). But the latter interpretation is to be rejected on account of the arbitrary insertion of לוֹ (*to it*); and against all the others it is to be remarked, that there is no proof either from ver. 13, or from Ezek. xxxii. 23 or xxvi. 8, that נָתַן means to lead out, to bring forward, to give contrary to or against.

In ver. 13 תֵּת (*to give*) is more closely defined by מִרְמָס (*something trodden under foot*); but in these passages in Ezek. above referred to, it [the verb נָתַן] is connected with an actual object. Construed with the *accus. pers.* and עַל, נָתַן means "to place one over anything." This conception in its different shades is not so much derived from the words of the text as from a reference to the history; for it is supposed (cf. Grotius, Wies.) that because the matter spoken of is the wickedness of Antiochus, the entrance of the Syrian army into Jerusalem and its proceedings (1 Macc. i. 29 ff.) must be set forth. צָבָא, notwithstanding the want of the article, and notwithstanding the feminine construction, cannot properly be otherwise understood in ver. 12 than in vers. 10 and 13, not of the host of the Syrians, but only of the people of Israel. The article is wanting also in ver. 13, where yet, because of its being taken in connection with קֹדֶשׁ, it can only refer to Israel. Besides this passage, the fem. construction is found also only in Isa. xl. 2, where it signifies the service of war or vassalage. But this meaning here, where weighty reasons oppose it, this construction does not require us to adopt, for such a construction is not infrequent. It is found not merely with names of nations and races, so far as land and people are nearly related ideas, but also with other words, such as even עָם, *people, fem.*, Ex. v. 16, 1 Kings xviii. 7, Jer. viii. 5; הָמוֹן, *a multitude*, Job xxxi. 34; זֶרַע, *seed, i.e. descendants*, Deut. xxxi. 21; cf. Ewald's *Lehr.* § 174. But

the want of the article in צָבָא in ver. 12 and in 13 has its reason in this, that that which is said does not concern the whole host, but only one part of it, since, according to ver. 10, the hostile horn will cast only some מִן הַצָּבָא (*of the host*) to the earth. If, therefore, there is no sufficient ground for rejecting the application of the צָבָא to the people of Israel, it follows that this interpretation is decidedly required not only by the connection, chiefly by ver. 13, but also by that which is said of צָבָא in ver. 12*a*.

"Since in ver. 13 the inquirer resumes the contents of vers. 10–12, and along with the sanctuary names also the 'host' as the object of the 'treading down,' it is not credible that this 'host' should be different from that mentioned in ver. 12" (Klief.). Moreover, תִּנָּתֵן can have in this passage only the meaning of *to be given up*. עַל הַתָּמִיד can then only be translated *because of the permanent sacrifice*, if בְּפֶשַׁע (*by reason of transgression*) is united as object with תִּנָּתֵן in the sense: "was delivered up in transgression." But apart from this, that נָתַן in the sense of *to give up* is construed with בְּיַד, and there are wanting certain parallels for its construction with בְּ merely, this interpretation, "the host (= Israel) is given up in wickedness on account of the continual sacrifice," presents an idea not to be tolerated. We agree, therefore, in general with the interpretation of Ch. B. Michaelis, Hävernick, v. Lengerke, Maurer, Kranichfeld, and Kliefoth, and explain the words thus: "and (an) host shall be given up together with the daily sacrifice, because of transgression." צָבָא, *an host, i.e.* a great company of the host, the people of Israel. בְּ before פֶּשַׁע (*transgression*) in the meaning of בְּ *pretii, on account of* (*um*), or *because of*, cf. Gen. xviii. 28. פֶּשַׁע is the apostasy of the Israelites from God, the wickedness proceeding from the פֹּשְׁעִים (*transgressors*), ver. 23. The objection that this interpretation is not appropriate, because פֶּשַׁע is repeated in ver. 13 in union with שֹׁמֵם (*desolation*), and therefore a wickedness devoted to destruction is characterized (Klief.), avails nothing, because it in no way follows from this that the "transgression" must be wickedness seating itself in the place of the "daily sacrifice," idolatrous worship supplanting the true worship. But "the transgression" cannot be that which sets itself in the place of the "daily sacrifice," because הַתָּמִיד is not the subject of the sentence, but is only co-ordinated to the subject. If בְּ in בְּפֶשַׁע is regarded as the בְּ *pretii*, then פשע can only be that which would be put in the place of the צָבָא. The preposition עַל before הַתָּמִיד means *thereon, after that*, also *at the same time*, or *together with*, as

in Am. iii. 15, Hos. x. 14, etc. תָּמִיד, as in ver. 11, is not merely the *daily sacrifice*, but all that had continuance in the Mosaic worship. Finally, the jussive forms תִּנָּתֵן and תִּשָּׁלֵךְ (*to be trodden*) are to be observed, since, according to the just observation of Kran., they are not simply identical with the future, as Ewald (§ 343) thinks, but here, as in ch. xi. 4, 10, 16, modify the conception of time by the presentation of the divine pre-determination or the decree, and thus express a *should*, *may*, or a *faculty*, *a being able*, in consequence of the divine counsel. To the verbs of the second half of the verse קֶרֶן (*horn*) is easily supplied from the foregoing context as the subject; and the passage closes with the thought: thus must the horn throw the truth to the ground, and he shall succeed in this.[1] אֱמֶת, the objective truth, the word of God, so far as it is embodied in the worship. As to this matter cf. 1 Macc. i. 43–52, 56, 60.

Vers. 13 and 14. In addition to what has been already seen and communicated in the vision, a further vision unfolds itself, by which there is conveyed to the prophet disclosures regarding the duration of the oppression of the people of God by the little horn. Daniel hears a holy one, *i.e.* an angel (see under ch. iv. 10), talking. What he said is not recorded. But while he is talking, another angel interrupts him with the question as to the duration of the affliction, and this is done that Daniel may hear the answer. Therefore the first angel immediately turns himself to Daniel, and, addressing him, makes known to him the information that was desired.

The אֵלַי (*to me*), ver. 14, is not, according to the old versions, to be changed into אֵלָיו (*to him*). What Hitzig says in justification of אֵלָיו is of no weight; cf. Kran. The angel that talked is designated by פְּלֹנִי, *quidam*, *nescio quis*, as not being more particularly definable. The question condenses the contents of vers. 10–12: "Till how long is the vision, etc.?" הֶחָזוֹן is not the action, but the contents of the vision, *the thing seen*. The contents of the vision are arranged in the form of appositions: that which is continual and the desolating wickedness, for: the vision of that which is continual and of the desolation. The meaning of this apposition is more particularly defined by the further passage following *asyndetos*: to give up the sanctuary as well as the host to destruction. שֹׁמֵם after

[1] "*Successus Antiochi potuit pios omnes turbare, acsi tyrannus ille esset Deo superior. Ergo oportuit etiam hoc prædici, ne quid novum vel inopinatum contingeret fidelibus.*"—CALVIN.

the definite noun without the article, which is sometimes wanting (Jer. ii. 21; Ezek. xxxix. 27; cf. Ew. § 293), does not mean being benumbed, confounded, but *laid waste*, fallen into ruin; thus the wickedness which consists in laying waste. שֹׁמֵם cannot be understood transitively, since שֹׁמֵם and מְשֹׁמֵם are placed over against each other in ch. ix. 27.

In the answer, עַד is to be interpreted as in the question: till 2300 evening-mornings have been, or have passed, thus: 2300 evening-mornings long, so (=then) the sanctuary is brought into its right state. צָדַק primarily means to be just, whence the meaning is derived to justify, which is not here suitable, for it must be followed by, from the defilement of the desolation. The restoration of the temple to its right condition is, it is true, at the same time a justification of it from its desolation, and it includes in it the restoration of the permanent worship.

The interpretation of the period of time, 2300 evening-mornings, named by the angel is beset with difficulty. And first the verbal import of עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר is doubtful. Among recent interpreters, Berth., Häv., v. Leng., Maur., and Hofm. (*Weiss. u. Erf.* p. 295) understand by it days consisting of morning and evening (twenty-four hours); others, as Bleek, Kirmss, Ewald, Hitzig, Wieseler (who, however, in his treatise, *Die 70 Wochen*, u.s.w., p. 115 ff., defends the first explanation), Kran., and Delitzsch, are of opinion that evening-morning is particularly reckoned with reference to the offering of a morning and an evening sacrifice each day, so that 2300 evening-mornings make only 1150 whole days. But there is no exegetical foundation for this latter opinion. It is derived only from a comparison, or rather an identification, of this passage with Dan. vii. 25, xii. 11 f., and ix. 27; and therewith it is proved that, according to 1 Macc. i. 54, 59, cf. iv. 52, the desolation of the sanctuary by the worship of idols under Antiochus Epiphanes lasted not longer than three years and ten days, and that from Dan. xii. 11 it extends only to 1290 days. But these arguments rest on assertions which must first be justified. The passages Dan. vii. 25 and ix. 27 cannot be here taken into account, because they do not speak of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the 1290 days (1335 days, ch. xii. 11 f.) do not give 2300 evening-mornings, that we can and may at once identify these statements with this before us. In ch. xii. 11 the *terminus a quo* of the 1290 days is unquestionably the putting away or the removal of the תָּמִיד (*daily sacrifice*), and the giving (placing, raising up) of the abomination

that maketh desolate (*i.e.* the altar of idol-worship); but in this verse (ch. viii. 14), on the contrary, the continuance not only of the taking away of the תָּמִיד, but also of the delivering up of the saints and the people to be trodden under foot, is fixed to 2300 evening-mornings. This oppression continued longer than the removal of the appointed daily sacrifice. According to 1 Macc. i. 10 ff., the violent assaults of Antiochus against the temple and the Jews who remained faithful to the law began in the 143d year of the era of the Seleucidæ, but the abomination that maketh desolate, *i.e.* the idol-altar, was first erected on Jehovah's altar of burnt-offering, according to 1 Macc. i. 54, in the 145th year of the Seleucidæ, and the purification of the temple from this abomination, and its re-consecration, took place on the 25th day of Kisleu (9th month) of the year of the Seleucidæ 148. According to this, from the beginning of the desecration of the temple by the plundering of its vessels and its golden ornaments (1 Macc. i. 20 ff.) to its restoration to its right condition, more than five years passed. The fulfilment, or the historical reference, of this prophecy accordingly affords, as is sufficiently manifest, no proper means of ascertaining the import of the "evening-morning." This must rather be exegetically decided. It occurs only here, and corresponds to *νυχθήμερον*, 2 Cor. xi. 25. But the choice of so unusual a measure of time, derived from the two chief parts of the day, instead of the simple measure of time by days, probably originates with reference to the morning and evening sacrifice, by which the day was to be consecrated to the Lord, after Gen. i. 5, 8, 13, etc., where the days of the creation week are named and reckoned according to the succession of evening and morning. This separation of the expression into evening and morning, so that to number them separately and add them together would make 2300 evening-mornings = 1150 days, is shown to be inadmissible, both by the asyndeton evening-morning and the usages of the Hebrew language. That in ver. 26 הָעֶרֶב וְהַבֹּקֶר (*the evening and the morning*) stands for it, does not prove that the evening and morning are reckoned separately, but only that evening-morning is a period of time consisting of evening and morning. When the Hebrews wish to express separately day and night, the component parts of a day of a week, then the number of both is expressed. They say, *e.g.*, forty days and forty nights (Gen. vii. 4, 12; Ex. xxiv. 18; 1 Kings xix. 8), and three days and three nights (Jonah ii. 1; Matt. xii. 40), but not eighty or six days-and-nights, when they wish to speak of forty or three

full days. A Hebrew reader could not possibly understand the period of time 2300 evening-mornings of 2300 half days or 1150 whole days, because evening and morning at the creation constituted not the half but the whole day. Still less, in the designation of time, "till 2300 evening-mornings," could "evening-mornings" be understood of the evening and morning sacrifices, and the words be regarded as meaning, that till 1150 evening sacrifices and 1150 morning sacrifices are discontinued. We must therefore take the words as they are, *i.e.* understand them of 2300 whole days.

This exegetical resolution of the matter is not made doubtful by the remark, that an increasing of the period of oppression to 2300 days, over against the duration of the oppression limited in ch. vii. 25 to only three and a half times, or to 1290 (or 1335 days, ch. xii. 11, 12), is very unlikely, since there is in no respect any reason for this increase over against these statements (Kran. p. 298). This remark can only be valid as proof if, on the one side, the three and a half times in ch. vii. 25 are equal to three and a half civil years, for which the proof fails, and, on the other side, if the 1290 or the 1335 days in ch. xii. 11 f. indicate the whole duration of the oppression of Israel by Antiochus. But if these periods, on the contrary, refer only to the time of the greatest oppression, the erection of the idol-altar in the temple, this time cannot be made the measure for the duration of the whole period of tribulation.

The objection also, that it is more difficult to prove historically an oppression of the people of God for 2300 days by Antiochus than the 1150 days' duration of this oppression, need not move us to depart from the exegetically ascertained meaning of the words. The opponents of this view are indeed at one in this, that the consecration of the temple after its purification, and after the altar of Jehovah was restored, on the 25th Kisleu of the 148th year of the Seleucidæ, formed the termination of the period named, but they are at variance as to the commencement of the period. Delitzsch reckons from the erection of the idol-altar in the temple on 15th Kisleu in the 145th year of the *Sel.*, and thus makes it only three years and ten days, or 1090 to 1105 days. Hitzig reckons from the taking away of the daily sacrifice, which would take place somewhat earlier than the setting up of the idol-altar, but has not furnished proof that this happened two months earlier. Bleek and Kirmss reckon from the taking of Jerusalem by Apollonius in the year of the *Sel.* 145 (1 Macc. i. 30 ff.; 2 Macc. v. 24 ff.), misplacing

this in the [illegible] of the year named, but without having any other proof for it than the agreement of the reckoning.

To this is to be added, that the adoption of the consecration of the temple as the *terminus ad quem* is not so well grounded as is supposed. The words of the text, וְנִצְדַּק קֹדֶשׁ ("thus is the sanctuary placed in the right state"), comprehend more than the purification and re-consecration of the temple. In ver. 11, also ix. 17 and xi. 31, Daniel uses the word מִקְדָּשׁ for temple, while on the other hand קֹדֶשׁ means all that is holy. Was, then, the sanctuary, in this comprehensive meaning of the word, placed in its right state with the consecration of the temple, when after this occurrence "they that were in the tower (Acra) shut up the Israelites round about the sanctuary," sought to hinder access to the temple, and, when Judas Maccabæus had begun to besiege the tower, the Syrians approached with a reinforced army, besieged the sanctuary for many days, and on their departure demolished its strongholds (1 Macc. vi. 18 ff., 51, 62)?—when, again, under Demetrius Soter of Bacchides, the high priest Menelaus was deposed, and Alcimus, who was not descended from the family of a high priest, was advanced to his place, who cruelly persecuted the pious in Israel?—when the Syrian general Nicanor mocked the priests who showed to him the burnt-offering for the king, and defiled and threatened to burn the temple (1 Macc. vii.)? And did the trampling upon Israel cease with the consecration of the temple, when at the building up of the altar and the restoration of the temple the heathen around became so furious, that they resolved to destroy all who were of the race of Jacob amongst them, and began to murder them (1 Macc. v. 1 ff.)? Hävernick therefore, with Bertholdt, places the *terminus ad quem* of the 2300 days in the victory over Nicanor, by which the power of the Syrians over Judea was first broken, and the land enjoyed rest, so that it was resolved to celebrate annually this victory, as well as the consecration of the temple (1 Macc. vii. 48–50), according to which the *terminus a quo* of the period named would be shortly before the erection of the abomination of idolatry in the temple.

If we now, however, turn from this supposition, since the text speaks further of it, to seek the end of the oppression in the restoration of the legal temple-worship, or in the overthrow of Antiochus Epiphanes, which the angel brings to view in the interpretation of the vision (ver. 26), so also in these cases the 2300 days are to be calculated. C. v. Leng., Maur., and Wiesel., who

regard the death of Antiochus as the termination, place the beginning of the 2300 days one year before the beginning of violence with which Antiochus, after his return from the expedition into Egypt in the year 143 *Sel.*, went forth to destroy (1 Macc. i. 20) the Mosaic worship and law. Only a few weeks or months earlier, in the middle of the year 142 *Sel.*, the point of commencement must be placed, if the consecration of the temple is held to be the termination. In the year 142 not only was the pious high priest Onias removed from his office by the godless Jason, but also Jason himself was forced from the place he had usurped by Menelaus, who gave Antiochus a greater bribe than he did, and gave away as presents and sold to the heathen the golden utensils of the temple, and commanded Onias, who denounced his wickedness, to be deceitfully murdered (2 Macc. ii. 4). Hence we need not, with Hofmann, regard the deposition of Onias, the date of which cannot be accurately fixed, but which, 2 Macc. iv. 7 ff., is brought into connection with the commencement of the reign of Antiochus, and which probably took place before the year 142, as the date of the commencement of the 2300 days, although the laying waste of the sanctuary may be dated from it; since Jason by royal authority set up a heathen γυμνάσιον with an ἐφηβεῖον, and by the wickedness of the profane and unpriestly conduct of this man Greek customs and the adoption of heathenish manners so prevailed, that the priests ceased to concern themselves about the service of the altar, but, despising the temple and forgetting the sacrifice, they hastened to witness the spectacles in the palæstra, which were contrary to the law; cf. 2 Macc. iv. 13 ff. with 1 Macc. i. 11–15. The 2300 days are thus, as well as the 1150 days, historically authenticated.

But it is on the whole questionable whether the number given by the angel is to be reckoned as an historico-chronological period of time, or is not rather to be interpreted as symbolical. The analogy of the other prophetic numbers speaks decidedly for the symbolical interpretation. The 2300 cannot, it is true, be directly a symbolical number, such as 7, 10, 40, 70, and other numbers are, but yet it can stand in such a relation to the number seven as to receive a symbolical meaning. The longer periods of time are usually reckoned not by days, but by weeks, months, or years; if, therefore, as to the question of the duration of the 2300 days, we reduce the days to weeks, months, and years, we shall find six years, three or four months, and some days, and discover that the

oppression of the people by the little horn was to continue not fully a period of seven years. But the times of God's visitations, trials, and judgments are so often measured by the number seven, that this number came to bear stamped on it this signification; see under ch. iv. 13, vii. 25. The number of seven years is used in the symbolical meaning when, not to mention the cases in Gen. xxix. 18, 27, xli. 26 f., and Judg. vi. 1, seven years' famine were laid upon the land as a punishment for David's sin in numbering the people (2 Sam. xxiv. 13), and when in Elisha's time Israel was visited with seven years' famine (2 Kings viii. 1). Thus the answer of the angel has this meaning: The time of the predicted oppression of Israel, and of the desolation of the sanctuary by Antiochus, the little horn, shall not reach the full duration of a period of divine judgment, shall not last so long as the severe oppression of Israel by the Midianites, Judg. vi. 1, or as the famine which fell upon Israel in the time of Elisha, and shall not reach to a tenth part of the time of trial and of sorrow endured by the exiles, and under the weight of which Israel then mourned.

But if this is the meaning of the angel's message, why does not the divine messenger use a pure symbolical expression, such as "not full seven times?" and why does he not simply say, "not quite seven years?" As to the first of these questions, we answer that the expression "times" is too indefinite; for the duration of this period of sorrow must be given more minutely. As to the second question, we know no other answer that can be given than this, that, on the one side, only the positive determination of the length of time, measured by days, can afford full confidence that the domination and the tyranny of the oppressor shall not continue one day longer than God has before fixed; but, on the other side, by the measuring of this period by a number defined according to thousands and hundreds, both the long duration of the affliction is shown, and the symbolical character of the period named is indicated. While by the period "evening-morning" every ambiguity of the expression, and every uncertainty thence arising regarding the actual length of the time of affliction, is excluded, yet the number 2300 shows that the period must be defined in round numbers, measuring only nearly the actual time, in conformity with all genuine prophecy, which never passes over into the mantic prediction of historico-chronological data.

If we compare with this the designation of time in ch. vii. 25, instead of the general idea there expressed, of "time, times, and

half a time," which is not to be computed as to its duration, we have here a very definite space of time mentioned. This difference corresponds to the contents of the two prophecies. The oppression prophesied of in this chapter would visit the people of Israel at not too distant a time; and its commencement as well as its termination, announced by God beforehand, was fitted to strengthen believers in the faith of the truth and fidelity of God for the time of the great tribulation of the end, the duration of which God the Lord indeed determined accurately and firmly beforehand, but according to a measure of time whose extent men cannot calculate in advance. In this respect the designation of the time of the affliction which the horn growing up out of the third world-kingdom will bring upon God's people, becomes a type for the duration of the oppression of the last enemy of the church of the Lord at the end of the days.

Vers. 15–27. *The interpretation of the vision.*

The interpretation of Daniel's vision, as given by the angel, falls within the vision itself. When Daniel sought to understand the vision, viz. in his mind, not by prayer or by asking a question, he saw before him, according to ver. 17, one standing at some distance, who had the appearance of a man, but was not a man, but a supernatural being in human likeness. This person resembling a man is (ver. 16) named by the angel, *Gabriel*, *i.e.* man of God. The voice of another, whom Daniel did not see, hearing only a human voice proceeding from the Ulai, commanded this person to explain the vision to the prophet (לְהַבִּין, *i.e.* to Daniel). Nothing further is indicated of the person from whom the voice proceeded than what may be conjectured from בֵּין אוּלָי (*between the Ulai*), whence the voice sounded. These words do not mean "hither from Ulai" (Bertholdt), but "between the two banks of the Ulai" (Chr. B. Mich., Häv., etc.); according to which, the being whose voice Daniel heard appears as if hovering over the waters of the river Ulai. This conjecture is confirmed by ch. xii. 6, 7, where Daniel sees a man hovering over the waters of the river of Ulai, who by the majesty of his appearance and his words shows himself to be a divine being, and is more minutely described according to the majesty of his appearance in ch. x. 5 ff. The question, who this man might be, is first answered in ch. x. 5 ff. *Gabriel* is not a *nomen proprium* but *appellativum*. The angel who was described as in appearance like a גֶּבֶר (*man*) is named, for

Daniel, *Gabriel* ("man of God"), that on subsequent occasions (*e.g.* ch. ix. 21) he might recognise him again as the same (Hgst., Hofm., Kliefoth). As to his relation to other angels and archangels, the Scripture gives no information. If Lengerke and Maurer regard him, after the book of Enoch, along with Michael, and Raphael, and Uriel whose name does not occur in Scripture, as one of the four angels that stand before the throne of God, the Scripture affords no support for it; nor does it countenance the supposition of Hitzig, that the two angels in vers. 15 and 16 are identical with those in vers. 13 and 14—that Gabriel who spake, and the unknown angel, was the angel of the "rivers and fountains of waters," Rev. xvi. 4.[1]

Ver. 16. As commanded, the angel goes to the place where Daniel stands. On his approach Daniel is so filled with terror that he falls on his face, because as a sinful and mortal man he could not bear the holiness of God which appeared before him in the pure heavenly being. At the appearance of God he fears that he must die. Cf. remarks at Gen. xvi. 13 and Ex. xxxiii. 20. But the angel, in order to mitigate his alarm, calls him to take heed, for the vision relates to the time of the end. The address (ver. 17), "son of man," stands in contrast to "man of God" (= Gabriel), and is designed to remind Daniel of his human weakness (cf. Ps. viii. 5), not that he may be humbled (Hävernick), without any

[1] Altogether groundless, also, is the identification of them with the Persian Amschaspands, since neither the doctrine of angels nor the names of angels of the O. T. are derived from Parsism. The most recent attempt by Dr. Al. Kohut, in his researches regarding Jewish angelology and demonology in their dependence on Parsism (*Abhand. für die Kunde des Morgen.* iv. Bd., Nr. 3), to establish this connection, is extremely poor and superficial. The proof adduced in the first ten pages of his treatise is confined to these points: that in the writings of the O. T. after the Exile or during the Exile the appearance of the angels is altogether different from that presented in the portions written before the Exile. It is said that, as a rule, the angels in the period first named take the human form, and bear names corresponding to their properties—Michael, Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1; Gabriel, viii. 16, ix. 21; and in the book of Tobit, xii. 15, not much later in date (?), Raphael;—now also, in contrast to the period before the Exile, there is an order in rank among the angels; Michael, Dan. x. 12, is designated as one of the first angel-princes, and, ch. xii. 1, as the greatest angel-prince; moreover, the number of שָׂרִים (*angel-princes*) is spoken of as seven, corresponding to the Persian Amesha-çpentas (Tob. xii. 15, and Book of Enoch xc. 21). But does this distinction between the pre-exilian and post-exilian doctrine of angels, even though it were allowed to be as great as Kohut supposes, furnish a proof for the derivation of the latter from Parsism? or does this derivation follow from the fact that the Jews in exile came into intercourse

occasion for that, but to inform him that, notwithstanding this, he was deemed worthy of receiving high divine revelations (Kliefoth). The foundation of the summons to give heed, "for the vision relates to the time of the end," is variously interpreted. Auberlen (p. 87) and Zündel (p. 105 ff.) understand עֵת־קֵץ not of the time of the end of all history, but of a nearer relative end of the prophecy. "Time of the end" is the general prophetic expression for the time which, as the period of fulfilment, lies at the end of the existing prophetic horizon—in the present case the time of Antiochus. Bleek (*Jahrb. f. D. Theol.* v. p. 57) remarks, on the contrary, that if the seer was exhorted to special attention *because* the vision related to the time of the end, then קֵץ here, as in ver. 19, ch. xi. 35, 40, xii. 4, also ch. ix. 26, without doubt is to be interpreted of the end of the time of trial and sorrow of the people, and at the same time of the beginning of the new time of deliverance vouchsafed by God to His people; and herein lay the intimation, "that the beginning of the deliverance destined by God for His people (*i.e.* the Messianic time) would connect itself immediately with the cessation of the suppression of the worship of Jehovah by Antiochus Epiphanes, and with the destruction of that ruler." From the passages referred to, ch. xi. 40 and xii. 4, it is certainly proved that עֵת־קֵץ denotes the time of all suffering, and the completion of the kingdom of God by the Messiah. It does

with the Persians and the Medes, and that about this time the Zend worship flourished? And do the angels in the post-exilian writings for the first time indeed assume the human form? Kohut seems to know nothing of the appearance of angels in Gen. xix. 1 ff., Judg. vi. 11 ff., xiii. 9 ff. Then does the agreement, not of the doctrine of the O. T., but of the later Jewish apocryphal writings, Tobit and the Book of Enoch, with regard to the number of angel-princes and of the Amesha-çpentas, furnish a sufficient proof of this derivation? Dr. Kohut does not himself appear to think so, since he regards it as necessary, in addition to this, which is "perhaps purely accidental," to furnish an etymological argument. *Amesha-çpenta* means "*non connivens sanctus* = the holy one not sleeping;" "thus," he says, "it is a mere Chaldee rendering of the word *Amesha-çpenta*, when in Dan. iv. 10, 14, 20, viii. 13, the Jewish angel-princes are called עִירִין קַדִּישִׁין = holy watchers." But was, then, the Chaldean king Nebuchadnezzar, to whom in a dream a "holy watcher" appeared, a Jew? and in what edition of the Bible has Dr. Kohut found in Dan. viii. 13 the angel name עִיר? Nor is it any better proof that the demonology of the O. T. is a foreign production, resulting from the contact of the Jews with the Persians and Medes during the Exile, because in Zech. iii. 1 f., Ps. xlviii. 49, 1 Chron. xxi. 1, and especially in Job i. 6 f., ii. 1, Satan "is depicted as a plague-spirit, altogether corresponding to the Persian Agromainjus, the *killing spirit*." Such silly talk needs no refutation.

not, however, follow, either that these words "are to be understood of the absolute end of all things, of the time when the Messiah will come to set up His *regnum gloriæ*, and of the time of the last tribulation going before this coming of the Lord" (Klief.); or that the prophet cherished the idea, that immediately after the downfall of Antiochus, thus at the close of the 2300 days, the Messiah would appear, bring the world to an end, and erect the kingdom of eternity (v. Leng., Hitz., Maur., etc.). The latter conclusion is not, it is true, refuted by the remark, that the words do not say that the vision has the time of the end directly for its subject, that the prophecy will find its fulfilment in the time of the end, but only that the vision has a relation, a reference, to the time of the end, that there is a parallelism between the time of Antiochus and the time of Antichrist, that "that which will happen to Javan and Antiochus shall repeat itself in, shall be a type of, that which will happen in the time of the end with the last world-kingdom and the Antichrist arising out of it" (Kliefoth). For this idea does not lie in the words. That is shown by the parallel passage, ch. x. 14, which Kliefoth thus understands—"The vision extends to *the* days which are before named אַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים (*latter days*); it goes over the same events which will then happen." Accordingly the angel can also here (ch. viii. 17) only say, "Give heed, for the vision relates to the end-time; it gives information of that which shall happen in the end of time."

Ver. 19. The justice of this exposition is placed beyond a doubt by this verse. Here the angel says in distinct words, "I will show thee what will happen בְּאַחֲרִית הַזַּעַם (*in the last time of the indignation*), for it relates to the appointed time of the end." Kliefoth indeed thinks that what the angel, ver. 19, says to the prophet for his comfort is not the same that he had said to him in ver. 17, and which cast him down, and that ver. 19 does not contain anything so weighty and so overwhelming as ver. 17, but something more cheering and consoling; that it gives to the vision another aspect, which relieves Daniel of the sorrow which it had brought upon him on account of its import with reference to the end. From this view of the contents of ver. 19 Kliefoth concludes that Daniel, after he had recovered from his terror in the presence of the heavenly messenger, and had turned his mind to the contents of the vision, was thrown to the ground by the thought presented to him by the angel, that the vision had reference to the end of all things, and that, in order to raise him up, the angel said something

else to him more comforting of the vision. But this conclusion has no foundation in the text. The circumstance that Daniel was not again cast to the ground by the communication of the angel in ver. 19, is not to be accounted for by supposing that the angel now made known to him something more consoling; but it has its foundation in this, that the angel touched the prophet, who had fallen dismayed to the earth, and placed him again on his feet (ver. 18), and by means of this touch communicated to him the strength to hear his words. But the explanation which Kliefoth gives of ver. 19 the words do not bear. "The last end of the indignation" must denote the time which will follow after the expiration of the זַעַם, *i.e.* the period of *anger* of the Babylonian Exile. But אַחֲרִית means, when space is spoken of, *that which is farthest* (cf. Ps. cxxxix. 9), and when time is spoken of, *the last*, the end, the opposite of רֵאשִׁית, the end over against *the beginning*. If אַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים does not denote such a time as follows an otherwise fixed termination, but the last time, the end-time (see under ch. ii. 28), so also, since זַעַם is here the time of the revelation of the divine wrath, אַחֲרִית הַזַּעַם can only denote the last time, or the end-time, of the revelation of the divine wrath. This explanation of the words, the only one which the terms admit of, is also required by the closing words of ver. 19, כִּי לְמוֹעֵד קֵץ (*for at the time appointed the end*). According to the example of the *Vulg.*, *quoniam habet tempus finem suum*, and Luther's version, "for the end has its appointed time," Kliefoth translates the words, "for the firmly-ordained, definite time has its end," and refers this to the time of the Babylonish Exile, which indeed, as Daniel knew (ch. ix. 2), was fixed by God to seventy years. But that the Babylonish Exile will have its fixed end, will come to an end with the seventy years, the angel needed not to announce to the prophet, for he did not doubt it, and the putting him in remembrance of that fact would have afforded him but very poor consolation regarding the time of the future wrath. This conception of the words depends on the inaccurate interpretation of the words אַחֲרִית הַזַּעַם, and will consequently fall to the ground along with it. If לְמוֹעֵד (*to the appointment*) were separated from קֵץ, and were to be taken by itself, and to be understood of the time of the זַעַם, then it ought to have the article, as in ch. xi. 27, 35. Without the article, as here, it must be connected with קֵץ, and then, with חָזוֹן supplied as the subject from the context (ver. 17), is to be translated, as it is by almost all modern interpreters: for the vision relates to the appointed time of

the end. But עֵת־קֵץ, *the time of the end*, and מוֹעֵד קֵץ, *the appointed time of the end*, is not the absolute end of all things, the time of the setting up of the *regnum gloriæ*, and the time of the tribulation preceding the return of our Lord; but the time of the judgment of the world-kingdom and the setting up of the everlasting kingdom of God by the appearance of the Messiah, the end of *αἰὼν οὗτος* and the commencement of the *αἰὼν μέλλων*, the time of the אַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים (ch. x. 14), which the apostle calls (1 Cor. x. 11) *τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων*, and speaks of as having then already come.

Ver. 20. Since, from the explanation given by the angel in this verse, the vision relates to the Medo-Persian and the Javanic world-kingdoms, and to the persecuting kingdom of Antiochus which arose out of the latter, so it cannot be disputed that here, in prophetic perspective, the time of the end is seen together with the period of the oppression of the people of God by Antiochus, and the first appearance of the Messiah with His return in glory to the final judgment, as the latter is the case also in ch. ii. 34 f., 44 f., and vii. 13, 26 f. If Kliefoth objects: The coming of the Messiah may certainly be conceived of as bound up with the end of all things, and this is done, since both events stand in intimate causal relation to each other, not seldom in those O. T. prophets who yet do not distinguish the times; but they also know well that this intimate causal connection does not include contemporaneousness, that the coming of the Messiah in the flesh will certainly bring about the end of all things, but not as an immediate consequence, but after a somewhat lengthened intervening space, that thus, after the coming of the Messiah, a course of historical events will further unfold themselves before the end comes (which Daniel also knew, as ch. ix. shows), and where the supposition is this, as in Daniel, there the time before the appearance of Christ in the flesh cannot be called the time of the end:—then the inference drawn in these last passages is not confirmed by the contents of the book of Daniel. For in the last vision (ch. x.–xii.) which Daniel saw, not only the time of oppression of Antiochus and that of the last enemy are contemplated together as *one*, but also the whole contents of this one vision are, ch. x. 14, transferred to the "end of the days;" for the divine messenger says to Daniel, "I am come to make thee understand what shall befall thy people in the end of the days, for the vision yet relates to *the* days." And not only this, but also in ch. xi. 35 it is said of the tribulation brought upon the people of God by Antiochus, that in it many would fall,

to cleanse them and to purify them to the time of the end, for it is yet for the appointed time. Here, beyond doubt, the time of the persecution by Antiochus is placed in intimate union with the time of the end, but, as is to be particularly observed, not so that the two are spoken of as synchronous. This point is of importance for the right exposition of the verse before us. If, in ch. xi. 35, 40, it is twice said כִּי עוֹד קֵץ לַמּוֹעֵד (*the end is yet for the appointed time*), and thus does not begin with the oppression of the people of God by Antiochus, so we may not conclude from these verses—and in this Kliefoth is perfectly justified—that Daniel expected the erection of the Messianic kingdom and the end of all history with the overthrow of Antiochus. If, however, on the whole, the intimate causal connection of the two periods of tribulation placed together in ch. xi. in one vision neither demands nor even permits us to regard the two as synchronous, so this erroneous conclusion drawn from these verses before us, in connection with an incorrect interpretation of ch. xi. 36–45, is sufficiently obviated, both by ch. ii. and vii., according to which the fourth world-kingdom shall precede the erection of the everlasting kingdom of God and the manifestation of the Son of man, as also by ch. ix. 24–27, where—as our exposition will show—the coming of the Messiah and the perfecting of the kingdom of God by the overthrow of the last enemy are dependent on one another in point of time—the coming of the Messiah after seven weeks, the perfecting of the kingdom of God will follow, but not till after the lapse of seventy weeks.

This passage is to be understood according to these distinct revelations and statements, and not that because in them, according to prophetic perspective, the oppression of the people of the saints by Antiochus, the little horn, is seen in one vision with the tribulation of the end-time, therefore the synchronism or identity of the two is to be concluded, and the erection of the *regnum gloriæ* and the end of the world to be placed at the destruction of this little horn. The words, "the vision relates to the time of the end," thus only declare that the prophecy has a reference to Messianic times. As to the nature of this reference, the angel gives some intimation when, having touched the prophet, who had fallen in amazement to the ground, he raised him up and enabled him to listen to his words (ver. 18), the intimation that he would make known to him what would happen in the last time of violence (ver. 19). הַזַּעַם is *the wrath* of God against Israel, the punishment which God hung over them on account of their sins, as in Isa. x. 5, Jer. xxv.

17, Ezek. xxii. 24, etc., and here the sufferings of punishment and discipline which the little horn shall bring over Israel. The time of this revelation of divine wrath is called אַחֲרִית because it belongs to the אַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים, prepares the Messianic future, and with its conclusion begins the last age of the world, of which, however, nothing more particular is here said, for the prophecy breaks off with the destruction of the little horn. The vision of the eleventh chapter first supplies more particular disclosures on this point. In that chapter the great enemy of the saints of God, arising out of the third world-kingdom, is set forth and represented as the prefiguration or type of their last enemy at the end of the days. Under the words אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה (*which shall be*) the angel understands all that the vision of this chapter contains, from the rising up of the Medo-Persian world-kingdom to the time of the destruction of Antiochus Epiphanes, as vers. 20–25 show. But when he adds אַחֲרִית הַזַּעַם, he immediately makes prominent that which is the most important matter in the whole vision, the severe oppression which awaits the people of Israel in the future for their purification, and repeats, in justification of that which is said, the conclusion from ver. 17, in which he only exchanges עֵת for מוֹעֵד. עֵת denotes time in the sense of a *definite point of time*, while מוֹעֵד is the *definite time in its duration*; מוֹעֵד קֵץ thus denotes *the end-time as to its duration*. This expression is here chosen with regard to the circumstance that in ver. 14 the end of the oppression was accurately defined by the declaration of its continuance. The object of these words also is variously viewed by interpreters. The meaning is not that the angel wished to console Daniel with the thought that the judgment of the vision was not yet so near at hand (Zündel); for, according to ver. 17, Daniel was not terrified by the contents of the vision, but by the approach of the heavenly being; and if, according to ver. 18, the words of the angel so increased his terror that he fell down confounded to the earth, and the angel had to raise him by touching him, yet it is not at the same time said that the words of the angel of the end-time had so confounded him, and that the subsequent fuller explanation was somewhat less overwhelming than the words, ver. 17, something lighter or more comforting. Even though the statement about the time of the end contributed to the increase of the terror, yet the contents of ver. 19 were not fitted to raise up the prophet, but the whole discourse of the angel was for Daniel so oppressive that, after hearing it, he was for some days sick, ver. 27. From Daniel's

astonishment we are not to conclude that the angel in ver. 17 spoke of the absolute end of all things, and in ver. 19, on the contrary, of the end of the oppression of the people of Israel by Antiochus. By the words, "the vision relates to the appointed end-time," the angel wished only to point to the importance of his announcement, and to add emphasis to his call to the prophet to give heed.

Vers. 22–26. *After the introductory words, we have now in these verses the explanation of the chief points of the vision.*

Vers. 20–22 explain vers. 3–8. "The kings of Media and Persia" are the whole number of the Medo-Persian kings as they succeed each other, *i.e.* the Medo-Persian monarchy in the whole of its historical development. To הַצָּפִיר the epithet הַשָּׂעִיר, *hairy, shaggy*, is added to characterize the animal as an he-goat. The king of *Javan* (Greece) is the founder and representative of the Macedo-Grecian world-kingdom, or rather the royalty of this kingdom, since the great horn of the ram is forthwith interpreted of Alexander the Great, the first king of this kingdom. The words וְהִנֵּה שְׁבֻרַת to תַּחְתֶּיהָ (ver. 22) form an absolute subject-sentence, in which, however, וַתַּעֲמֹדְנָה is not to be taken ἐκβατικῶς, *it broke in pieces, so that . . .* (Kran.); for "the statement of the principal passage may not appear here in the subordinate relative passage" (Hitzig); but to the statement beginning with the participle the further definition in the *verb. fin.* with ו *consec.* is added, without the relative אֲשֶׁר, as is frequently the case (cf. Ewald's *Lehr.* § 351), which we cannot give with so much brevity, but must express thus: "as concerning the horn, that it was broken in pieces, and then four stood up in its place, (this signifies) that four kingdoms shall arise from the people." מִגּוֹי without the article does not signify *from the people* of Javan, for in this case the article would not have been omitted; nor does it signify *from the heathen world*, because a direct contrast to Israel does not lie before us; but indefinitely, *from the territory of the people*, or the world of the people, since the prophecy conceives of the whole world of the people (Völkerwelt) as united under the sceptre of the king of Javan. יַעֲמֹדְנָה is a revived archaism; cf. Gen. xxx. 38, 1 Sam. vi. 12; Ewald, § 191; Gesen. *Gramm.* § 47.—וְלֹא בְכֹחוֹ, *but not in his power*, not armed with the strength of the first king, cf. ch. xi. 4.

Vers. 23–26 *give the interpretation of the vision of the little horn* (vers. 9–12), *with a more special definition of certain elements not made prominent in the vision.* The horn signifies a king who

will arise "in the last time of their kingdom." The suffix to מַלְכוּתָם (*of their kingdom*) relates to the idea contained in מַלְכִיּוֹת (*kings*). כְּהָתֵם הַפֹּשְׁעִים, when the transgressors have made full, *scil.* the transgression or measure of the sins. The object wanting to הָתֵם is seen from the conception of the subject. הַפֹּשְׁעִים, *the rebellious*, are not the *heathen*, for פֶּשַׁע denotes the apostasy from God which is only said of the Israelites, but not of the heathen; and the word points back to בְּפֶשַׁע in ver. 12. The king that rises up is Antiochus Epiphanes (cf. 1 Macc. i. 10 ff.) עַזּ־פָּנִים, *hard of countenance, i.e.* impudent, unashamed in trampling down, without fear of God or man; cf. Deut. xxviii. 50. מֵבִין חִידוֹת, *understanding mysteries;* here *sensu malo, concealing his purpose behind ambiguous words*, using dissimulation, forming an artifice, interpreted in ver. 25 by מִרְמָה, cf. ch. xi. 21. The unfolding of these qualities is presented in vers. 24, 25; in ver. 24 of the עַזּ־פָּנִים. By virtue of the audacity of his conduct his power will be strengthened, וְלֹא בְכֹחוֹ, *but not by his own might.* The contrast here is not: by the power or permission of God (Ephr., Theodrt., Häv., Hitz., Kran.), reference being made to תִּנָּתֵן (*was given*) in ver. 12, and to תֵּת (*to give*) in ver. 13. This contrast is foreign to the passage. The context much rather relates to the audacity and the cunning by which, more than by his power, Antiochus raised himself to might. The strengthening of the power is limited neither to his reaching the throne by the overthrow of other pretenders to it (Berth. and others), nor to the conquest of Palestine, but relates to the power which, according to the following statements, he developed as king against Israel, as well as against other kingdoms. נִפְלָאוֹת (*wonderful works*) is used adverbially, as in Job xxxvii. 5: *in an astonishing, wonderful way*, he will work destruction. But from this word it does not follow that the expression וְלֹא בְכֹחוֹ is to be referred to the power of God, for it does not necessarily mean deeds or things supernaturally originating from God; and even though it had only this meaning, yet here they could not be thought of as deeds accomplished in God's strength, but only as deeds performed by demoniacal strength, because יַשְׁחִית (*shall destroy*) cannot be predicated of God in the sense determined by the context. This destructive work he shall direct against the mighty and against the people of the saints. עֲצוּמִים does not here signify many, numerous, many individual Israelites (v. Leng., Maur., Kliefoth), partly because in ver. 25 רַבִּים stands for that, partly because of the עַם קְדוֹשִׁים, by which we are to understand *the people of Israel*, not merely the insignificant and weak, or pious

(Kran.). Hence עֲצוּמִים cannot mean the elders of Israel, much less merely foreign kings (Berth., Dereser), but the *mighty* generally, under which perhaps we are specially to think of heathen rulers.

In ver. 25 the cunning and craftiness of his action and demeanour are depicted. עַל שִׂכְלוֹ (*through his craft*) is placed first. שֵׂכֶל, *sagacity*, here *sensu malo*, *cunning*. On the ground of this cunning his deceit will be successful. מִרְמָה without the article means "all kinds of deceit which he designs" (Hitzig). On that account his heart is raised in haughtiness, so that not only does he destroy many unexpectedly, but also raises himself against God. In the רַבִּים (*many*) are comprehended "the mighty and the holy people" (ver. 24). בְּשַׁלְוָה does not mean in deep peace, but *in careless security*, and thus *unexpectedly*. An historical proof of this is found in 1 Macc. i. 10. שַׂר שָׂרִים (*Prince of princes*) corresponds with אֲדֹנֵי הָאֲדֹנִים (*Lord of lords*) in Ps. cxxxvi. 3. It is God; cf. ver. 11. But the angel adds, "he shall be destroyed without hands," *i.e.* he shall be destroyed not by the hand of man, but by God.

In ver. 26 there follows, in conclusion, the confirmation of the truth of what is said of the duration of this oppression for the people of God. Because the time of it was not seen by Daniel, but was revealed to him in words, אֲשֶׁר נֶאֱמַר is here used in reference to that which was, or of which it was, said. But we need not connect this relative sentence with the genitive הָעֶרֶב וְהַבֹּקֶר (*the evening and the morning*), although this were admissible, but can make it depend on מַרְאֵה (*vision*), since the word-revelation of the evenings and mornings forms an integral part of the "vision." הָעֶרֶב וְהַבֹּקֶר are to be taken collectively. The confirmation of the truth of this revelation does not betray the purpose to make the book falsely appear as if it were old (v. Leng., Hitzig); it much more is fitted to serve the purpose of strengthening the weakness of the faithful, and giving them consolation in the hour of trial. For in the statement of the duration of the afflictions lies not only the fact that they will come to an end, but at the same time also that this end is determined beforehand by God; cf. ch. xii. 7. In other places this confirmation serves only to meet doubts, arising from the weakness of the flesh, as to the realization of revelations of such weighty import; cf. ch. x. 1, xii. 1, Rev. xix. 9, xxi. 5, xxii. 6.

But Daniel must close the prophecy, because it extends into a long time. סְתֹם is not equivalent to חָתַם, *to seal up*, but it means

to stop, to conclude, to hide (cf. 2 Kings iii. 19, Ezek. xxviii. 3), but not in the sense of keeping secret, or because it would be incomprehensible for the nearest times; for to seal or to shut up has nothing in common with incomprehensibility, but is used in the sense of *keeping*. "A document is sealed up in the original text, and laid up in archives (shut up), that it may remain preserved for remote times, but not that it may remain secret, while copies of it remain in public use" (Kliefoth). The meaning of the command, then, is simply this: "Preserve the revelation, not because it is not yet to be understood, also not for the purpose of keeping it secret, but that it may remain preserved for distant times" (Kliefoth). The reason assigned for the command only agrees with this interpretation. לְיָמִים רַבִּים (*to many days*) is not to be identified with לְעֶת־קֵץ in ver. 17, but designates only *a long time;* and this indefinite expression is here used because it was not intended to give exactly again the termination according to vers. 17 and 19, but only to say that the time of the end was not near.

In ver. 27 the influence of this vision on Daniel is mentioned (cf. ch. vii. 28). It so deeply agitated the prophet that he was sick certain days, and not till after he had recovered from this sickness could he attend to the king's business. The contents of the vision remained fixed in his mind; the scene filled him with amazement, and no one understood it. Maurer, Hitzig, and Kranichfeld interpret אֵין מֵבִין *I understood it not*, supplying the pronoun of the first person from the connection. But even though the construction of the words should admit of this supplement, for which a valid proof is not adduced, yet it would be here unsuitable, and is derived merely from giving to סְתֹם (ver. 26) the false interpretation of *to conceal*. If Daniel had been required to keep the prophecy secret according to the command in ver. 26, then the remark "no one understood it" would have been altogether superfluous. But if he was required only to preserve the prophecy, and it deeply moved him, then those around him must have had knowledge of it, and the amazement of Daniel would become the greater when not only he but all others failed to understand it. To refer אֵין מֵבִין only to Daniel is forbidden by the comparison with וְלֹא אָבִין in ch. xii. 8. The fulfilment of this vision can alone lead to its full understanding.

CHAP. IX. THE SEVENTY WEEKS.

In the first year of Darius the Median, Daniel, by a diligent study of the prophecies of Jeremiah as to the number of years during which Jerusalem must lie desolate (vers. 1, 2), was led to pour forth a penitential prayer, in which he acknowledges the justice of the divine chastisement which hung over Israel on account of their sins, and entreats the mercy of God in behalf of his people (vers. 3–19). In consequence of this prayer, the angel Gabriel (vers. 20–23) appeared, and announced to him that seventy weeks (vers. 24–27) must pass over his people and the holy city before the consummation of the kingdom of God.

Vers. 1 and 2 mention the occasion on which the penitential prayer (vers. 3–19) was offered, and the divine revelation following thereupon regarding the time and the course of the oppression of the people of God by the world-power till the completion of God's plan of salvation.

Regarding Darius, the son of Ahasverosch, of the race of the Medes, see under ch. vi. 1. In the word הָמְלַךְ the Hophal is to be noticed: *rex constitutus, factus est.* It shows that Darius did not become king over the Chaldean kingdom by virtue of a hereditary right to it, nor that he gained the kingdom by means of conquest, but that he received it (קִבֵּל, ch. vi. 1) from the conqueror of Babylon, Cyrus, the general of the army. The first year of the reign of Darius the Mede over the Chaldean kingdom is the year 538 B.C., since Babylon was taken by the Medes and Persians under Cyrus in the year 539–538 B.C. According to Ptolemy, Cyrus the Persian reigned nine years after Nabonadius. But the death of Cyrus, as is acknowledged, occurred in the year 529 B.C. From the nine years of the reign of Cyrus, according to our exposition (p. 198), two years are to be deducted for Darius the Mede, so that the reign of Cyrus by himself over the kingdom which he founded begins in the year 536, in which year the seventy years of the Babylonish exile of the Jews were completed; cf. the exposition under ch. i. 1 (p. 66 ff.) with the chronological survey in the Com. on the Books of the Kings (p. 140 ff.).

The statement as to the time, ver. 1, is again repeated in the beginning of ver. 2, on account of the relative sentence coming between, so as to connect that which follows with it. We translate (in ver. 2), with Hgstb., Maur., Hitzig, "I marked, or gave heed, in the Scriptures to the number of the years," so that מִסְפַּר (*num-*

ber) forms the object to בִּינֹתִי (*I understood*); cf. Prov. vii. 7. Neither the placing of בַּסְּפָרִים (*by books*) first nor the Atnach under this word controvert this view; for the object is placed after "by books" because a further definition is annexed to it; and the separation of the object from the verb by the Atnach is justified by this consideration, that the passage contains two statements, viz. that Daniel studied the Scriptures, and that his study was directed to the number of the years, etc. בַּסְּפָרִים, with the definite article, does not denote a collection of known sacred writings in which the writings of Jeremiah were included, so that, seeing the collection of the prophets cannot be thought of without the Pentateuch, by this word we are to understand (with Bleek, Gesenius, v. Leng., Hitzig) the recognised collection of the O. T. writings, the Law and the Prophets. For הַסְּפָרִים, *τὰ βιβλιά*, is not synonymous with הַכְּתוּבִים, *αἱ γραφαί*, but denotes only writings in the plural, but does not say that these writings formed already a recognised collection; so that from this expression nothing can be concluded regarding the formation of the O. T. canon. As little can בַּסְּפָרִים refer, with Häv. and Kran., to the letter of Jeremiah to the exiles (Jer. xxix.), for this reason, that not in Jer. xxix., but in Jer. xxv. 11 f., the seventy years of the desolation of the land of Judah, and *implic.* of Jerusalem, are mentioned. The plur. סְפָרִים also can be understood of a single letter, only if the context demands or makes appropriate this narrower application of the word, as *e.g.* 2 Kings xix. 14. But here this is not the case, since Jeremiah in two separate prophecies speaks of the seventy years, and not in the letter of ch. xxix., but only in ch. xxv., has he spoken of the seventy years' desolation of the land. In בַּסְּפָרִים lies nothing further than that writings existed, among which were to be found the prophecies of Jeremiah; and the article, *the* writings, is used, because in the following passage something definite is said of these writings.

In these writings Daniel considered the number of the years of which Jeremiah had prophesied. אֲשֶׁר, as ch. viii. 26, with respect to which, relates not to הַשָּׁנִים, but to מִסְפַּר הַשָּׁנִים (*number of the years*). It is no objection against this that the repetition of the words "seventy years" stands opposed to this connection (Klief.), for this repetition does not exist, since מִסְפַּר does not declare the number of the years. With לְמַלֹּאות (*to fulfil*) the contents of the word of Jehovah, as given by Jeremiah, are introduced. לְחָרְבוֹת does not stand for the accusative: to cause to be complete the desolation of Jerusalem (Hitzig), but לְ signifies in respect of, with

regard to. This expression does not lean on Jer. xxix. 10 (Kran.), but on Jer. xxv. 12 ("when seventy years are accomplished"). חָרְבוֹת, properly, *desolated places*, ruins, here *a desolated condition*. Jerusalem did not certainly lie in ruins for seventy years; the word is not thus to be interpreted, but is chosen partly with regard to the existing state of Jerusalem, and partly with reference to the words of Jer. xxv. 9, 11. Yet the desolation began with the first taking of Jerusalem, and the deportation of Daniel and his companions and a part of the sacred vessels of the temple, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim[1] (606 B.C.).

Consequently, in the first year of the reign of Darius the Mede over the kingdom of the Chaldeans the seventy years prophesied of by Jeremiah were now full, the period of the desolation of Jerusalem determined by God was almost expired. What was it that moved Daniel at this time to pour forth a penitential prayer in behalf of Jerusalem and the desolated sanctuary? Did he doubt the truth of the promise, that God, after seventy years of exile in Babylon, would visit His people and fulfil the good word He had spoken, that He would again bring back His people to Judea (Jer. xxix. 10)? Certainly not, since neither the matter of his prayer, nor the divine revelation which was vouchsafed to him in answer to his prayer, indicated any doubt on his part regarding the divine promise.

According to the opinion of Bleek and Ewald, it was Daniel's uncertainty regarding the termination of the seventy years which moved him to prayer. Bleek (*Jahrbb. f. D. Theol.* v. p. 71) thus expresses himself on the subject: "This prophecy of Jeremiah might be regarded as fulfilled in the overthrow of the Babylonian kingdom and the termination of the Exile, when the Jews obtained from Cyrus permission to return to their native land and to rebuild their city and temple, but yet not perfectly, so far as with the hope of the return of the people from exile there was united the ex-

[1] Thus also the seventy years of the Exile are reckoned in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21–23, Ezra i. 1 ff. This Ewald also recognises (*Proph.* iii. p. 430), but thinks that it is not an exact reckoning of the times, but rather, according to Zech. i. 12 and Dan. ix. 25, that the destruction of Jerusalem forms the date of the commencement of the desolation and of the seventy years. But Dan. ix. 25 contains no expression, or even intimation, regarding the commencement of the Exile; and in the words of Zech. i. 12, "against which Thou hast had indignation these threescore and ten years," there does not lie the idea that the seventy years prophesied of by Jeremiah came to an end in the second year of Darius Hystaspes. See under this passage.

pectation that they would then turn in truth to their God, and that Jehovah would fulfil all His good promises to them to make them partakers of the Messianic redemption (cf. Jer. xxix. 10 ff., also other prophecies of Jeremiah and of other prophets regarding the return of the people from exile, such as Isa. xl. ff.); but this result was not connected in such extent and fulness with the return of the people and the restoration of the state." On the supposition of the absolute inspiration of the prophets, it appeared therefore appropriate "to regard Jeremiah's prophecy of the seventy years, after the expiry of which God will fulfil His good promises to His people, as stretching out into a later period beyond that to which the seventy years would extend, and on that account to inquire how it was to be properly interpreted." Ewald (*Proph.* iii. p. 421 ff.) is of opinion that these seventy years of Jeremiah did not pass by without the fulfilment of his prophecy, that the ruins of Jerusalem would not continue for ever. Already forty-nine years after its destruction a new city of Jerusalem took the place of the old as the centre of the congregation of the true religion, but the stronger hopes regarding the Messianic consummation which connected itself herewith were neither then, nor in all the long times following, down to that moment in which our author (in the age of the Maccabees) lived and wrote, ever fulfilled. Then the faithful were everywhere again exposed to the severest sufferings, such as they had not experienced since the old days of the destruction of Jerusalem. Therefore the anxious question as to the duration of such persecution and the actual beginning of the Messianic time, which Daniel, on the ground of the mysterious intimation in ch. vii. 12, 25 and viii. 13 ff., regarding the period of the sufferings of the time of the end, sought here to solve, is agitated anew; for he shows how the number of the seventy years of Jeremiah, which had long ago become sacred, yet accorded with these late times without losing its original truth. Thus Ewald argues.

These two critics in their reasoning proceed on the dogmatic ground, which they regard as firmly established, that the book of Daniel is a product of the age of the Maccabees. All who oppose the genuineness of this book agree with them in the view that this chapter contains an attempt, clothed in the form of a divine revelation communicated to the prophet in answer to his prayer, to solve the mystery how Jeremiah's prophecy of the beginning of the Messianic salvation after the seventy years of exile is to be harmonized with the fact that this salvation, centuries after the fall of

the Babylonish kingdom and the return of the Jews from the Babylonish exile, had not yet come, but that instead of it, under Antiochus Epiphanes, a time of the severest oppression had come. How does this opinion stand related to the matter of this chapter, leaving out of view all other grounds for the genuineness of the book of Daniel? Does the prayer of Daniel, or the divine revelation communicated to him by means of Gabriel regarding the seventy weeks, contain elements which attest its correctness or probability?

The prayer of Daniel goes forth in the earnest entreaty that the Lord would turn away His anger from the city Jerusalem and His holy mountain, and cause His face to shine on the desolation and on the city that was called by His name (vers. 15–18). If this prayer is connected with the statement in ver. 2, that Daniel was moved thereto by the consideration of the words of Jeremiah regarding the desolation of Jerusalem, we can understand by the ruins, for the removal of which Daniel prayed, only the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple which was brought about by the Chaldeans. Consequently the prayer indicates that the desolation of Jerusalem predicted by Jeremiah and accomplished by Nebuchadnezzar still continued, and that the city and the temple had not yet been rebuilt. This, therefore, must have been in the time of the Exile, and not in the time of Antiochus, who, it is true, desolated the sanctuary by putting an end to the worship of Jehovah and establishing the worship of idols, but did not lay in ruins either the temple or the city.

In his message (vers. 24–27) the angel speaks only of the going forth of the word to restore and rebuild Jerusalem, and presents the going forth of this word as the beginning of the seventy weeks of Daniel determined upon the people and the holy city within which Jerusalem must be built, and thus distinguishes the seventy weeks as distinctly as possible from Jeremiah's seventy years during which Jerusalem and Judah should lie desolate. Thus is set aside the opinion that the author of this chapter sought to interpret the seventy years of Jeremiah by the seventy weeks; and it shows itself to be only the pure product of the dogmatic supposition, that this book does not contain prophecies of the prophet Daniel living in the time of the Exile, but only apocalyptic dreams of a Maccabean Jew.[1]

[1] The supposition that the seventy weeks, ver. 24, are an interpretation of the seventy years of Jeremiah, is the basis on which Hitzig rests the assertion that the passage does not well adjust itself to the standpoint of the pretended

Moreover, it is certainly true that in the Exile the expectation that the perfection and glory of the kingdom of God by the Messiah would appear along with the liberation of the Jews from Babylon was founded on the predictions of the earlier prophets, but that Daniel shared this expectation the book presents no trace whatever. Jeremiah also, neither in ch. xxv. nor in ch. xxix., where he speaks of the seventy years of the domination of Babylon, announces that the Messianic salvation would begin immediately with the downfall of the Babylonian kingdom. In ch. xxv. he treats only of the judgment, first over Judah, and then over Babylon and all the kingdoms around; and in ch. xxix. he speaks, it is true, of the fulfilling of the good word of the return of the Jews to their fatherland when seventy years shall be fulfilled for Babylon (ver. 10), and of the counsel of Jehovah, which is formed not for the destruction but for the salvation of His people, of the restoration of the gracious relation between Jehovah and His people, and the gathering together and the bringing back of the prisoners from among all nations whither they had been scattered (vers. 11–14), but he says not a word to lead to the idea that all this would take place immediately after these seventy years.

Now if Daniel, in the first year of Darius the Mede, *i.e.* in the sixty-ninth year of the Exile, prayed thus earnestly for the restoration of Jerusalem and the sanctuary, he must have been led to do so from a contemplation of the then existing state of things. The political aspect of the world-kingdom could scarcely have furnished to him such a motive. The circumstance that Darius did not immediately after the fall of Babylon grant permission to the Jews to return to their fatherland and rebuild Jerusalem and the temple, could not make him doubt the certainty of the fulfilment of the word of the Lord spoken by Jeremiah regarding the duration of

Daniel, but is in harmony with the time of the Maccabees. The other arguments which Hitzig and others bring forth against this chapter as the production of Daniel, consist partly in vain historical or dogmatic assertions, such as that there are doubts regarding the existence of Darius of Media,—partly in misinterpretations, such as that Daniel wholly distinguishes himself, vers. 6, 10, from the prophets, and presents himself as a reader of their writings (Hitz.),—opinions which are no better founded than the conclusions of Bertn., v. Leng., and Staeh., drawn from the mention of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, ver. 7, and of the holy city, ver. 24, that Jerusalem was then still inhabited and the temple still standing. To this it is added, that the prayer of Daniel is an imitation of the prayers of Ezra ix. and Neh. ix., or, as Ewald thinks, an extract from the prayer of Baruch (Bar. ch. i. and ii.).

the Exile, since the prophecy of Isaiah, ch. xliv. 28, that *Coresch* (Cyrus) should build Jerusalem and lay the foundation of the temple was beyond question known to him, and Darius had in a certain sense reached the sovereignty over the Chaldean kingdom, and was of such an age (ch. vi. 1) that now his reign must be near its end, and Cyrus would soon mount his throne as his successor. That which moved Daniel to prayer was rather the religious condition of his own people, among whom the chastisement of the Exile had not produced the expected fruits of repentance; so that, though he did not doubt regarding the speedy liberation of his people from Babylonish exile, he might still hope for the early fulfilment of the deliverance prophesied of after the destruction of Babylon and the return of the Jews to Canaan. This appears from the contents of the prayer. From the beginning to the close it is pervaded by sorrow on account of the great sinfulness of the people, among whom also there were no signs of repentance. The prayer for the turning away of the divine wrath Daniel grounds solely on the mercy of God, and upon that which the Lord had already done for His people by virtue of His covenant faithfulness, the צְדָקוֹת (*righteousness*) of the Lord, not the "righteousness" of the people. This confession of sin, and this entreaty for mercy, show, that the people, as a whole, were not yet in that spiritual condition in which they might expect the fulfilment of that promise of the Lord spoken by Jeremiah (ch. xxix. 12 ff.): "Ye shall seek me and find me, when ye shall search for me with all your heart; and I will be found of you, and will turn away your captivity," etc.

With this view of the contents of the prayer corresponds the divine answer which Gabriel brings to the prophet, the substance of which is to this effect, that till the accomplishment of God's plan of salvation in behalf of His people, yet seventy weeks are appointed, and that during this time great and severe tribulations would fall upon the people and the city.

Vers. 3–19. *Daniel's prayer.*

This prayer has been judged very severely by modern critics. According to Berth., v. Leng., Hitzig, Staeh., and Ewald, its matter and its whole design are constructed according to older patterns, in particular according to the prayers of Neh. ix. and Ezra ix., since ver. 4 is borrowed from Neh. i. 5, ix. 32; ver. 8 from Neh. ix. 34; ver. 14 from Neh. ix. 33; ver. 15 from Neh. i. 10, ix. 10; and,

finally, vers. 7 and 8 from Ezra ix. 7. But if we consider this dependence more closely, we shall, it is true, find the expression בּשֶׁת הַפָּנִים (*confusion of faces*, vers. 7 and 8) in Ezra ix. 7, but we also find it in 2 Chron. xxxii. 21, Jer. vii. 19, and also in Ps. xliv. 16; סְלִחוֹת (*forgivenesses*, ver. 9) we find in Neh. ix. 17, but also in Ps. cxxx. 4; and תֻּתַּךְ עַל (*is poured upon*, spoken of the anger of God, ver. 11) is found not only in 2 Chron. xii. 7, xxxiv. 21, 25, but also Jer. xlii. 18, xliv. 6, and Nah. i. 6. We have only to examine the other parallel common thoughts and words adduced in order at once to perceive that, without exception, they all have their roots in the Pentateuch, and afford not the slightest proof of the dependence of this chapter on Neh. ix.

The thought, "great and dreadful God, keeping the covenant and mercy," etc., which is found in ver. 4 and in Neh. i. 5, has its roots in Deut. vii. 21 and 9, cf. Ex. xx. 6, xxxiv. 7, and in the form found in Neh. ix. 32, in Deut. x. 17; the expression (ver. 15), "Thou hast brought Thy people forth out of the land of Egypt with a mighty hand," has its origin in Deut. vii. 8, ix. 26, etc. But in those verses where single thoughts or words of this prayer so accord with Neh. ix. or Ezra ix. as to show a dependence, a closer comparison will prove, not that Daniel borrows from Ezra or Nehemiah, but that they borrow from Daniel. This is put beyond a doubt by placing together the phrases: "our kings, our princes, our fathers" (Dan. vers. 5 and 8), compared with these: "our kings, our princes, *our priests*, and our fathers" (Neh. ix. 34, 32), and "our kings and our priests" (Ezra ix. 7). For here the naming of the "priests" along with the "kings and princes" is just as characteristic of the age of Ezra and Nehemiah as the omission of the "priests" is of the time of the Exile, in which, in consequence of the cessation of worship, the office of the priest was suspended. This circumstance tends to refute the argument of Stähelin (*Einl.* p. 349), that since the prayers in Chron., Ezra, and Nehem. greatly resemble each other, and probably proceed from one author, it is more likely that the author of Dan. ix. depended on the most recent historical writings, than that Dan. ix. was always before the eyes of the author of Chron.—a supposition the probability of which is not manfest.

If, without any preconceived opinion that this book is a product of the times of the Maccabees, the contents and the course of thought found in the prayer, Dan. ix., are compared with the prayers in Ezra ix. and Neh. ix., we will not easily suppose it

possible that Daniel depends on Ezra and Nehemiah. The prayer of Ezra ix. 6–15 is a confession of the sins of the congregation from the days of the fathers down to the time of Ezra, in which Ezra scarcely ventures to raise his countenance to God, because as a member of the congregation he is borne down by the thought of their guilt; and therefore he does not pray for pardon, because his design is only "to show to the congregation how greatly they had gone astray, and to induce them on their part to do all to atone for their guilt, and to turn away the anger of God" (Bertheau).

The prayer, Neh. ix. 6–37, is, after the manner of Ps. cv. and cvi., an extended offering of praise for all the good which the Lord had manifested toward His people, notwithstanding that they had continually hardened their necks and revolted from Him from the time of the call of Abraham down to the time of the Exile, expressing itself in the confession, "God is righteous, but we are guilty," never rising to a prayer for deliverance from bondage, under which the people even then languished.

The prayer of Dan. ix., on the contrary, by its contents and form, not only creates the impression "of a fresh production adapted to the occasion," and also of great depth of thought and of earnest power in prayer, but it presents itself specially as the prayer of a man, a prophet, standing in a near relation to God, so that we perceive that the suppliant probably utters the confession of sin and of guilt in the name of the congregation in which he is included; but in the prayer for the turning away of God's anger his special relation to the Lord is seen, and is pleaded as a reason for his being heard, in the words, "Hear the prayer of *Thy* servant and *his* supplication (ver. 17); O *my* God, incline Thine ear" (ver. 18).[1]

The prayer is divided into two parts. Vers. 4–14 contain the confession of sin and guilt; vers. 15–19 the supplication for mercy, and the restoration of the holy city and its sanctuary lying in ruins.

[1] After the above remarks, Ewald's opinion, that this prayer is only an epitome of the prayer of Baruch (ch. i. 15–iii. 8), scarcely needs any special refutation. It is open before our eyes, and has been long known, that the prayer of Baruch in the whole course of its thoughts, and in many of the expressions found in it, fits closely to the prayer of Daniel; but also all interpreters not blinded by prejudice have long ago acknowledged that from the resemblances of this apocryphal product not merely to Dan. ix., but also much more to Jeremiah, nothing further follows than that the author of this late copy of ancient prophetic writings knew and used the book of Daniel, and was

The confession of sin divides itself into two strophes. Vers. 4–10 state the transgression and the guilt, while vers. 11–14 refer to the punishment from God for this guilt. Ver. 3 forms the introduction. The words, "Then I directed my face to the Lord," are commonly understood, after ch. vi. 11, as meaning that Daniel turned his face toward the place of the temple, toward Jerusalem. This is possible. The words themselves, however, only say that he turned his face to God the Lord in heaven, to אֲדֹנָי הָאֱלֹהִים, the Lord of the whole world, the true God, not to יְהוָה, although he meant the covenant God. "To seek prayer in (with) fasting," etc. "Fasting in sackcloth (penitential garment made of hair) and ashes," *i.e.* sprinkling the head with ashes as an outward sign of true humility and penitence, comes into consideration as a means of preparation for prayer, in order that one might place himself in the right frame of mind for prayer, which is an indispensable condition for the hearing of it—a result which is the aim in the seeking. In regard to this matter Jerome makes these excellent remarks: "*In cinere igitur et sacco postulat impleri quod Deus promiserat, non quod esset incredulus futurorum, sed ne securitas negligentiam et negligentia pareret offensam.*" תְּפִלָּה and תַּחֲנוּנִים = תְּחִנָּה, cf. 1 Kings viii. 38, 45, 49, 2 Chron. vi. 29, 35. תְּפִלָּה is prayer in general; תַּחֲנוּנִים, prayer for mercy and compassion, as also a petition for something, such as the turning away of misfortune or evil (*deprecari*). The design of the prayer lying before us is to entreat God that He would look with pity on the desolation of the holy city and the temple, and fulfil His promise of their restoration. This prayer is found in vers. 15–19.

Ver. 4. Since the desolation of the holy land and the exile of the people was a well-deserved punishment for their sins, and a removal of the punishment could not be hoped for without genuine humiliation under the righteous judgment of God, Daniel begins with a confession of the great transgression of the people, and of

familiar with the writings of Daniel and Jeremiah, and of other prophets, so that he imitated them. This statement, that the pseudo-Baruch in ch. i. 15–iii. 8 presents an extended imitation of Daniel's prayer, Ewald has not refuted, and he has brought forward nothing more in support of his view than the assertion, resting on the groundless supposition that the mention of the "judges" in Dan. ix. 12 is derived from Bar. ii. 1, and on the remark that the author of the book of Baruch would have nothing at all peculiar if he had formed that long prayer out of the book of Daniel, or had only wrought after this pattern —a remark which bears witness, indeed, of a compassionate concern for his protége, but manifestly says nothing for the critic.

the righteousness of the divine dealings with them, that on the ground of this confession he might entreat of the divine compassion the fulfilment of the promised restoration of Jerusalem and Israel. He prays to Jehovah אֱלֹהַי, *my* God. If we wish our prayers to be heard, then God, to whom we pray, must become *our* God. To אֶתְוַדֶּה (*I made confession*) M. Geier applies Augustine's beautiful remark on Ps. xxix.: "*Confessio gemina est, aut peccati aut laudis. Quando nobis male est in tribulationibus, confiteamur peccata nostra; quando nobis bene est in exultatione justitiæ, confiteamur laudem Deo: sine confessione tamen non simus.*" The address, "Thou great and dreadful God, who keepest the covenant," etc., points in its first part to the mighty acts of God in destroying His enemies (cf. Deut. vii. 21), and in the second part to the faithfulness of God toward those that fear Him in fulfilling His promises (cf. Deut. vii. 9). While the greatness and the terribleness of God, which Israel had now experienced, wrought repentance and sorrow, the reference to the covenant faithfulness of God served to awaken and strengthen their confidence in the help of the Almighty.

Ver. 5. God is righteous and faithful, but Israel is unrighteous and faithless. The confession of the great guilt of Israel in ver. 5 connects itself with the praise of God. This guilt Daniel confesses in the strongest words. חָטָאנוּ, to make a false step, designates sin as an erring from the right; עָוִינוּ, to be perverse, as unrighteousness; רָשַׁעְנוּ, to do wrong, as a passionate rebellion against God. To these three words, which Solomon (1 Kings viii. 47) had already used as an exhaustive expression of a consciousness of sin and guilt, and the Psalmist (Ps. cvi. 6) had repeated as the confession of the people in exile, Daniel yet further adds the expression מָרַדְנוּ, we have rebelled against God, and סוֹר, are departed, fallen away from His commandments; this latter word being in the *inf. absol.*, thereby denotes that the action is presented with emphasis.

Ver. 6. The guilt becomes the greater from the fact that God failed not to warn them, and that Israel would not hear the words of the prophets, who in His name spoke to high and low,—to kings and princes, *i.e.* the heads of tribes and families, and to the great men of the kingdom and to the fathers, *i.e.* to their ancestors, in this connection with the exclusion of kings and chiefs of the people, who are specially named, as Jer. xliv. 17, cf. Neh. ix. 32, 34; not perhaps the elders, heads of families (Cocceius, J. D. Michaelis, and others), or merely teachers (Ewald). To illustrate

the meaning, there is added the expression "the whole people of the land," not merely the common people, so that no one might regard himself as exempted. Compare בָּל־עַמְּךָ, Neh. ix. 32. This expression, comprehending all, is omitted when the thought is repeated in ver. 8.

Ver. 7. Thus to God belongeth righteousness, but to the sinful people only shame. לְךָ הַצְּדָקָה does not mean: Thine was the righteous cause (Hitzig). The interpolation of the *was* is arbitrary, and צְדָקָה predicated of God is not righteous cause, but *righteousness* as a perfection which is manifested in His operations on the earth, or specially in His dealings toward Israel. בּשֶׁת הַפָּנִים, shame which reflects itself in the countenance, not because of disgraceful circumstances, Ezra ix. 7 (Kranichfeld), but in the consciousness of well-deserved suffering. כַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה does not mean: at this time, to-day, now (Häv., v. Leng., and others); the interpretation of כְּ in the sense of *circa* stands opposed to the definite הַזֶּה. In the formula כַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה the כְּ has always the meaning of a comparison; also in Jer. xliv. 6, 22, 23, 1 Sam. xxii. 8, and everywhere the expression has this meaning: as it happened this day, as experience has now shown or shows. See under Deut. ii. 30. Here it relates merely to לָנוּ בּשֶׁת הם' (*to us shame*, etc.), not also to the first part of the verse. The לָנוּ is particularized by the words, "the men of Judah" (אִישׁ collectively, since the plur. אֲנָשִׁים in this connection cannot be used; it occurs only three times in the O. T.), "and the inhabitants of Jerusalem." Both together are the citizens of the kingdom of Judah. יִשְׂרָאֵל, the whole of the rest of Israel, the members of the kingdom of the ten tribes. To both of these the further definition relates: "those that are near, and those that are far off, etc." With בְּמַעַלָם אֲשֶׁר מ' (*because of their trespass which*," etc.), cf. Lev. xxvi. 40.

Ver. 8. In this verse Daniel repeats the thoughts of ver. 7*a* in order to place the sin and shame of the people opposite to the divine compassion, and then to pass from confession of sin to supplication for the sin-forgiving grace of the covenant-keeping God.

Ver. 9. Compassion and forgiveness are with the Lord our God; and these we need, for we have rebelled against Him. This thought is expanded in vers. 10–14. The rebellion against God, the refusing to hear the voice of the Lord through the prophets, the transgression of His law, of which all Israel of the twelve tribes were guilty, has brought the punishment on the whole people which the law of Moses threatened against transgressors.

Ver. 11. וַתִּתַּךְ with ו *consec.*: therefore has the curse poured itself out, and the oath, *i.e.* the curse strengthened with an oath. נָתַךְ, to pour forth, of storms of rain and hail (Ex. ix. 33), but especially of the destroying fire-rain of the divine wrath, cf. Nah. i. 6 with Gen. xix. 24, and Jer. vii. 20, xlii. 18, xliv. 6. הָאָלָה is used, Deut. xxix. 18 f., of the threatenings against the transgressors of the law in Lev. xxvi. 14 ff., Deut. xxviii. 15 ff., to which Daniel here makes reference. To strengthen the expression, he has added הַשְּׁבֻעָה (*and the oath*) to הָאָלָה, after Num. v. 21; cf. also Neh. x. 30.

Ver. 12. In this verse the *Kethiv* דִּבְרֵיו, in harmony with the ancient versions, is to be maintained, and the *Keri* only as an explanation inferred from the thought of a definite curse. "Our judges" is an expression comprehending the chiefs of the people, kings and princes, as in Ps. ii. 10, cxlviii. 11.

Ver. 13. The thought of ver. 11 is again taken up once more to declare that God, by virtue of His righteousness, must carry out against the people the threatening contained in His law. אֵת before כָּל־הָרָעָה is not, with Kranichfeld, to be explained from the construction of the passive כָּתוּב with the accusative, for it does not depend on כָּתוּב, but serves to introduce the subject absolutely stated: as concerns all this evil, thus it has come upon us, as Ezek. xliv. 3, Jer. xlv. 4; cf. Ewald's *Lehrb.* § 277*d*. Regarding חִלִּינוּ אֶת־פְּנֵי יְ (*we entreated the face*, etc.), cf. Zech. vii. 2, viii. 21. לְהַשְׂכִּיל בַּאֲמִתֶּךָ is not to be translated: to comprehend Thy faithfulness (Hitzig), for the construction with בְּ does not agree with this, and then אֱמֶת does not mean faithfulness (*Treue*), but truth (*Warheit*). The truth of God is His plan of salvation revealed in His word, according to which the sinner can only attain to happiness and salvation by turning to God and obeying His commands.

Ver. 14. Because Israel did not do this, therefore the Lord watched upon the evil, *i.e.* continually thought thereon—an idea very frequently found in Jeremiah; cf. Jer. i. 12, xxxi. 28, xliv. 27. צַדִּיק with עַל following, righteous on the ground of all His works—a testimony from experience; cf. Neh. ix. 33 (Kranichfeld).

Vers. 15–19. After this confession, there now follows the prayer for the turning away of the wrath (vers. 15 and 16) of God, and for the manifestation of His grace toward His suppliant people (vers. 17–19).

Ver. 15. This prayer Daniel founds on the great fact of the

deliverance of Israel out of Egypt, by which the Lord made for Himself a name among the nations. Jerome has here rightly remarked, not exhausting the thought however: "*memor est antiqui beneficii, ut ad similem Dei clementiam provocet.*" For Daniel does not view the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt merely as a good deed, but as an act of salvation by which God fulfilled His promise He had given to the patriarchs, ratified the covenant He made with Abraham, and by the miracles accompanying the exodus of the tribes of Israel from the land of Egypt, glorified His name before all nations (cf. Isa. lxiii. 32, 13), so that Moses could appeal to this glorious revelation of God among the heathen as an argument, in his prayer for pardon to Israel, to mitigate the anger of God which burned against the apostasy and the rebellion of the people, and to turn away the threatened destruction, Ex. xxxii. 11 ff., Num. xiv. 13. Jeremiah, and also Isaiah, in like manner ground their prayer for mercy to Israel on the name of the Lord, Jer. xxxii. 20 f., Isa. lxiii. 11–15. Nehemiah (ch. i. 10 and ix. 10) in this agrees with Jeremiah and Daniel. כַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה, in the same connection in Jer. l., does not mean, *then, at that time*, but, *as this day still:* (hast gotten Thee) a name as Thou hast it still. In order to rest the prayer alone on the honour of the Lord, on the honour of His name, Daniel again repeats the confession, *we have sinned, we have done wickedly;* cf. ver. 5.

Ver. 16. The prayer for the turning away of God's anger follows, and is introduced by a repetition of the address, "O Lord," and by a brief condensation of the motive developed in ver. 15, by the words כְּכָל־צִדְקֹתֶיךָ. צְדָקוֹת does not mean in a gracious manner, and צֶדֶק is not grace, but proofs of the divine righteousness. The meaning of the words כְּכָל־צִדְקֹתֶיךָ is not: as all proofs of Thy righteousness have hitherto been always intimately connected with a return of Thy grace, so may it also now be (Kran.); but, *according to all the proofs of Thy righteousness, i.e.* to all that Thou hitherto, by virtue of Thy covenant faithfulness, hast done for Israel. צְדָקוֹת means the great deeds done by the Lord for His people, among which the signs and wonders accompanying their exodus from Egypt take the first place, so far as therein Jehovah gave proof of the righteousness of His covenant promise. According to these, may God also now turn away His anger from His city of Jerusalem! The words in apposition, "Thy holy mountain," refer especially to the temple mountain, or Mount Zion, as the centre of the kingdom of God. The prayer is enforced not only by כָּל־צִדְקֹתֶיךָ, but also

by the plea that Jerusalem is the city of God (*Thy* city). Compare Ps. lxxix. 4 and xliv. 14.

Ver. 17. In this verse the prayer is repeated in more earnest words. With הָאֵר פָּנֶיךָ (*cause Thy face to shine*) compare Ps. lxxx. 4 and Num. vi. 25. כְּמַעַן אֲדֹנָי, *because Thou art Lord*, is stronger than לְמַעַנְךָ. As the Lord *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, God cannot let the desolation of His sanctuary continue without doing injury to His honour; cf. Isa. xlviii. 11.

Ver. 18. The argument by which the prayer is urged, derived from a reference to the desolations, is strengthened by the words in apposition: and the city over which Thy name is named; *i.e.* not which is named after Thy name, by which the meaning of this form of expression is enfeebled. The name of God is the revelation of His being. It is named over Jerusalem in so far as Jehovah gloriously revealed Himself in it; He has raised it, by choosing it as the place of His throne in Israel, to the glory of a city of God; cf. Ps. xlviii. 2 ff., and regarding this form of expression, the remarks under Deut. xxviii. 10.

The expression: and laying down my supplication before God (cf. ver. 20), is derived from the custom of falling down before God in prayer, and is often met with in Jeremiah; cf. ch. xxxviii. 26, xlii. 9, and xxxvi. 7. The *Kethiv* פְּקָחָה (ver. 18, *open*) is to be preferred to the *Keri* פְּקַח, because it is conformed to the imperative forms in ver. 19, and is in accordance with the energy of the prayer. This energy shows itself in the number of words used in vers. 18 and 19. Chr. B. Mich., under ver. 19, has well remarked: "*Fervorem precantis cognoscere licet cum ex anaphora, seu terna et mysterii plena nominis* ADONAI *repetitione, tum ex eo, quod singulis hisce imperativis He paragogicum ad intensiorem adfectum significandum superaddidit, tum ex congerie illa verborum: Audi, Condona, Attende, reliqua.*"

Vers. 20–23. *The granting of the prayer.*—While Daniel was yet engaged in prayer (עַל הַר קָ, on account of the holy mountain, *i.e.* for it, see under ver. 16), an answer was already communicated to him; for the angel Gabriel came to him, and brought to him an explanation of the seventy years of Jeremiah, *i.e.* not as to their expiry, but what would happen after their completion for the city and the people of God. הָאִישׁ גַּ, *the* man Gabriel, refers, by the use of the definite article, back to ch. viii. 15, where Gabriel appeared to him in the form of a man. This is

expressly observed in the relative clause, "whom I saw," etc. Regarding בַּתְּחִלָּה (*at the first*, ver. 21) see under ch. viii. 1. The differently interpreted words, מֻעָף בְּיָעף, belong, from their position, to the relative clause, or specially to רָאִיתִי (*I had seen*), not to נִגַּע, since no ground can be perceived for the placing of the adverbial idea before the verb. The translation of מֻעָף בְּיָעף by *τάχει φερόμενος* (LXX.), *πετόμενος* (Theodot.), *cito volans* (Vulg.), from which the church fathers concluded that the angels were winged, notwithstanding the fact that rabbis, as *e.g.* Jos. Jacchiades, and modern interpreters (Häv., v. Leng., Hitz.) maintain it, is without any foundation in the words, and was probably derived by the old translators from a confounding of יָעֵף with עוּף. יָעֵף means only *wearied, to become tired*, to weary oneself by exertion, in certain places, as *e.g.* Jer. ii. 24, by a long journey or course, but nowhere to run or to flee. יָעף, *weariness*—wearied in weariness, *i.e.* very wearied or tired. According to this interpretation, which the words alone admit of, the expression is applicable, not to the angel, whom, as an unearthly being, we cannot speak of as being wearied, although, with Kranichfeld, one may think of the way from the dwelling-place of God, removed far from His sinful people, to this earth as very long. On the contrary, the words perfectly agree with the condition of Daniel described in ch. viii. 17 f., 27, and Daniel mentions this circumstance, because Gabriel, at his former coming to him, not only helped to strengthen him, but also gave him understanding of the vision, which was to him hidden in darkness, so that his appearing again at once awakened joyful hope. נִגַּע אֵלַי, not he touched me, but *he reached* me, came forward to me. For this meaning of נָגַע cf. 2 Sam. v. 8, Jonah iii. 6. "About the time of the evening sacrifice." מִנְחָה, properly the meat-offering, here comprehending the sacrifice, as is often its meaning in the later Scriptures; cf. Mal. i. 13, ii. 13, iii. 4. The time of the evening oblation was the time of evening prayer for the congregation.

Ver. 22. וַיָּבֶן, *he gave understanding, insight*, as ch. viii. 16. The words point back to ver. 2. First of all Gabriel speaks of the design and the circumstances of his coming. עַתָּה יָצָאתִי, *now*, viz. in consequence of thy morning prayer, *I am come, sc.* from the throne of God. לְהַשְׂכִּילְךָ בִּינָה, *to instruct thee in knowledge*. This is more particularly declared in ver. 23. At the beginning of Daniel's prayer a word, *i.e.* a communication from God, came forth, which he brought. דָּבָר, not a commandment, or the divine commandment to Gabriel to go to Daniel, but a word of God, and particu-

larly the word which he announced to Daniel, vers. 24–27. The sentence, "for thou art a man greatly beloved" (אִישׁ חֲמוּדוֹת=חֲמוּדוֹת, ch. x. 11, 19, *vir desideriorum, desideratissimus*), does not contain the reason for Gabriel's coming in haste, but for the principal thought of the verse, the going forth of the word of God immediately at the beginning of Daniel's prayer. הַמַּרְאֶה stands not for revelation, but is the *vision*, the *appearance* of the angel by whom the word of God was communicated to the prophet. מַרְאֶה is accordingly not the contents of the word spoken, but the form for its communication to Daniel. To both—the word and the form of its revelation—Daniel must give heed. This revelation was, moreover, not communicated to him in a vision, but while in the state of natural consciousness.

Vers. 24–27. *The divine revelation regarding the seventy weeks.* —This message of the angel relates to the most important revelations regarding the future development of the kingdom of God. From the brevity and measured form of the expression, which Auberlen designates "the lapidary style of the upper sanctuary," and from the difficulty of calculating the period named, this verse has been very variously interpreted. The interpretations may be divided into three principal classes. 1. Most of the church fathers and the older orthodox interpreters find prophesied here the appearance of Christ in the flesh, His death, and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. 2. The majority of the modern interpreters, on the other hand, refer the whole passage to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. 3. Finally, some of the church fathers and several modern theologians have interpreted the prophecy eschatologically, as an announcement of the development of the kingdom of God from the end of the Exile on to the perfecting of the kingdom by the second coming of Christ at the end of the days.[1]

[1] The *first* of these views is in our time fully and at length defended by Hävernick (*Comm.*), Hengstenberg (*Christol.* iii. 1, p. 19 ff., 2d ed.), and Auberlen (*Der Proph. Daniel*, u.s.w., p. 103 ff., 3d ed.), and is adopted also by the Catholic theologian Laur. Reinke (*die messian. Weissag. bei den gr. u. kl. Proph. des A. T.* iv. 1, p. 206 ff.), and by Dr. Pusey of England. The *second* view presents itself in the Alexandrine translation of the prophecy, more distinctly in Julius Hilarianus (about A.D. 400) (*Chronologia s. libellus de mundi duratione*, in Migne's *Biblioth. cler. univ.* t. 13, 1098), and in several rabbinical interpreters, but was first brought into special notice by the rationalistic interpreters Eichhorn, Bertholdt, v. Leng., Maurer, Ewald, Hitzig, and the mediating theologians Bleek, Wieseler (*Die* 70 *Wochen u. die* 63 *Jahrwochen des Proph. Daniel*,

In the great multiplicity of opinions, in order to give clearness to the interpretation, we shall endeavour first of all to ascertain the meaning of the words of each clause and verse, and then, after determining exegetically the import of the words, take into consideration the historical references and calculations of the periods of time named, and thus further to establish our view.

The revelation begins, ver. 24, with a general exhibition of the divine counsel regarding the city and the people of God; and then there follows, vers. 25–27, the further unfolding of the execution of this counsel in its principal parts. On this all interpreters are agreed, that the seventy weeks which are determined upon the people and the city are in vers. 25–27 divided into three periods, and are closely defined according to their duration and their contents.

Gött. 1839, with which compare the Retractation in the *Göttinger gel. Anzeigen*, 1846, p. 113 ff.), who are followed by Lücke, Hilgenfeld, Kranichfeld, and others. This view has also been defended by Hofmann (*die 70 Jahre des Jer. u. die 70 Jahrwochen des Daniel*, Nürnb. 1836, and *Weissag. u. Erfüllung*, as also in the *Schriftbew.*), Delitzsch (Art. *Daniel* in Herz.'s *Realenc.* Bd. iii.), and Zündel (in the *Kritischen Unterss.*), but with this essential modification, that Hofmann and Delitzsch have united an eschatological reference with the primary historical reference of vers. 25–27 to Antiochus Epiphanes, in consequence of which the prophecy will be perfectly accomplished only in the appearance of Antichrist and the final completion of the kingdom of God at the end of the days. Of the *third* view we have the first germs in Hippolytus and Apollinaris of Laodicea, who, having regard to the prophecy of Antichrist, ch. vii. 25, refer the statement of ver. 27 of this chapter, regarding the last week, to the end of the world; and the first half of this week they regard as the time of the return of Elias, the second half as the time of Antichrist. This view is for the first time definitely stated in the *Berleburg Bible*. But Kliefoth, in his *Comm. on Daniel*, was the first who sought to investigate and establish this opinion exegetically, and Leyrer (in Herz.'s *Realenc.* xviii. p. 383) has thus briefly stated it:—"The seventy שָׁבֻעִים, *i.e.* the καιροί of Daniel (ch. ix. 24 ff.) measured by sevens, within which the whole of God's plan of salvation in the world will be completed, are a symbolical period with reference to the seventy years of exile prophesied by Jeremiah, and with the accessory notion of œcumenicity. The 70 is again divided into three periods: into 7 (till Christ), 62 (till the apostasy of Antichrist), and *one* שָׁבוּעַ, the last world-ἑπτά, divided into $2 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ times, the rise and the fall of Antichrist."

For the history of the interpretation, compare for the patristic period the treatise of Professor Reusch of Bonn, entitled "*Die Patrist. Berechnung der 70 Jahrwochen Daniels*," in the *Tüb. theol. Quart.* 1868, p. 535 ff.; for the period of the middle ages and of more modern times, Abr. Calovii Ἐξηγήσεις *theologica de septuaginta septimanis Danielis*, in the *Biblia illustr. ad Dan.* ix., and Hävernick's History of the Interpretation in his *Comm.* p. 386 ff.; and for the most recent period, R. Baxmann on the Book of Daniel in the *Theolog. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1863, iii. p. 497 ff.

Ver. 24. *Seventy weeks are determined.*—שָׁבֻעִים from שָׁבוּעַ, properly, the time divided into sevenths, signifies commonly the period of seven days, the week, as Gen. xxix. 27 f. (in the sing.), and Dan. x. 2, 3, in the plur., which is usually in the form שָׁבֻעוֹת; cf. Deut. xvi. 9 f., Ex. xxxiv. 22, etc. In the form שָׁבְעִים there thus lies no intimation that it is not common weeks that are meant. As little does it lie in the numeral being placed after it, for it also sometimes is found before it, where, as here, the noun as the weightier idea must be emphasized, and that not by later authors merely, but also in Gen. xxxii. 15 f., 1 Kings viii. 63; cf. Gesen. *Lehrgeb.* p. 698. What period of time is here denoted by שָׁבְעִים can be determined neither from the word itself and its form, nor from the comparison with שָׁבְעִים יָמִים, ch. x. 2, 3, since יָמִים is in these verses added to שָׁבְעִים, not for the purpose of designating these as day-weeks, but simply as full weeks (three weeks long). The reasons for the opinion that common (*i.e.* seven-day) weeks are not intended, lie partly in the contents of vers. 25 and 27, which undoubtedly teach that that which came to pass in the sixty-two weeks and in the one week could not take place in common weeks, partly in the reference of the seventy שָׁבְעִים to the seventy years of Jeremiah, ver. 2. According to a prophecy of Jeremiah—so *e.g.* Hitzig reasons—Jerusalem must lie desolate for seventy years, and now, in the sixty-ninth year, the city and the temple are as yet lying waste (ver. 17 f.), and as yet nowhere are there symptoms of any change. Then, in answer to his supplication, Daniel received the answer, seventy שָׁבְעִים must pass before the full working out of the deliverance. "If the deliverance was not yet in seventy years, then still less was it in seventy weeks. With seventy times seven months we are also still inside of seventy years, and we are directed therefore to year-weeks, so that each week shall consist of seven years. The special account of the contents of the weeks can be adjusted with the year-weeks alone; and the half-week, ver. 27, particularly appears to be identical in actual time with these three and a half times (years), ch. vii. 25." This latter element is by others much more definitely affirmed. Thus *e.g.* Kranichfeld says that Daniel had no doubt about the definite extent of the expression שָׁבוּעַ, but gave an altogether unambiguous interpretation of it when he combined the last half-week *essentially* with the known and definite three and a half *years* of the time of the end. But—we must, on the contrary, ask—where does Daniel speak of the three and a half *years* of the time of the end? He does not use

the word *year* in any of the passages that fall to be here considered, but only עֵדָן or מוֹעֵד, time, definite time. That by this word common years are to be understood, is indeed taken for granted by many interpreters, but a satisfactory proof of such a meaning has not been adduced. Moreover, in favour of year-weeks (periods of seven years) it has been argued that such an interpretation was very natural, since they hold so prominent a place in the law of Moses; and the Exile had brought them anew very distinctly into remembrance, inasmuch as the seventy years' desolation of the land was viewed as a punishment for the interrupted festival of the sabbatical year: 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21 (Hgstb., Kran., and others). But since these periods of seven years, as Hengstenberg himself confesses, are not called in the law שָׁבֻעִים or שָׁבֻעוֹת, therefore, from the repeated designation of the seventh year as that of the great Sabbath merely (Lev. xxv. 2, 4, 5, xxvi. 34, 35, 43; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21), the idea of year-weeks in no way follows. The law makes mention not only of the Sabbath-year, but also of periods of seven times seven years, after the expiry of which a year of jubilee was always to be celebrated (Lev. xxv. 8 ff.). These, as well as the Sabbath-years, might be called שָׁבֻעִים. Thus the idea of year-weeks has no exegetical foundation. Hofmann and Kliefoth are in the right when they remark that שָׁבֻעִים does not necessarily mean year-weeks, but an intentionally indefinite designation of a period of time measured by the number seven, whose chronological duration must be determined on other grounds. The ἅπ. λεγ. חָתַךְ means in Chald. to cut off, to cut up into pieces, then to decide, to determine closely, *e.g.* Targ. Esth. iv. 5; cf. Buxtorf, *Lex. talm.*, and Levy, *Chald. Wörterb.* s.v. The meaning for נֶחְתָּךְ, *abbreviatæ sunt* (*Vulg.* for ἐκολοβώθησαν, Matt. xxiv. 22), which Wieseler has brought forward, is not proved, and it is unsuitable, because if one cuts off a piece from a whole, the whole is diminished on account of the piece cut off, but not the piece itself. For the explanation of the sing. נֶחְתָּךְ we need neither the supposition that a definite noun, as עֵת (*time*), was before the prophet's mind (Hgstb.), nor the appeal to the inexact manner of writing of the later authors (Ewald). The sing. is simply explained by this, that שָׁבֻעִים שִׁבְעִים is conceived of as the absolute idea, and then is taken up by the passive verb impersonal, to mark that the seventy sevenths are to be viewed as a whole, as a continued period of seventy seven times following each other.

Upon thy people and upon thy holy city. In the עַל there

does not lie the conception of that which is burdensome, or that this period would be a time of suffering like the seventy years of exile (v. Lengerke). The word only indicates that such a period of time was determined upon the people. The people and the city of Daniel are called the people and the city of God, because Daniel has just represented them before God as His (Hävernick, v. Lengerke, Kliefoth). But Jerusalem, even when in ruins, is called the holy city by virtue of its past and its future history; cf. ver. 20. This predicate does not point, as Wieseler and Hitzig have rightly acknowledged, to a time when the temple stood, as Stähelin and v. Lengerke suppose. Only this lies in it, Kliefoth has justly added,—not, however, in the predicate of holiness, but rather in the whole expression,—that the people and city of God shall not remain in the state of desolation in which they then were, but shall at some time be again restored, and shall continue during the time mentioned. One must not, however, at once conclude that this promise of continuance referred only to the people of the Jews and their earthly Jerusalem. Certainly it refers first to Israel after the flesh, and to the geographical Jerusalem, because these were then the people and the city of God; but these ideas are not exhausted in this reference, but at the same time embrace the New Testament church and the church of God on earth.

The following infinitive clauses present the object for which the seventy weeks are determined, *i.e.* they intimate what shall happen till, or with the expiry of, the time determined. Although ל before the infinitive does not mean till or during, yet it is also not correct to say that ל can point out only the issue which the period of time finally reaches, only its result. Whether that which is stated in the infinitive clauses shall for the first time take place after the expiry of, or at the end of the time named, or shall develope itself gradually in the course of it, and only be completed at the end of it, cannot be concluded from the final ל, but only from the material contents of the final clauses. The six statements are divided by Maurer, Hitzig, Kranichfeld, and others into three passages of two members each, thus: After the expiry of seventy weeks, there shall (1) be completed the measure of sin; (2) the sin shall be covered and righteousness brought in; (3) the prophecy shall be fulfilled, and the temple, which was desecrated by Antiochus, shall be again consecrated. The Masoretes seem, however, to have already conceived of this threefold division by placing the Atnach

under צֶדֶק עֹלָמִים (the fourth clause); but it rests on a false construction of the individual members especially of the first two passages. Rather we have two three-membered sentences before us. This appears evident from the arrangement of the six statements; *i.e.* that the first three statements treat of the taking away of sin, and thus of the negative side of the deliverance; the three last treat of the bringing in of everlasting righteousness with its consequences, and thus of the positive deliverance, and in such a manner that in both classes the three members stand in reciprocal relation to each other: the fourth statement corresponds to the first, the fifth to the second, the sixth to the third—the second and the fifth present even the same verb חתם.

In the first and second statements the reading is doubtful. Instead of לַחְתֹּם (*Keth.*), *to seal*, the *Keri* has לְהָתֵם, *to end* (R. תָּמַם, *to complete*). In לְכַלֵּא a double reading is combined, for the vowel-points do not belong to the *Keth.*, which rather has לְכְלֹא, since כָּלָא is nowhere found in the *Piel*, but to the *Keri*, for the Masoretes hold כלא to be of the same meaning as כלה, *to be ended*. Thus the ancient translators interpreted it: LXX., *τὰς ἀδικίας σπανίσαι*; Theod., *συντελεσθῆναι*, *al. συντελέσαι*; Aquil., *συντελέσαι τὴν ἀθεσίαν*; Vulg., *ut consummetur prævaricatio*. Bertholdt, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Winer, Ewald, Hitzig, Maurer, have followed them in supposing a passing of ה into א. But since כָּלָה occurs frequently in Daniel, always with ה (cf. ver. 27, ch. ch. xi. 36, xii. 7), and generally the roots with ה take the form of those with א much seldomer than the reverse, on these grounds the reading לְכַלֵּא thus deserves the preference, apart from the consideration that almost all the *Keris* are valueless emendations of the Masoretes; and the parallel לְהתם, decidedly erroneous, is obviously derived from ch. viii. 23. Thus the *Keri* does not give in the two passages a suitable meaning. The explanation: to finish the transgression and to make full the measure of sin, does not accord with what follows: to pardon the iniquity; and the thought that the Jews would fill up the measure of their transgression in the seventy year-weeks, and that as a punishment they would pass through a period of suffering from Antiochus and afterwards be pardoned, is untenable, because the punishment by Antiochus for their sins brought to their full measure is arbitrarily interpolated; but without this interpolation the pardon of the sins stands in contradiction to the filling up of their measure. Besides, this explanation is further opposed by the

fact, that in the first two statements there must be a different subject from that which is in the third. For to fill up the measure of sin is the work of men; to pardon or forgive sin, on the other hand, is the work of God. Accordingly the *Kethiv* alone is to be adopted as correct, and the first passage to be translated thus: *to shut up the transgression.* כָּלָא means to hold back, to hold in, to arrest, to hold in prison, to shut in or shut up; hence כֶּלֶא, a prison, jail. To arrest the wickedness or shut it up does not mean to pardon it, but to hem it in, to hinder it so that it can no longer spread about (Hofm.); cf. Zech. v. 8 and Rev. xx. 3.

In the second passage, "*to seal up sin*," the חַטָּאוֹת are the several proofs of the transgression. חָתַם, to seal, does not denote the finishing or ending of the sins (Theodrt. and others). Like the Arab. خَتَمَ, it may occur in the sense of "to end," and this meaning may have originated from the circumstance that one is wont at the end of a letter or document to affix the impress of a seal; yet this meaning is nowhere found in Hebr.: see under Ex. xxviii. 12. The figure of the sealing stands here in connection with the shutting up in prison. Cf. ch. vi. 18, the king for greater security sealed up the den into which Daniel was cast. Thus also God seals the hand of man that it cannot move, Job xxxvii. 7, and the stars that they cannot give light, Job ix. 7. But in this figure to seal is not = to take away, according to which Hgstb. and many others explain it thus: the sins are here described as sealed, because they are altogether removed out of the sight of God, altogether set aside; for "that which is shut up and sealed is not merely taken away, entirely set aside, but guarded, held under lock and seal" (Kliefoth). Hence more correctly Hofmann and Kliefoth say, "If the sins are *sealed*, they are on the one side laid under custody, so that they cannot any more be active or increase, but that they may thus be guarded and held, so that they can no longer be pardoned and blotted out;" cf. Rev. xx. 3.

The third statement is, "*to make reconciliation for iniquity.*" כִּפֶּר is *terminus techn.*, to pardon, to blot out by means of a sin-offering, *i.e.* to forgive.

These three passages thus treat of the setting aside of sin and its blotting out; but they neither form a climax nor a mere *συναθροισμός*, a multiplying of synonymous expressions for the pardoning of sins, *ut tota peccatorum humani generis colluvies eo melius*

comprehenderetur (M. Geier). Against the idea of a climax it is justly objected, that in that case the strongest designation of sin, הַפֶּשַׁע, which designates sin as a falling away from God, a rebelling against Him, should stand last, whereas it occurs in the first sentence. Against the idea of a *συναθροισμός* it is objected, that the words "to shut up" and "to seal" are not synonymous with "to make reconciliation for," *i.e.* "to forgive." The three expressions, it is true, all treat alike of the setting aside of sin, but in different ways. The first presents the general thought, that the falling away shall be shut up, the progress and the spreading of the sin shall be prevented. The other two expressions define more closely how the source whence arises the apostasy shall be shut up, the going forth and the continued operation of the sin prevented. This happens in one way with unbelievers, and in a different way with believers. The sins of unbelievers are sealed, are guarded securely under a seal, so that they may no more spread about and increase, nor any longer be active and operative; but the sins of believers are forgiven through a reconciliation. The former idea is stated in the second member, and the latter in the third, as Hofmann and Kliefoth have rightly remarked.

There follows the second group of three statements, which treat of the positive unfolding of salvation accompanying the taking away and the setting aside of sin. The first expression of this group, or the fourth in the whole number, is "*to bring in everlasting righteousness.*" After the entire setting aside of sin must come a righteousness which shall never cease. That צֶדֶק does not mean "happiness of the olden time" (Bertholdt, Rösch), nor "innocence of the former better times" (J. D. Michaelis), but "righteousness," requires at present no further proof. Righteousness comes from heaven as the gift of God (Ps. lxxxv. 11–14; Isa. li. 5–8), rises as a sun upon them that fear God (Mal. iii. 20), and is here called *everlasting*, corresponding to the eternity of the Messianic kingdom (cf. ii. 44, vii. 18, 27). צֶדֶק comprehends the internal and the external righteousness of the new heavens and the new earth, 2 Pet. iii. 13. This fourth expression forms the positive supplement of the first: in the place of the absolutely removed transgression is the perfected righteousness.

In the fifth passage, *to seal up the vision and prophecy*, the word חָתַם, used in the second passage of sin, is here used of righteousness. The figure of sealing is regarded by many interpreters in the sense of confirming, and that by filling up, with reference

to the custom of impressing a seal on a writing for the confirmation of its contents; and in illustration these references are given: 1 Kings xxi. 8, and Jer. xxxii. 10, 11, 44 (Hävernick, v. Lengerke, Ewald, Hitzig, and others). But for this figurative use of the word to seal, no proof-passages are adduced from the O. T. Add to this that the word cannot be used here in a different sense from that in which it is used in the second passage. The sealing of the prophecy corresponds to the sealing of the transgression, and must be similarly understood. The prophecy is sealed when it is laid under a seal, so that it can no longer actively show itself.

The interpretation of the object חָזוֹן וְנָבִיא is also disputed. Berth., Ros., Bleek, Ewald, Hitzig, Wieseler, refer it to the prophecy of the seventy weeks (Jer. xxv. and xxix.), mentioned in ver. 2. But against this view stands the fact of the absence of the article; for if by חָזוֹן *that* prophecy is intended, an intimation of this would have been expected at least by the definite article, and here particularly would have been altogether indispensable. It is also condemned by the word נָבִיא added, which shows that both words are used in comprehensive generality for all existing prophecies and prophets. Not only the prophecy, but the prophet who gives it, *i.e.* not merely the prophecy, but also the calling of the prophet, must be sealed. Prophecies and prophets are sealed, when by the full realization of all prophecies prophecy ceases, no prophets any more appear. The extinction of prophecy in consequence of its fulfilment is not, however (with Hengstenberg), to be sought in the time of the manifestation of Christ in the flesh; for then only the prophecy of the Old Covenant reached its end (cf. Matt. xi. 13, Luke xxii. 37, John i. 46), and its place is occupied by the prophecy of the N. T., the fulfilling of which is still in the future, and which will not come to an end and terminate (*καταργηθήσεται*, 1 Cor. xiii. 8) till the kingdom of God is perfected in glory at the termination of the present course of the world's history, at the same time with the full conclusive fulfilment of the O. T. prophecy; cf. Acts. iii. 21. This fifth member stands over against the second, as the fourth does over against the first. "When the sins are sealed, the prophecy is also sealed, for prophecy is needed in the war against sin; when sin is thus so placed that it can no longer operate, then prophecy also may come to a state of rest; when sin comes to an end in its place, prophecy can come to an end also by its fulfilment, there being no place for it after the setting aside of sin. And when the apostasy is shut up, so that it

can no more spread about, then righteousness will be brought, that it may possess the earth, now freed from sin, shut up in its own place" (Kliefoth).

The sixth and last clause, *to anoint a most holy*, is very differently interpreted. Those interpreters who seek the fulfilment of this word of revelation in the time following nearest the close of the Exile, or in the time of the Maccabees, refer this clause either to the consecration of the altar of burnt-offering (Wieseler), which was restored by Zerubbabel and Joshua (Ezra iii. 2 ff.), or to the consecration of the temple of Zerubbabel (J. D. Michaelis, Jahn, Steudel), or to the consecration of the altar of burnt-offering which was desecrated by Antiochus Epiphanes, 1 Macc. iv. 54 (Hitzig, Kranichfeld, and others). But none of these interpretations can be justified. It is opposed by the *actual fact*, that neither in the consecration of Zerubbabel's temple, nor at the re-consecration of the altar of burnt-offering desecrated by Antiochus, is mention made of any anointing. According to the definite, uniform tradition of the Jews, the holy anointing oil did not exist during the time of the second temple. Only the Mosaic sanctuary of the tabernacle, with its altars and vessels, were consecrated by anointing. Ex. xxx. 22 ff., xl. 1–16; Lev. viii. 10 ff. There is no mention of anointing even at the consecration of Solomon's temple, 1 Kings viii. and 2 Chron. v.–vii., because that temple only raised the tabernacle to a fixed dwelling, and the ark of the covenant as the throne of God, which was the most holy furniture thereof, was brought from the tabernacle to the temple. Even the altar of burnt-offering of the new temple (Ezek. xliii. 20, 26) was not consecrated by anointing, but only by the offering of blood. Then the special fact of the consecration of the altar of burnt-offering, or of the temple, does not accord with the general expressions of the other members of this verse, and was on the whole not so significant and important an event as that one might expect it to be noticed after the foregoing expressions. What Kranichfeld says in confirmation of this interpretation is very far-fetched and weak. He remarks, that "as in this verse the prophetic statements relate to a taking away and כִּפֶּר of sins, in the place of which righteousness is restored, accordingly the anointing will also stand in relation to this sacred action of the כִּפֶּר, which primarily and above all conducts to the significance of the altar of Israel, that, viz., which stood in the outer court." But, even granting this to be correct, it proves nothing as to the anointing even of the altar of burnt-

offering. For the preceding clauses speak not only of the כפר of transgression, but also of the taking away (closing and sealing) of the apostasy and of sin, and thus of a setting aside of sin, which did not take place by means of a sacrifice. The fullest expiation also for the sins of Israel which the O. T. knew, viz. that on the great day of atonement, was not made on the altar of burnt-offering, but by the sprinkling of the blood of the offering on the ark of the covenant in the holy of holies, and on the altar of incense in the most holy place. If מָשַׁח is to be explained after the כִּפֶּר, then by "holy of holies" we would have to understand not "primarily" the altar of burnt-offering, but above all the holy vessels of the inner sanctuary, because here it is not an atonement needing to be repeated that is spoken of, but one that avails for ever.

In addition to this, there is the *verbal* argument that the words קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים are not used of a single holy vessel which alone could be thought of. Not only the altar of burnt-offering is so named, Ex. xxix. 37, xl. 10, but also the altar of incense, Ex. xxx. 10, and the two altars with all the vessels of the sanctuary, the ark of the covenant, shew-bread, candlesticks, basins, and the other vessels belonging thereto, Ex. xxx. 29, also the holy material for incense, Ex. xxx. 36, the shew-bread, Lev. xxiv. 9, the meat-offering, Lev. ii. 3, 10, vi. 10, x. 12, the flesh of the sin-offering and of the expiatory sacrifice, Lev. vi. 10, 18, x. 17, vii. 1, 6, xiv. 13, Num. xviii. 9, and that which was sanctified to the Lord, Lev. xxvii. 28. Finally, the whole surroundings of the hill on which the temple stood, Ezek. xliii. 12, and the whole new temple, Ezek. xlv. 3, is named a "most holy;" and according to 1 Chron. xxiii. 13, Aaron and his sons are sanctified as קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים.

Thus there is no good ground for referring this expression to the consecration of the altar of burnt-offering. Such a reference is wholly excluded by the fact that the consecration of Zerubbabel's temple and altar, as well as of that which was desecrated by Antiochus, was a work of man, while the anointing of a "most holy" in the verse before us must be regarded as a divine act, because the three preceding expressions beyond controversy announce divine actions. Every anointing, indeed, of persons or of things was performed by men, but it becomes a work of God when it is performed with the divinely ordained holy anointing oil by priests or prophets according to God's command, and then it is the means and the symbol of the endowment or equipment with the Spirit of God. When Saul was anointed by Samuel, the Spirit of

the Lord came upon him, 1 Sam. x. 9 ff. The same thing was denoted by the anointing of David, 1 Sam. xvi. 13 f. The anointing also of the tabernacle and its vessels served the same object, consecrating them as the place and the means of carrying on the gracious operations of the Spirit of God. As an evidence of this, the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle after it was set up and consecrated. At the dedication of the sanctuary after the Exile, under Zerubbabel and in the Maccabean age, the anointing was wanting, and there was no entrance into it also of the glory of the Lord. Therefore these consecrations cannot be designated as anointings and as the works of God, and the angel cannot mean these works of men by the "anointing of a most holy."

Much older, more general, and also nearer the truth, is the explanation which refers these words to the anointing of the Messiah, an explanation which is established by various arguments. The translation of the LXX., *καὶ εὐφράναι ἅγιον ἁγίων*, and of Theod., *τοῦ χρῖσαι ἅγιον ἁγίων*, the meaning of which is controverted, is generally understood by the church Fathers as referring to the Messiah. Theodoret sets it forth as undoubtedly correct, and as accepted even by the Jews; and the old Syriac translator has introduced into the text the words, "till the Messiah, the Most Holy."[1] But this interpretation is set aside by the absence of the article. Without taking into view 1 Chron. xxiii. 13, the words קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים are nowhere used of persons, but only of things. This meaning lies at the foundation of the passage in the book of Chronicles referred to, "that he should sanctify a קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים, anoint him (Aaron) to be a most holy thing." Following Hävernick, therefore, Hengstenberg (2d ed. of his *Christol.* iii. p. 54) seeks to make this meaning applicable also for the Messianic interpretation, for he thinks that Christ is here designated as a most holy thing. But neither in the fact that the high priest bore on his brow the inscription קֹדֶשׁ לַיהוָה, nor in the declaration regarding Jehovah, "He shall be לְמִקְדָּשׁ," Isa. viii. 14, cf. Ezek. xi. 16, is there any ground for the conclusion that the Messiah could simply be designated as a most holy thing. In Luke i. 35 Christ is spoken of by the simple neuter *ἅγιον*, but not by the word

[1] Eusebius, *Demonstr. Ev.* viii. 2, p. 387, ed. Colon., opposes the opinion that the translation of Aquila, *καὶ ἀλεῖψαι ἡγιασμένον ἡγιασμένων*, may be understood of the Jewish high priest. Cf. Raymundis Martini, *Pugio fidei*, p. 285, ed. Carpz., and Edzard *ad Abodah Sara*, p. 246 sq., for evidences of the diffusion of this interpretation among the Jews.

"object;" and the passages in which Jesus is described as ὁ ἅγιος, Acts iii. 14, iv. 30, 1 John ii. 20, Rev. iii. 7, prove nothing whatever as to this use of קֹדֶשׁ of Christ. Nothing to the purpose also can be gathered from the connection of the sentence. If in what follows the person of the Messiah comes forward to view, it cannot be thence concluded that He must also be mentioned in this verse.

Much more satisfactory is the thought, that in the words "to anoint a קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים" the reference is to the anointing of a new sanctuary, temple, or most holy place. The absence of the article forbids us, indeed, from thinking of the most holy place of the earthly temple which was rebuilt by Zerubbabel, since the most holy place of the tabernacle as well as of the temple is constantly called קֹדֶשׁ הַקָּדָשִׁים. But it is not this definite holy of holies that is intended, but a new holy of holies which should be in the place of the holy of holies of the tabernacle and the temple of Solomon. Now, since the new temple of the future seen by Ezekiel, with all its surroundings, is called (Ezek. xlv. 3) קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים, Hofmann (*de 70 Jahre*, p. 65) thinks that the holy of holies is the whole temple, and its anointing with oil a figure of the sanctification of the church by the Holy Ghost, but that this shall not be in the conspicuousness in which it is here represented till the time of the end, when the perfected church shall possess the conspicuousness of a visible sanctuary. But, on the contrary, Kliefoth (p. 307) has with perfect justice replied, that "the most holy, and the temple, so far as it has a most holy place, is not the place of the congregation where it comes to God and is with God, but, on the contrary, is the place where God is present for the congregation, and manifests Himself to it." The words under examination say nothing of the people and the congregation which God will gather around the place of His gracious presence, but of the objective place where God seeks to dwell among His people and reveal Himself to them. The anointing is the act by which the place is consecrated to be a holy place of the gracious presence and revelation of God. If thus the anointing of a most holy is here announced, then by it there is given the promise, not of the renewal of the place already existing from of old, but of the appointment of a new place of God's gracious presence among His people, a new sanctuary. This, as Kliefoth further justly observes, apart from the connection, might refer to the work of redemption perfected by the coming of Christ, which has indeed created in

Him a new place of the gracious presence of God, a new way of God's dwelling among men. But since this statement is closely connected with those going before, and they speak of the perfect setting aside of transgression and of sin, of the appearance of everlasting righteousness, and the shutting up of all prophecy by its fulfilment, thus of things for which the work of redemption completed by the first appearance of Christ has, it is true, laid the everlasting foundation, but which first reach their completion in the full carrying through of this work of salvation in the return of the Lord by the final judgment, and the establishment of the kingdom of glory under the new heavens and on the new earth,—since this is the case, we must refer this sixth statement also to that time of the consummation, and understand it of the establishment of the new holy of holies which was shown to the holy seer on Patmos as ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, in which God will dwell with them, and they shall become His people, and He shall be their God with them (Rev. xxi. 1–3). In this holy city there will be no temple, for the Lord, the Almighty God, and the Lamb is its temple, and the glory of God will lighten it (vers. 22, 23). Into it nothing shall enter that defileth or worketh abomination (ver. 27), for sin shall then be closed and sealed up; there shall righteousness dwell (2 Pet. iii. 13), and prophecy shall cease (1 Cor. xiii. 8) by its fulfilment.

From the contents of these six statements it thus appears that the termination of the seventy weeks coincides with the end of the present course of the world. But ver. 24 says nothing as to the commencement of this period. Nor can this be determined, as many interpreters think, from the relation in which the revelation of the seventy weeks stands to the prayer of Daniel, occasioned by Jeremiah's prophecy of the seventy years of the desolation of Jerusalem. If Daniel, in the sixty-ninth year of the desolation, made supplication to the Lord for mercy in behalf of Jerusalem and Israel, and on the occasion of this prayer God caused Gabriel to lay open to him that seventy weeks were determined upon the city and the people of God, it by no means thence follows that seventy year-weeks must be substituted in place of the seventy years prophesied of, that both commence simultaneously, and thus that the seventy years of the Exile shall be prolonged to a period of oppression for Israel lasting for seventy year-weeks. Such a supposition is warranted neither by the contents of the prophecy of Jeremiah, nor by the message of the angel to Daniel. Jeremiah, it

is true, prophesied not merely of seventy years of the desolation of Jerusalem and Judah, but also of the judgment upon Babylon after the expiry of these years, and the collecting together and bringing back of Israel from all the countries whither they were scattered into their own land (ch. xxv. 10–12, xxix. 10–14); but in his supplication Daniel had in his eye only the desolation of the land of Jeremiah's prophecy, and prayed for the turning away of the divine anger from Jerusalem, and for the pardon of Israel's sins. Now if the words of the angel had been, "not seventy years, but seventy year-weeks, are determined over Israel," this would have been no answer to Daniel's supplication, at least no comforting answer, to bring which to him the angel was commanded to go forth in haste. Then the angel announces in ver. 24 much more than the return of Israel from the Exile to their own land. But this is decided by the contents of the following verses, in which the space of seventy weeks is divided into three periods, and at the same time the commencement of the period is determined in a way which excludes its connection with the beginning of the seventy years of the Exile.

Ver. 25. The detailed statement of the 70 שָׁבֻעִים in 7 + 62 + 1 (vers. 25, 26, 27), with the fuller description of that which was to happen in the course of these three periods of time, incontrovertibly shows that these three verses are a further explication of the contents of ver. 24. This explication is introduced by the words: "Know therefore, and understand," which do not announce a new prophecy, as Wieseler and Hofmann suppose, but only point to the importance of the further opening up of the contents of ver. 24, since וְתַשְׂכֵּל (*and thou wilt understand*) stands in distinct relation to לְהַשְׂכִּילְךָ בִינָה (*to give thee skill and understanding*, ver. 22). The two parts of ver. 25 contain the statements regarding the first two portions of the whole period, the seven and the sixty-two שָׁבֻעִים, and are rightly separated by the Masoretes by placing the Athnach under שָׁבֻעָה. The first statement is: "*from the going forth of the command to restore and to build Jerusalem unto a Messiah* (Gesalbten), *a prince, shall be seven weeks.*" מֹצָא דָבָר (*from the going forth of the commandment*) formally corresponds, indeed, to יָצָא דָבָר (*the commandment came forth*), ver. 23, emphatically expressing a decision on the part of God, but the two expressions are not actually to be identified; for *the commandment*, ver. 23, is the divine revelation communicated in vers. 24–27, which the angel brings to Daniel; *the commandment* in ver. 25 is, on the contrary, more fully determined by the words, *to restore and to build*, etc. לְהָשִׁיב

is not to be joined adverbially with וְלִבְנוֹת so as to form *one* idea: *to build again;* for, though שׁוּב may be thus used adverbially in Kal, yet the Hiphil הֵשִׁיב is not so used. הֵשִׁיב means *to lead back, to bring again,* then *to restore;* cf. for this last meaning Isa. i. 26, Ps. lxxx. 4, 8, 20. The object to לְהָשִׁיב follows immediately after the word וְלִבְנוֹת, namely, Jerusalem. The supplementing of עַם, *people* (Wieseler, Kliefoth, and others), is arbitrary, and is not warranted by Jer. xxix. 10. To bring back, to restore a city, means to raise it to its former state; denotes the *restitutio*, but not necessarily the full *restitutio in integrum* (against Hengstenberg). Here לִבְנוֹת is added, as in the second half of the verse to תָּשׁוּב, yet not so as to make one idea with it, *restoring to build,* or *building to restore, i.e.* to build up again to the old extent. בָּנָה as distinguished from הֵשִׁיב denotes the building after restoring, and includes the constant preservation in good building condition, as well as the carrying forward of the edifice beyond its former state.

But if we ask when this commandment went forth, in order that we may thereby determine the beginning of the seven weeks, and, since they form the first period of the seventy, at the same time determine the beginning of the seventy weeks, the words and the context only supply this much, that by the "commandment" is meant neither the word of God which is mentioned in ver. 23, nor that mentioned in ver. 2. It is not that which is mentioned in ver. 23, because it says nothing about the restoration of Jerusalem, but speaks only of the whole message of the angel. Nor yet is it the word of God which is mentioned in ver. 2, the prophecies given in Jer. xxv. and xxix., as Hitzig, Kranichfeld, and others suppose. For although from these prophecies it conclusively follows, that after the expiry of the seventy years with the return of Israel into their own land, Jerusalem shall again be built up, yet they do not speak of that which shall happen after the seventy years, but only of that which shall happen within that period, namely, that Jerusalem shall for so long a time lie desolate, as ver. 2 expressly affirms. The prophecy of the seventy years' duration of the desolation of Jerusalem (ver. 2) cannot possibly be regarded as the commandment (in ver. 25) to restore Jerusalem (Kliefoth). As little can we, with Hitzig, think on Jer. xxx. and xxxi., because this prophecy contains nothing whatever of a period of time, and in this verse before us there is no reference to this prophecy. The restoration of Israel and of Jerusalem has indeed been prophesied of in general, not merely by Jeremiah, but also long before him

by Isaiah (ch. xl.–lxvi.). With as much justice may we think on Isa. xl. ff. as on Jer. xxx. and xxxi.; but all such references are excluded by this fact, that the angel names the commandment for the restoration of Jerusalem as the *terminus a quo* for the seventy weeks, and thus could mean only a word of God whose going forth was somewhere determined, or could be determined, just as the appearance of the מָשִׁיחַ נָגִיד is named as the termination of the seven weeks. Accordingly "the going forth of the commandment to restore," etc., must be a *factum* coming into visibility, the time of which could without difficulty be known—a word from God regarding the restoration of Jerusalem which went forth by means of a man at a definite time, and received an observable historical execution.

Now, with Calvin, Œcolampadius, Kleinert, Nägelsbach, Ebrard, and Kliefoth, we can think of nothing more appropriate than the edict of Cyrus (Ezra i.) which permitted the Jews to return, from which the termination of the Exile is constantly dated, and from the time of which this return, together with the building up of Jerusalem, began, and was carried forward, though slowly (Klief.). The prophecy of Isa. xliv. 28, that God would by means of Cyrus speak to cause Jerusalem to be built, and the foundation of the temple to be laid, directs us to this edict. With reference to this prophecy, it is said in Ezra vi. 14, "They builded according to the commandment of the God of Israel, and according to the commandment of the king of Persia." This is acknowledged even by Hengstenberg, who yet opposes this reference; for he remarks (*Christol.* iii. p. 142), "If the statement were merely of the commencement of the building, then they would undoubtedly be justified who place the starting-point in the first year of Cyrus. Isaiah (ch. xlv. 13) commends Cyrus as the builder of the city; and all the sacred writings which relate to the period from the time of Cyrus to Nehemiah distinctly state the actual existence of a Jerusalem during this period." But according to his explanation, the words of the angel do not announce the beginning of the building of the city, but much rather the beginning of its "completed restoration according to its ancient extent and its ancient glory." But that this is not contained in the words לְהָשִׁיב וְלִבְנוֹת we have already remarked, to which is to be added, that the placing in opposition the commencement of the building and the commencement of its completed restoration is quite arbitrary and vain, since certainly the commencement of the restoration at the same

time includes in it the commencement of the completed restoration. In favour of interpreting לְהָשִׁיב of the completed restoration, Hengstenberg remarks that "in the announcement the temple is named along with the city in ver. 26 as well as in ver. 27. That with the announcement of the building the temple is not named here, that mention is made only of the building of the streets of the city, presupposes the sanctuary as already built up at the commencement of the building which is here spoken of; and the existence of the temple again requires that a commencement of the rebuilding of the city had also been already made, since it is not probable that the angel should have omitted just that which was the weightiest matter, that for which Daniel was most grieved, and about which he had prayed (cf. vers. 17, 20) with the greatest solicitude." But the validity of this conclusion is not obvious. In ver. 26 the naming of the temple along with the city is required by the facts of the case, and this verse treats of what shall happen after the sixty-two weeks. How, then, shall it be thence inferred that the temple should also be mentioned along with the city in ver. 25, where the subject is that which forms the beginning of the seven or of the seventy weeks, and that, since this was not done, the temple must have been then already built? The non-mention of the temple in ver. 24, as in ver. 25, is fully and simply explained by this, that the word of the angel stands in definite relation to the prayer of Daniel, but that Daniel was moved by Jeremiah's prophecy of the seventy years' duration of the חָרְבוֹת of Jerusalem to pray for the turning away of the divine wrath from the city. As Jeremiah, in the announcement of the seventy years' desolation of the land, did not specially mention the destruction of the temple, so also the angel, in the decree regarding the seventy weeks which are determined upon the people of Israel and the holy city, makes no special mention of the temple; as, however, in Jeremiah's prophecy regarding the desolation of the land, the destruction not only of Jerusalem, but also of the temple, is included, so also in the building of the holy city is included that of the temple, by which Jerusalem was made a holy city. Although thus the angel, in the passage before us, does not expressly speak of the building of the temple, but only of the holy city, we can maintain the reference of the מֹצָא דָבָר to the edict of Cyrus, which constituted an epoch in the history of Israel, and consider this edict as the beginning of the termination of the seven *resp.* seventy weeks.

The words עַד מָשִׁיחַ נָגִיד show the termination of the seven weeks. The words מָשִׁיחַ נָגִיד are not to be translated *an anointed prince* (Bertholdt); for מָשִׁיחַ cannot be an adjective to נָגִיד, because in Hebr. the adjective is always placed after the substantive, with few exceptions, which are inapplicable to this case; cf. Ewald's *Lehrb.* § 293*b*. Nor can מָשִׁיחַ be a participle: *till a prince is anointed* (Steudel), but it is a noun, and נָגִיד is connected with it by apposition: *an anointed one, who at the same time is a prince.* According to the O. T., kings and priests, and only these, were anointed. Since, then, מָשִׁיחַ is brought forward as the principal designation, we may not by נָגִיד think of a priest-prince, but only of a prince of the people, nor by מָשִׁיחַ of a king, but only of a priest; and by מָשִׁיחַ נָגִיד we must understand a person who first and specially is a priest, and in addition is a prince of the people, a king. The separation of the two words in ver. 26, where נָגִיד is acknowledged as meaning a prince of the people, leads to the same conclusion. This priest-king can neither be Zerubbabel (according to many old interpreters), nor Ezra (Steudel), nor Onias III. (Wieseler); for Zerubbabel the prince was not anointed, and the priest Ezra and the high priest Onias were not princes of the people. Nor can Cyrus be meant here, as Saad., Gaon., Bertholdt, v. Lengerke, Maurer, Ewald, Hitzig, Kranichfeld, and others think, by a reference to Isa. xlv. 1; for, supposing it to be the case that Daniel had reason from Isa. xlv. 1 to call Cyrus מְשִׁיחַ—which is to be doubted, since from this epithet מְשִׁיחוֹ, *His* (Jehovah's) *anointed*, which Isaiah uses of Cyrus, it does not follow as of course that he should be named מְשִׁיחַ—the title ought at least to have been נָגִיד מָשִׁיחַ, the מָשִׁיחַ being an adjective following נָגִיד, because there is no evident reason for the express precedence of the adjectival definition.[1]

The O. T. knows only One who shall be both priest and king in one person (Ps. cx. 4; Zech. vi. 13), Christ, the Messias (John iv.

[1] "It is an unjustifiable assertion that every heathen king may also bear the name מְשִׁיחַ, *anointed*. In all the books of the O. T. there is but a single heathen king, Cyrus, who is named מְשִׁיחַ (Isa. xlv. 1), and he not simply as such, but because of the remarkable and altogether singular relation in which he stood to the church, because of the gifts with which God endowed him for her deliverance, . . . and because of the typical relation in which he stood to the author of the higher deliverance, the Messiah. Cyrus could in a certain measure be regarded as a theocratic ruler, and as such he is described by Isaiah."—HENGSTENBERG.

25), whom, with Hävernick, Hengstenberg, Hofmann, Auberlen, Delitzsch, and Kliefoth, we here understand by the מָשִׁיחַ נָגִיד, because in Him the two essential requisites of the theocratic king, the anointing and the appointment to be the נָגִיד of the people of God (cf. 1 Sam. x. 1, xiii. 14, xvi. 13, xxv. 30; 2 Sam. ii. 4, v. 2 f.), are found in the most perfect manner. These requisites are here attributed to Him as predicates, and in such a manner that the being anointed goes before the being a prince, in order to make prominent the spiritual, priestly character of His royalty, and to designate Him, on the ground of the prophecies, Isa. lxi. 1–3 and lv. 4, as the person by whom "the sure mercies of David" (Isa. lv. 3) shall be realized by the covenant people.[1] The absence of the definite article is not to be explained by saying that מָשִׁיחַ, somewhat as צֶמַח, Zech. iii. 8, vi. 12, is used *κατ' ἐξ.* as a *nomen propr.* of the Messiah, the Anointed; for in this case נָגִיד ought to have the article, since in Hebrew we cannot say דָּוִד מֶלֶךְ, but only דָּוִד הַמֶּלֶךְ. Much rather the article is wanting, because it shall not be said: *till the Messiah, who is prince,* but only: *till one comes who is anointed and at the same time prince,* because He that is to come is not definitely designated as the expected Messiah, but must be made prominent by the predicates ascribed to Him only as a personage altogether singular.

Thus the first half of ver. 25 states that the first seven of the seventy weeks begin with the edict (of Cyrus) permitting the return of Israel from exile and the restoration of Jerusalem, and extend from that time till the appearance of an anointed one who at the same time is prince, *i.e.* till Christ. With that view the supposition that שָׁבֻעִים are year-weeks, periods of seven years, is irreconcilable. Therefore most interpreters who understand Christ as the מָשִׁיחַ נָגִיד, have referred the following number, *and sixty-two weeks,* to the first clause—"from the going forth of the command .... *seven weeks and sixty-two weeks.*" Thus Theodotion: ἕως *Χριστοῦ ἡγουμένου ἑβδομάδες ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑβδομάδες ἑξηκονταδύο*; and the Vulgate: *usque ad Christum ducem hebdomades septem et hebdomades sexaginta duæ erunt.* The text of the LXX. is here, how-

[1] In the מָשִׁיחַ נָגִיד it is natural to suppose there is a reference to the passages in Isaiah referred to; yet one must not, with Hofmann and Auberlen, hence conclude that Christ is as King of Israel named מָשִׁיחַ, and as King of the heathen נָגִיד, for in the frequent use of the word נָגִיד of the king of Israel in the books of Samuel it is much more natural to regard it as the reference to David.

ever, completely in error, and is useless. This interpretation, in recent times, Hävernick, Hengstenberg, and Auberlen have sought to justify in different ways, but without having succeeded in invalidating the reasons which stand opposite to them. First of all the Atnach forbids this interpretation, for by it the seven שָׁבֻעִים are separated from the sixty-two. This circumstance, however, in and of itself decides nothing, since the Atnach does not always separate clauses, but frequently also shows only the point of rest within a clause; besides, it first was adopted by the Masoretes, and only shows the interpretation of these men, without at all furnishing any guarantee for its correctness. But yet this view is not to be overlooked, as Hgstb. himself acknowledges in the remark: "Here the separation of the two periods of time was of great consequence, in order to show that the seven and the sixty-two weeks are not a mere arbitrary dividing into two of one whole period, but that to each of these two periods its own characteristic mark belongs." With this remark, Hävernick's assertion, that the dividing of the sixty-nine שבעים into seven and sixty-two is made only on account of the solemnity of the whole passage, is set aside as altogether vain, and the question as to the ground of the division presses itself on our earnest attention. If this division must indicate that to each of the two periods its own distinctive characteristic belongs, an unprejudiced consideration of the words shows that the characteristic mark of the "seven weeks" lies in this, that this period extends from the going forth of the word to restore Jerusalem till the appearance of an Anointed one, a Prince, thus terminating with the appearance of this Prince, and that the characteristic mark for the "sixty-two weeks" consists in that which the words immediately connected therewith affirm, תָּשׁוּב וְנִבְנְתָה וגו', and thus that the "sixty-two weeks" belong indeed to the following clause. But according to Hengstenberg the words ought not to be so understood, but thus: "sixty-nine weeks must pass away, seven till the completed restoration of the city, sixty-two from that time till the Anointed, the Prince." But it is clearly impossible to find this meaning in the words of the text, and it is quite superfluous to use any further words in proof of this.[1] By the remark,

[1] Hengstenberg, as Kliefoth has remarked, has taken as the first *terminus ad quem* the words "to restore and to build Jerusalem," *till* the rebuilding of Jerusalem, till its completed rebuilding, till that Jerusalem is again built; and then the further words, "unto the Messiah the Prince," as the second *terminus ad quem;* and, finally, he assigns the seven weeks to the first *terminus ad quem*,

"If the second designation of time is attributed to that which follows, then we cannot otherwise explain it than that during sixty-two weeks the streets will be restored and built up; but this presents a very inappropriate meaning,"—by this remark the interpretation in question is neither shown to be possible, nor is it made evident. For the meaning would be inappropriate only if by the building up of Jerusalem we were to understand merely the rebuilding of the city which was laid in ruins by the Chaldeans. If we attribute the expression "and sixty-two weeks" to the first half of the verse, then the division of the sixty-nine weeks into seven weeks and sixty-two weeks is unaccountable; for in ver. 26 we must then read, "after sixty-nine weeks," and not, as we find it in the text, "after sixty-two weeks." The substitution, again [in ver. 26], of only this second designation of time (sixty-two weeks) is also intelligible only if the sixty-two weeks in ver. 25 belong to the second half of the verse, and are to be separated from the seven weeks. The bringing together of the seven and of the sixty-two weeks stands thus opposed to the context, and is maintained merely on the supposition that the שָׁבֻעִים are year-weeks, or periods of time consisting of seven years, in order that sixty-nine year-weeks, *i.e.* 483 years, might be gained for the time from the rebuilding of Jerusalem to Christ. But since there is in the word itself no foundation for attaching to it this meaning, we have no right to distort the language of the text according to it, but it is our duty to let this interpretation fall aside as untenable, in order that we may do justice to the words of the prophecy. The words here used demand that we connect the period "and sixty-two weeks" with the second half of the verse, "and during sixty-two weeks shall the street be built again," etc. The "sixty-two weeks" are not united antithetically to the "seven weeks" by the *copula* ו, as Hofmann would have it, but are connected simply as following the seven; so that that which is named as the contents of the "sixty-two weeks" is to be interpreted as happening first after the appearance of the *Maschiach Nagid*, or, more distinctly, that the appearance of the Messias forming the *terminus ad quem* of the seven weeks, forms at the same time the *terminus a quo* of the sixty-two weeks. That event which brings the close of the sixty-

and the sixty-two weeks is the second; as if the text comprehended two clauses, and declared that from the going forth of the commandment till that Jerusalem was rebuilt are seven *heptades*, and from that time till a Messiah, a Prince, are sixty-two *heptades*.

two weeks is spoken of in ver. 26 in the words יִכָּרֵת מָשִׁיחַ, *Messiah shall be cut off*. The words "and sixty-two שִׁשִּׁים וּשְׁנַיִם" may be taken grammatically either as the absolute nominative or as the accusative of duration. The words תָּשׁוּב וְנִבְנְתָה refer undoubtedly to the expression לְהָשִׁיב וְלִבְנוֹת (*to restore and to build*), according to which תָּשׁוּב is not to be joined adverbially to וְנִבְנְתָה (according to Hävernick, Hofmann, and Wieseler), but is to be rendered intransitively, corresponding to הָשִׁיב: *shall be restored*, as Ezek. xvi. 55; 1 Kings xiii. 6, 2 Kings v. 10, 14, Ex. iv. 7. The subject to both verbs is not (Rosenmüller, Gesenius, v. Leng., Hgstb.) רְחוֹב, but Jerusalem, as is manifest from the circumstance that the verbs refer to the restoration and the building of Jerusalem, and is placed beyond a doubt by this, that in Zech. viii. 5 רחוב is construed as masculine; and the opinion that it is *generis fœm.* rests only on this passage before us. There is no substantial reason for interpreting (with Klief.) the verbs impersonally.

The words רְחוֹב וְחָרוּץ are difficult, and many interpretations have been given of them. There can be no doubt that they contain together one definition, and that רְחוֹב is to be taken as the adverbial accusative. רְחוֹב means the street and the wide space before the gate of the temple. Accordingly, to חָרוּץ have been given the meanings ditch, wall, aqueduct (Ges., Steud., Zünd., etc.), pond (Ewald), confined space (Hofmann), court (Hitzig); but all these meanings are only hit upon from the connection, as are also the renderings of the LXX. εἰς πλάτος καὶ μῆκος, of Theod. πλατεῖα καὶ τεῖχος, and of the Vulg. *platea et muri*. חָרַץ means to cut, then to decide, to determine, to conclude irrevocably; hence חָרוּץ, *decision, judgment*, Joel iv. 14. This meaning is maintained by Häv., Hgstb., v. Leng., Wies., and Kran., and וְחָרוּץ is interpreted as a participle: "and it is determined." This shall form a contrast to the words, "but in the oppression of the times" —and it is determined, namely, that Jerusalem shall be built in its streets, but the building shall be accomplished in troublous times. But although this interpretation be well founded as regards the words themselves, it does not harmonize with the connection. The words רְחוֹב וְחָרוּץ plainly go together, as the old translators have interpreted them. Now רְחוֹב does not mean properly street, but a wide, free space, as Ezra x. 9, the open place before the temple, and is applied to streets only in so far as they are free, unoccupied spaces in cities. חָרוּץ, that which is cut off, limited, forms a contrast to this, not, however, as that we may interpret the words, as

Hofm. does, in the sense of width, and space cut off, not capable of extension, or free space and limited quarter (Hitzig), an interpretation which is too far removed from the primary import of the two words. It is better to interpret them, with Kliefoth, as "wide space, and yet also limited," according to which we have the meaning, "Jerusalem shall be built so that the city takes in a wide space, has wide, free places, but not, however, unlimited in width, but such that their compass is measured off, is fixed and bounded."

The last words, וּבְצוֹק הָעִתִּים, point to the circumstances under which the building proceeds: *in the difficulty, the oppression of the times.* The book of Nehemiah, iii. 33, iv. 1 ff., vi. 1 ff., ix. 36, 37, furnishes a historical exposition of them, although the words do not refer to the building of the walls and bulwarks of the earthly Jerusalem which was accomplished by Nehemiah, but are to be understood, according to Ps. li. 20, of the spiritual building of the City of God.

Ver. 26. *After the threescore and two weeks, i.e.* in the seventieth שָׁבֻעַ, *shall the Messiah be cut off.*—From the אַחֲרֵי (*after*) it does not with certainty follow that the "cutting off" of the *Maschiach* falls wholly in the beginning of the seventieth week, but only that the "cutting off" shall constitute the first great event of this week, and that those things which are mentioned in the remaining part of the verse shall then follow. The complete designation of the time of the "cutting off" can only be found from the whole contents of vers. 26 and 27. נִכְרַת, from כָּרַת, to hew down, to fell, to cut to pieces, signifies *to be rooted up, destroyed, annihilated,* and denotes generally a violent kind of death, though not always, but only the uprooting from among the living, or from the congregation, and is therefore the usual expression for the destruction of the ungodly—*e.g.* Ps. xxxvii. 9, Prov. ii. 22—without particularly designating the manner in which this is done. From יִכָּרֵת it cannot thus be strictly proved that this part of the verse announces the putting to death of an anointed one, or of the Messiah. Of the word *Maschiach* three possible interpretations have been given: 1. That the *Maschiach Nagid* of ver. 25, the *Maschiach* of ver. 26, and the *Nagid* of ver. 26*b*, are three different persons; 2. that all the three expressions denote one and the same person; and 3. that the *Maschiach Nagid* of ver. 25 and the *Maschiach* of ver. 26 are the same person, and that the *Nagid* of ver. 26*b* is another and a different person. The first of these has been maintained by J. D.

Michaelis, Jahn. Ebrard understands by all the three expressions the Messiah, and supposes that he is styled fully *Maschiach Nagid* in ver. 25 in order that His calling and His dignity (מָשִׁיחַ), as well as His power and strength (נָגִיד), might be designated; in ver. 26*a*, מָשִׁיחַ, the *anointed*, where mention is made of His sufferings and His rejection; in ver. 26*b*, נָגִיד, the *prince*, where reference is made to the judgment which He sends (by the Romans on apostate Jerusalem). But this view is refuted by the circumstance that הַבָּא (*that is to come*) follows נָגִיד, whereby the prince is represented as first coming, as well as by the circumstance that נָגִיד הַבָּא, who destroys the city and the sanctuary, whose end shall be with a flood, consequently cannot be the Messiah, but is the enemy of the people and kingdom of God, who shall arise (ch. vii. 24, 25) in the last time. But if in ver. 26 the *Nagid* is different from the *Maschiach*, then both also appear to be different from the *Maschiach Nagid* of ver. 25. The circumstance that in ver. 26 מָשִׁיחַ has neither the article nor the addition נָגִיד following it, appears to be in favour of this opinion. The absence of the one as well as of the other denotes that מָשִׁיחַ, after that which is said of Him, in consideration of the connection of the words, needs no more special description. If we observe that the destruction of the city and the sanctuary is so connected with the *Maschiach* that we must consider this as the immediate or first consequence of the cutting off of the *Maschiach*, and that the destruction shall be brought about by a *Nagid*, then by *Maschiach* we can understand neither a secular prince or king nor simply a high priest, but only an anointed one who stands in such a relation to the city and sanctuary, that with his being "cut off" the city and the sanctuary lose not only their protection and their protector, but the sanctuary also loses, at the same time, its character as the sanctuary, which the *Maschiach* had given to it. This is suitable to no Jewish high priest, but only to the Messias whom Jehovah anointed to be a Priest-King after the order of Melchizedek, and placed as Lord over Zion, His holy hill. We agree therefore with Hävernick, Hengstenberg, Auberlen, and Kliefoth, who regard the *Maschiach* of this verse as identical with the *Maschiach Nagid* of ver. 25, as Christ, who in the fullest sense of the word is the Anointed; and we hope to establish this view more fully in the following exposition of the historical reference of this word of the angel.

But by this explanation of the מָשִׁיחַ we are not authorized to regard the word יִכָּרֵת as necessarily pointing to the death of

the Messias, the crucifixion of Christ, since יִכָּרֵת, as above shown, does not necessarily denote a violent death. The right interpretation of this word depends on the explanation of the words וְאֵין לוֹ which follow — words which are very differently interpreted by critics. The supposition is grammatically inadmissible that אֵין לוֹ = אֵינֶנּוּ (Michaelis, Hitzig), although the LXX. in the *Codex Chisianus* have translated them by *καὶ οὐκ ἔσται*; and in general all those interpretations which identify אֵין with לֹא, as *e.g. et non sibi*, and not for himself (Vitringa, Rosenmüller, Hävernick, and others). For אֵין is never interchanged with לֹא, but is so distinguished from it that לֹא, *non*, is negation purely, while אֵין, "it is not," denies the existence of the thing; cf. Hengstenberg's *Christol.* iii. p. 81 f., where all the passages which Gesenius refers to as exemplifying this exchange are examined and rightly explained, proving that אֵין is never used in the sense of לֹא. Still less is לוֹ to be taken in the sense of אֲשֶׁר לוֹ, "there shall not then be one who (belongs) to him;" for although the *pronomen relat.* may be wanting in short sentences, yet that can be only in such as contain a subject to which it can refer. But in the אֵין no subject is contained, but only the non-existence is declared; it cannot be said: no one is, or nothing is. In all passages where it is thus rightly translated a participle follows, in which the personal or actual subject is contained, of which the non-existence is predicated. אֵין לוֹ without anything following is elliptical, and the subject which is not, which will not be, is to be learned from the context or from the matter itself. The missing subject here cannot be מָשִׁיחַ, because לוֹ points back to מָשִׁיחַ; nor can it be עַם, *people* (Vulg., Grotius), or a *descendant* (Wieseler), or a *follower* (Auberlen), because all these words are destitute of any support from the context, and are brought forward arbitrarily. Since that which "is not to Him" is not named, we must thus read the expression in its undefined universality: *it is not to Him*, viz. that which He must have, to be the *Maschiach*. We are not by this to think merely of dominion, people, sanctuary, but generally of the place which He as *Maschiach* has had, or should have, among His people and in the sanctuary, but, by His being "cut off," is lost. This interpretation is of great importance in guiding to a correct rendering of יִכָּרֵת; for it shows that יִכָּרֵת does not denote the putting to death, or cutting off of existence, but only the annihilation of His place as *Maschiach* among His people and in His kingdom. For if after His "cutting off" He has not what He should have, it is clear that

annihilation does not apply to Him personally, but only that He has lost His place and function as the *Maschiach*.[1]

In consequence of the cutting off of the מָשִׁיחַ destruction falls upon the city and the sanctuary. This proceeds from the people of the prince who comes. יַשְׁחִית, *to destroy, to ruin*, is used, it is true, of the desolating of countries, but predicated of a city and sanctuary it means to *overthrow;* cf. *e.g.* Gen. xix. 13 f., where it is used of the destruction of Sodom; and even in the case of countries the הַשְׁחִית consists in the destruction of men and cattle; cf. Jer. xxxvi. 29.

The meaning of עַם נְגִיד הַבָּא depends chiefly on the interpretation of the הַבָּא. This we cannot, with Ebrard, refer to עַם. Naturally it is connected with נְגִיד, not only according to the order of the words, but in reality, since in the following verse (ver. 27) the people are no longer spoken of, but only the actions and proceedings of the prince are described. הַבָּא does not mean *qui succedit* (Roesch, Maurer), but is frequently used by Daniel of a hostile coming; cf. ch. i. 1, xi. 10, 13, 15. But in this sense הַבָּא appears to be superfluous, since it is self-evident that the prince, if he will destroy Jerusalem, must come or draw near. One also must not say that הַבָּא designates the prince as one who was to come (ἐρχόμενος), since from the expression "coming days," as meaning "future days," it does not follow that a "coming prince" is a "future prince." The הַבָּא with the article: "he who comes, or will come," denotes much rather the נְגִיד (which is without the article) as such an one whose coming is known, of whom Daniel has heard that he will come to destroy the people of God. But in the earlier revelations Daniel heard of two princes who shall bring destruction on his people: in ch. vii. 8, 24 ff., of Antichrist; and in ch. viii. 9 ff., 23 ff., of Antiochus. To one of these the הַבָּא points. Which of the two is meant must be gathered from the connection, and this excludes the reference to Antiochus, and necessitates our thinking of the Antichrist.

In the following clause: "*and his end with the flood*," the suffix

[1] Kranichfeld quite appropriately compares the strong expression יִבָּרֵת with "the equally strong יִבְלֶא (*shall wear out*) in ch. vii. 25, spoken of that which shall befall the saints on the part of the enemy of God in the last great war. As by this latter expression destruction in the sense of complete annihilation cannot be meant, since the saints personally exist after the catastrophe (cf. vers. 27, 22, 18), so also by this expression here (יִבָּרֵת) we are not to understand annihilation."

refers simply to the hostile *Nagid*, whose end is here emphatically placed over against his coming (Kran., Hofm., Kliefoth). Preconceived views as to the historical interpretation of the prophecy lie at the foundation of all other references. The Messianic interpreters, who find in the words a prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, and thus understand by the *Nagid* Titus, cannot apply the suffix to *Nagid*. M. Geier, Hävernick, and others, therefore, refer it (the suffix) to the city and the sanctuary; but that is grammatically inadmissible, since הָעִיר (*the city*) is *gen. fœm.* Aub. and others refer it, therefore, merely to the sanctuary; but the separation of the city from the sanctuary is quite arbitrary. Vitringa, C. B. Michaelis, Hgstb., interpret the suffix as neuter, and refer it to יִשָּׁחֵית (*shall destroy*), or, more correctly, to the idea of destroying comprehended in it, for they understand שִׁטָּף of a warlike overflowing flood: "and the end of it shall be (or: it shall end) in the flood." On the other hand, v. Lengerke and Kliefoth have rightly objected to this view. "This reference of the suffix," they say, "is inadmissibly harsh; the author must have written erroneously, since he suggested the reference of the suffix to עָם or to נָגִיד. One cannot think of what is meant by the end of the destruction, since the destruction itself is the end; a flood may, it is true, be an emblem of a warlike invasion of a country, but it never signifies the warlike march, the expedition." There thus remains nothing else than to apply the suffix to the *Nagid*, the prince. קֵץ can accordingly only denote the destruction of the prince. Hitzig's interpretation, that קִצּוֹ is the result of his coming, refutes itself.

In בְּשִׁטָּף the article is to be observed, by which alone such interpretations as "in an overflowing" (Ros., Roed., and others), "*vi quadam ineluctabili oppressus*" (Steudel, Maurer), "like an overflowing," and the like, are proved to be verbally inadmissible. The article shows that a definite and well-known overflowing is meant. שִׁטָּף, "overflowing," may be the emblem of an army spreading itself over the land, as in ch. xi. 10, 22, 26, Isa. viii. 8, or the emblem of a judgment desolating or destroying a city, country, or people; cf. Ps. xxxii. 6, Nah. i. 8, Prov. xxvii. 4, Ps. xc. 5. The first of these interpretations would give this meaning: The prince shall find his end in his warlike expedition; and the article in בְּשִׁטָּף would refer back to הַבָּא. This interpretation is indeed quite possible, but not very probable, because שִׁטָּף would then be the overflowing which was caused by the hostile prince or his

coming, and the thought would be this, that he should perish in it. But this agrees neither with the following clause, that war should be to the end, nor with ch. vii. 21, 26, according to which the enemy of God holds the superiority till he is destroyed by the judgment of God. Accordingly, we agree with Wieseler, Hofmann, Kranichfeld, and Kliefoth in adopting the other interpretation of שֶׁטֶף, *flood*, as the figure of the desolating judgment of God, and explain the article as an allusion to the flood which overwhelmed Pharaoh and his host. Besides, the whole passage is, with Maurer and Klief., to be regarded as a relative clause, and to be connected with הַבָּא: the people of a prince who shall come and find his destruction in the flood.

This verse (ver. 26) contains a third statement, which adds a new element to the preceding. Rosenmüller, Ewald, Hofm., and others connect these into one passage, thus: and to the end of the war a decree of desolations continues. But although קֵץ, grammatically considered, is the *stat. constr.*, and might be connected with מִלְחָמָה (*war*), yet this is opposed by the circumstance, that in the preceding sentence no mention is expressly made of war; and that if the war which consisted in the destruction of the city should be meant, then מִלְחָמָה ought to have the article. From these reasons we agree with the majority of interpreters in regarding מִלְחָמָה as the predicate of the passage: "and to the end is war;" but we cannot refer קֵץ, with Wieseler, to the end of the prince, or, with Häv: and Aub., to the end of the city, because קֵץ has neither a suffix nor an article. According to the just remark of Hitzig, קֵץ without any limitation is the *end* generally, the end of the period in progress, the seventy שָׁבֻעִים, and corresponds to עַד־סוֹפָא in ch. vii. 26, to the end of all things, ch. xii. 13 (Klief.). To the end war shall be = war shall continue during the whole of the last שָׁבוּעַ.

The remaining words, נֶחֱרֶצֶת שֹׁמֵמוֹת, form an apposition to מִלְחָמָה, notwithstanding the objection by Kliefoth, that since desolations are a consequence of the war, the words cannot be regarded as in apposition. For we do not understand why in abbreviated statements the effect cannot be placed in the form of an apposition to the cause. The objection also overlooks the word נֶחֱרֶצֶת. If desolations are the effect of the war, yet not the decree of the desolations, which can go before the war or can be formed during the war. שֹׁמֵמוֹת denotes desolation not in an active, but in a passive sense: *laid-waste, desolated*, cf. ver. 27. נֶחֱרֶצֶת, *that which is*

determined, the *irrevocably decreed;* therefore used of divine decrees, and that of decrees with reference to the infliction of punishment; cf. ver. 27, ch. xi. 36, Isa. x. 23, xxviii. 22. Ewald is quite in error when he says that it means "the decision regarding the fearful deeds, the divine decision as it embodies itself in the judgments (ch. vii. 11 f.) on the world on account of such fearful actions and desolations," because שְׁמֻמוֹת has not the active meaning. Auberlen weakens its force when he renders it "decreed desolations." "That which is decreed of desolations" is also not a fixed, limited, measured degree of desolations (Hofm., Klief.); for in the word there does not lie so much the idea of limitation to a definite degree, as much rather the idea of the absolute decision, as the connection with כָּלָה in ver. 27, as well as in the two passages from Isaiah above referred to, shows. The thought is therefore this: "Till the end war will be; for desolations are irrevocably determined by God." Since שְׁמֻמוֹת has nothing qualifying it, we may not limit the "decree of desolations" to the laying waste of the city and the sanctuary, but under it there are to be included the desolations which the fall of the prince who destroys the city and the sanctuary shall bring along with it.

Ver. 27. This verse contains four statements.

The *first* is: "*He shall confirm the covenant to many for one week.*" Following the example of Theodotion, many (Häv., Hgstb., Aub., v. Leng., Hitzig, Hofm.) regard שָׁבוּעַ אֶחָד as the subject: one week shall confirm the covenant to many. But this poetic mode of expression is only admissible where the subject treated of in the statement of the speaker comes after the action, and therefore does not agree with הִגְבִּיר בְּרִית, where the confirming of the covenant is not the work of time, but the deed of a definite person. To this is to be added the circumstance that the definitions of time in this verse are connected with those in ver. 25, and are analogous to them, and must therefore be alike interpreted in both passages. But if, notwithstanding these considerations, we make שָׁבוּעַ אֶחָד the subject, the question then presses itself upon us, Who effects the confirming of the covenant? Hävernick, Hengstenberg, and Auberlen regard the Messias as the subject, and understand by the confirming of the covenant, the confirming of the New Covenant by the death of Christ. Ewald, v. Lengerke, and others think of Antiochus and the many covenants which, according to 1 Macc. i. 12, he established between the apostate Jews and the heathen Greeks. Hitzig understands by the "covenant." the

O. T. Covenant, and gives to הִגְבִּיר the meaning to make grievous: The one week shall make the covenant grievous to many, for they shall have to bear oppression on account of their faith. On the other hand, Hofmann (*Schriftbew.*) renders it: The one week shall confirm many in their fidelity to the faith. But none of these interpretations can be justified. The reasons which Hengstenberg adduces in support of his view that the Messias is the subject, are destitute of validity. The assertion that the Messias is the chief person spoken of in the whole of this passage, rests on the supposition, already proved to be untenable, that the prince who was to come (ver. 26) was the instrument of the Anointed, and on the passages in Isa. liii. 11 and xlii. 6, which are not parallel to that under consideration. The connection much more indicates that *Nagid* is the subject to הִגְבִּיר, since the prince who was to come is named last, and is also the subject in the suffix of קִצּוֹ (*his end*), the last clause of ver. 26 having only the significance of an explanatory subordinate clause. Also "the taking away of the daily sacrifice combines itself in a natural way with the destruction (ver. 26) of the city and the temple brought about by the נָגִיד הַבָּא;"—further, "he who here is represented as 'causing the sacrifice and oblation to cease' is obviously identical with him who changes (ch. vii. 25) the times and usages of worship (more correctly: times and law)" (Kran.). "The reference of הִגְבִּיר to the ungodly leader of an army, is therefore according to the context and the parallel passages of this book which have been mentioned, as well as in harmony with the natural grammatical arrangement of the passage," and it gives also a congruous sense, although by the *Nagid* Titus cannot naturally be understood. הִגְבִּיר בְּרִית means to strengthen a covenant, *i.e.* to make a covenant strong (Hitzig has not established the rendering: to make grievous). "Covenant" does not necessarily mean the covenant of God (Old Testament or New Testament Covenant), since the assertion that this word occurs only in this book with reference to the covenant of God with Israel (Hgstb.) does not also prove that it must here have this meaning; and with regard particularly to ch. xi. 22, it is very questionable. The expression הִגְבִּיר בְּרִית with לְ is analogous to כָּרַת בְּרִית [*icere fœdus*] with לְ; and the construction with לְ signifies that as in the forming of a covenant, so in the confirming of a covenant, the two contracting parties are not viewed as standing on an equality, but he who concludes or who confirms the covenant prevails, and imposes or forces the covenant on the other party. The reference to the covenant of

God with man is thus indeed suggested, yet it is not rendered necessary, but only points to a relation analogous to the concluding of a covenant emanating from God. לָרַבִּים with the article signifies *the many*, *i.e.* the great mass of the people in contrast with the few, who remain faithful to God; cf. Matt. xxiv. 12. Therefore the thought is this: That ungodly prince shall impose on the mass of the people a strong covenant that they should follow him and give themselves to him as their God.

While the first clause of this verse announces what shall happen during the whole of the last week, the *second* treats only of the half of this period. חֲצִי הַשָּׁבוּעַ we cannot grammatically otherwise interpret than the definition of time mentioned immediately before, and thus, for reasons given above, cannot take it as the subject of the clause, but only as the accusative of the duration of time, consequently not in the sense of the ablative: in the midst of the week. The controversy whether חֲצִי here means *half*, or *midst*, has no bearing on the matter, and acquires significance only if we interpret חֲצִי, in opposition to the context, as synonymous with בַּחֲצִי, or with Klief., which is equally untenable and impossible in this context, regard חֲצִי הַשָּׁבוּעַ as an absolute definition. חֲצִי signifies only *half*, not midst. Only where the representation of an extent of space or period of time prevails can we render it, without a change of its meaning, by the word midst. In the half of the night is the same as in the middle of the night, at midnight, Ex. xii. 29; in the half of the firmament, Josh. x. 13, is the same as in the middle of the space of the heavens across which the sun moves during day; in the half of the day of life is the same as in the middle of the period of life, Ps. cii. 25. But during the half of the week is not the same as: in the middle of the week. And the objection, that if we here take חֲצִי in the sense of *half*, then the heptad or cycle of seven would be divided into two halves (Klief.), and yet of only one of them was anything said, is without significance, because it would touch also the explanation "and in the midst of the heptad," since in this case of the first, before the middle of the expiring half of the week, nothing also is said of what shall be done in it. If Kliefoth answers this objection by saying that we must conceive of this from the connection, namely, that which brings the power of Antichrist to its height, then we shall be able also, in the verbally correct interpretation of חֲצִי הַשָּׁבוּעַ, to conceive from the connection what shall happen in the remaining period of the שָׁבוּעַ. Yet weaker is the further ob-

jection: "that which is mentioned as coming to pass חֲצִי הַשָּׁבוּעַ, the causing of the offering of sacrifice to cease, is something which takes place not during a period of time, but at a *terminus*" (Kliefoth); for since הִשְׁבִּית does not properly mean *to remove*, but *to make to rest, to make quiet*, it is thus not conceivable why we should not be able to say: The sacrifice shall be made to rest, or made still, during half a week.

In the verbally correct interpretation of חֲצִי הַשָּׁבוּעַ, the supposition that the second half of the heptad is meant loses its support, for the *terminus a quo* of this half remains undefined if it cannot be determined from the subject itself. But this determination depends on whether the taking away of the sacrifice is to be regarded as the putting a complete termination to it, or only the causing of a temporary cessation to the service of sacrifice, which can be answered only by our first determining the question regarding the historical reference of this divine revelation. זֶבַח וּמִנְחָה, *bloody and unbloody sacrifice*, the two chief parts of the service of sacrifice, represent the whole of worship by sacrifice. The expression is more comprehensive than הַתָּמִיד, ch. viii. 11, *the continuance* in worship, the daily morning and evening sacrifice, the cessation of which does not necessarily involve the putting an end to the service of sacrifice.

The *third* clause of this verse, וְעַל כְּנַף שִׁקּוּצִים מְשֹׁמֵם, is difficult, and its interpretation has been disputed. The LXX. have rendered it: *καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων ἔσται.* Theodotion has given the same rendering, only omitting *ἔσται.* The Vulgate has: *et erit in templo abominatio desolationis.* The church interpreters have explained the words in accordance with these translations, understanding by כְּנַף שִׁקּוּצִים the abomination of idols in the temple, or the temple desecrated by the abomination of idols. Hävernick explains the words of the extreme height of abomination, *i.e.* of the highest place that can be reached where the abominations would be committed, *i.e.* the temple as the highest point in Jerusalem; Hengstenberg, on the contrary, regards the "wing of the abominations" as the pinnacle of the temple so desecrated by the abomination that it no longer deserved the name of a temple of the Lord, but the name of an idol-temple. Auberlen translates it "on account of the desolating summit of abominations," and understands by it the summit of the abominations committed by Israel, which draws down the desolation, because it is the desolation itself, and which reached its *acme* in the desecration of the temple

by the Zealots shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem. But no one of these interpretations is justified by the language here used, because כָּנָף does not signify summit, highest point. This word, it is true, is often used figuratively of the extremity or skirt of the upper garment or cloak (1 Sam. xv. 27, xxiv. 5; Hag. ii. 12), of the uttermost part, end, of the earth, Isa. xxiv. 16, and frequently in the plur. of the borders of the earth, in the rabbin. also of the lobes of the lungs, but demonstrably never of the summit as the highest point or peak of an object; and thus can mean neither the temple as the highest point in Jerusalem, nor the pinnacle of the temple desecrated by the abomination, nor the summit of the abomination committed by Israel. "It is used indeed," as Bleek (*Jahrbb.* v. p. 93) also remarks, "of the extreme point of an object, but only of that which is extended horizontally (for end, or extremity), but never of that which is extended perpendicularly (for peak)." The use of it in the latter sense cannot also be proved from the πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ, Matt. iv. 5, Luke iv. 9. Here the genitive τοῦ ἱεροῦ, not τοῦ ναοῦ, shows that not the pinnacle, *i.e.* the summit of the temple itself, is meant, but a wing or adjoining building of the sanctuary; and if Suidas and Hesychius explain πτερύγιον by ἀκρωτήριον, this explanation is constructed only from the passages of the N. T. referred to, and is not confirmed by the Greek classics.

But though πτερύγιον may have the meaning of summit, yet this can by no means be proved to be the meaning of כָּנָף. Accordingly כְּנַף שְׁקוּצִים cannot on verbal grounds be referred to the temple. This argument from the words used is not set aside by other arguments which Hengstenberg brings forward, neither by the remark that this explanation harmonizes well with the other parts of the prophecy, especially the removal of the sacrifice and the destruction of the temple, nor by the reference to the testimony of tradition and to the authority of the Lord. For, with reference to that remark, we have already shown in the explanation of the preceding verses that they do not refer to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, and thus are not reconcilable with this interpretation of כְּנַף שְׁקוּצִים. But the testimony of tradition for this interpretation in Josephus, *De bello Jud.* iv. 6. 3, that by the desecration of the temple on the part of the Zealots an old prophecy regarding the destruction of the temple was fulfilled, itself demonstrates (under the supposition that no other passages occur in the book of Daniel in which Josephus would be able to find the

announcement of bloody abomination in the temple which proceeded even from the members of the covenant people) nothing further than that Josephus, with many of his contemporaries, found such a prophecy in this verse in the Alexandrine translation, but it does not warrant the correctness of this interpretation of the passage. This warrant would certainly be afforded by the words of our Lord regarding "the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet standing in the holy place" (Matt. xxiv. 15 f.; Mark xiii. 14), if it were decided that the Lord had this passage (Dan. ix. 27) alone before His mind, and that He regarded the "abomination of desolation" as a sign announcing the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. But neither of these conditions is established. The expression *βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως* is found not only in Dan. ix. 27 (where the LXX. and Theod. have the plur. *ἐρημώσεων*), but also in Dan. xi. 31 (*βδ. ἐρημώσεως*) and Dan. xii. 11 (*τὸ βδ. τῆς ἐρημώσεως*), and thus may refer to one of these passages. The possibility of this reference is not weakened by the objection, "that the prophecy Dan. xi. and xii. was generally regarded as fulfilled in the Maccabean times, and that the fulfilling of ch. ix. was placed forward into the future in the time of Christ" (Hgstb.), because the Lord can have a deeper and more correct apprehension of the prophecies of Daniel than the Jewish writers of His time; because, moreover, the first historical fulfilling of Dan. xi. in the Maccabean times does not exclude a further and a fuller accomplishment in the future, and the rage of Antiochus Epiphanes against the Jewish temple and the worship of God can be a type of the assault of Antichrist against the sanctuary and the church of God in the time of the end. Still less from the words, "whoso readeth, let him understand" (Matt. xxiv. 15), can it be proved that Christ had only Dan. ix. 27, and not also xi. 31 or xii. 11, before His view. The remark that these words refer to בִּין בַּדָּבָר (*understand the matter*), Dan. ix. 23, and to וְתֵדַע וְתַשְׂכֵּל (*know, and understand*), does not avail for this purpose, because this reference is not certain, and בִּין אֶת־הַדָּבָר (*and he understood the thing*) is used (ch. x. 1) also of the prophecy in ch. x. and xi. But though it were beyond a doubt that Christ had, in the words quoted, only Dan. ix. 27 before His view, yet would the reference of this prophecy to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans not be thereby proved, because in His discourse Christ spake not only of this destruction of the ancient Jerusalem, but generally of His *παρουσία* and the *συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος* (Matt.

xxiv. 3), and referred the words of Daniel of the *βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως* to the *παρουσία τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*.

On these grounds we must affirm that the reference of the words under consideration to the desecration of the temple before the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans is untenable.

But also the reference of these words, as maintained by other interpreters, to the desecration of the temple by the *βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως* (1 Macc. i. 54), built on the altar of burnt-offering by Antiochus Epiphanes, is disproved on the verbal ground that כָּנָף cannot designate the surface of the altar. In favour of this view the הַשִּׁקּוּץ מְשֹׁמֵם, Dan. xi. 31 (*the abomination that maketh desolate*), is principally relied on, in order to establish the connection of מְשֹׁמֵם with שִׁקּוּצִים; but that passage is of a different character, and the difference of number between them opposes the connecting together of these two words. The singular מְשֹׁמֵם cannot be connected as an adjective with שִׁקּוּצִים. But the uniting of מְשֹׁמֵם with the noun כָּנָף gives no meaning, and besides has the parallels ch. xi. 31 and xii. 11 against it. In this passage before us מְשֹׁמֵם can only be the subject; and the clause is neither to be connected with the preceding nor with the following, but is to be interpreted as containing an independent statement. Since in the preceding context mention is made of a *Nagid* who shall make desolate the city and the sanctuary, and shall take away the bloody and the unbloody sacrifice, it is natural to regard the מְשֹׁמֵם, *desolater*, as the *Nagid*, and to identify the two. The circumstance that it does not refer to it by the article (הַמְּשֹׁמֵם) is no valid objection, because the article is in no way necessary, as מְשֹׁמֵם is a participle, and can be rendered as such: "on the wings of abomination he comes desolating." עַל כָּנָף can, without ingenuity, be rendered in no other way than *on wings*. שִׁקּוּצִים signifies not acts of abomination, but objects of abomination, things causing abomination, and is constantly used of the heathen gods, idol-images, sacrifices to the gods, and other heathen abominations. The connection of שִׁקּוּצִים permits us, however, with Reichel, Ebrard, Kliefoth, and Kranichfeld, to think on nothing else than that wings (כָּנָף) are attributed to the שִׁקּוּצִים. The sing. כָּנָף does not oppose this, since it is often used collectively in a peculiar and figurative meaning; cf. *e.g.* בַּעַל כָּנָף, Prov. i. 17, with בַּעַל כְּנָפַיִם, Eccles. x. 20, *the winged, the bird;* and כְּנַף הָאָרֶץ (*from the uttermost part of the earth*), Isa. xxiv. 16, is not different from כַּנְפוֹת הָאָרֶץ, Job xxxvii. 3, xxxviii. 13, just as אֶבְרָה, *wing, plumage*, Ps. xci. 4, Deut. xxxii. 11, is found for אֶבְרוֹת (*wings*), Ps. lxviii.

14. But from such passages as Deut. xxxii. 11, Ex. xix. 4, and Ps. xviii. 11, we perceive the sense in which wings are attributed to the שִׁקּוּצִים, the idolatrous objects.[1] In the first of these passages (Deut. xxxii. 11), wings, the wings of an eagle, are attributed to God, because He is the power which raises up Israel, and lifting it up, and carrying it throughout its history, guides it over the earth. In Ps. xviii. wings are attributed to the wind, because the wind is contemplated as the power which carries out the will of God throughout the kingdom of nature. "Thus in this passage wings are attributed to the שִׁקּוּצִים, idol-objects, and to idolatry with its abominations, because that shall be the power which lifts upwards the destroyer and desolater, carries him, and moves with him over the earth to lay waste" (Klief.).[2]

The *last* clause, וְעַד־כָּלָה וגו׳, is differently construed, according as the subject to תִּתַּךְ, which is wanting, or appears to be wanting, is sought to be supplied from the context. Against the supposition of Hävernick and Ebrard, who take תִּתַּךְ as impersonal: "it pours down," it is rightly objected that this word is never so found, and can so much the less be so interpreted here, since in ver. 11 it is preceded by a definite subject. Others supply a subject, such as anger (Berth.), or curse and oath from ver. 11; the former is quite arbitrary, the latter is too far-fetched. Others, again (Hengstenberg, Maurer), take כָּלָה וְנֶחֱרָצָה (*the consummation and that determined*) as the subject. This is correct according to the matter. We cannot, however, so justify the regarding of וְעַד as a conjunction: *till that;* for, though עַד is so used, וְעַד is not; nor, once more, can we justify the taking of כָּלָה וְנֶחֱרָצָה as a whole as the subject (Hofmann), or of וְנֶחֱרָצָה alone as the subject (v. Leng., Hitzig, Kliefoth), since וְעַד is not repeated before וְנֶחֱרָצָה on account of the ו (with v. Leng), nor is וְנֶחֱרָצָה alone supplied (with Hitz.), nor is the ו before נֶחֱרָצָה to be regarded (with Klief.) as a sign of the conclusion. Where ו introduces the conclusion, as *e.g.* ch. viii.

[1] The interpretation of J. D. Michaelis, which has been revived by Hofmann, needs no serious refutation. They hold that כְּנַף שִׁקּוּצִים signifies an idol-bird, and denotes the eagle of Jupiter or Zeus. Hofm. repeats this interpretation in his *Schriftbew.* ii. 2, p. 592, after he had abandoned it.

[2] Similarly, and independently of Kliefoth, Kranichfeld also explains the words: "The powerful heathen enemy of God is here conceived of as carried on (עַל) these wings of the idol-abomination, like as the God of the theocracy is borne on the wings of the clouds, and on cherubim, who are His servants; cf. Ps. xviii. 11, civ. 3."

14, it is there united with the verb, and thus the expression here should in that case be וְתִתַּךְ נֶחֱרָצָה. The relative interpretation of תִּתַּךְ is the only one which is verbally admissible, whereby the words, "and till the consummation and that determined," are epexegetically connected to the foregoing clause: "and till the consummation and that determined which shall pour down upon the desolater." The words כָּלָה וְנֶחֱרָצָה remind us of Isa. x. 23 and xxviii. 22, and signify that which is completed = altogether and irrevocably concluded, *i.e.* substantially the inflexibly decreed judgment of destruction. The words have here this meaning, as is clear from the circumstance that נֶחֱרָצָה points back to נֶחֱרָצֹת שֹׁמֵמוֹת (ver. 26, *desolations are determined*), and עַד כָּלָה corresponds to עַד קֵץ (ver. 26). In ch. xi. 31 מְשֹׁמֵם is not in a similar manner to be identified with שֹׁמֵם, but has the active signification: "laying waste," while שֹׁמֵם has the passive: "laid waste." Both words refer to the *Nagid*, but with this difference, that this ungodly prince who comes as the desolater of the city and the sanctuary will on that account become desolate, that the destruction irrevocably decreed by God shall pour down upon him as a flood.

Let us now, after explaining the separate clauses, present briefly the substance of this divine revelation. We find that the verses 25–27 contain the following announcement: From the going forth of the word to restore and build Jerusalem to the appearance of the Messias seven weeks shall pass away; after that, during threescore and two weeks the city shall be restored and built up amid the oppressions of the times; but after the sixty-two weeks the Messias shall be cut off, so that to Him nothing remains, and the city, together with the sanctuary, shall be destroyed by the people of a prince who shall come, who shall find his end in the flood; but the war shall continue to the end, since destruction is irrevocably decreed. That prince shall force a strong covenant for one week on the mass of the people, and during half a week shall take away the service of sacrifice, and, borne on the wings of idol-abominations, shall carry on a desolating rule, till the firmly decreed judgment shall pour itself upon him as one desolated.—According to this, the first seven weeks are determined merely according to their beginning and their end, and nothing further is said as to their contents than may be concluded from the definition of its *terminus à quo*, "to restore and to build Jerusalem," namely, that the restoring and the building of this city shall proceed during the period of time indicated. The sixty-two weeks which follow

these seven weeks, ending with the coming of the Messias, have the same contents, only with the more special definition, that the restoration and the building in the broad open place and in the limited place shall be carried on in oppressive times. Hence it is clear that this restoration and building cannot denote the rebuilding of the city which was destroyed by the Chaldeans, but refers to the preservation and extension of Jerusalem to the measure and compass determined by God in the Messianic time, or under the dominion of the Messias, since He shall come at the end of the seven weeks, and after the expiry of the sixty-two weeks connected therewith shall be cut off, so that nothing remains to Him.

The statements of the angel (vers. 26, 27) regarding the one week, which, because of the connection, can only be the seventieth, or the last of the seventy, are more ample. The cutting off of the Messias forms the beginning of this week; then follows the destruction of the city and of the sanctuary by the people of the coming prince, who shall find his end in the flood, not immediately after his coming, but at the end of this week; for the war shall continue to the end, and the prince shall take away the service of sacrifice during half a week, till the desolation determined as a flood shall pour down upon him, and make the desolater desolated. If we compare with this the contents of ver. 24, according to which seventy weeks are determined to restrain transgression, to make an end of sin and iniquity, partly by atonement and partly by shutting up, to bring in everlasting righteousness, to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to consecrate a new most holy, we shall find that the reciprocal statements are so related to each other, that vers. 25–27 present what shall be done in the course of the seventy weeks, which are divided into three periods, but ver. 24 what shall be the result of all these things. The seventieth week ends, according to ver. 27, with the judgment on the destroyer of the city and the sanctuary of God; but with this judgment shall be the conclusion of the divine counsel of salvation, or the kingdom of God shall be consummated. This was revealed to the prophet in ch. vii., and thus does not need to be here expressly repeated. If that which, according to ver. 24, shall happen with the expiry of the seventy appointed weeks stood after ver. 27, then would the connection of the judgment on the last enemy of God with the consummation of the kingdom of God appear here also distinctly to view. But it was not necessary after ch. vii. to give express prominence to this connection here; and Gabriel here first mentions the positive aim and end

of the divine plan of salvation with Israel, because he gives to the prophet a comforting answer to remove his deep distress on account of his own sins, and the sin and guilt of his people, and therein cannot conceal the severe affliction which the future would bring, because he will announce to him that by the sins of the people the working out of the deliverance designed by God for them shall not be frustrated, but that in spite of the great guilt of Israel the kingdom of God shall be perfected in glory, sin and iniquity blotted out, everlasting righteousness restored, the prophecy of the judgment and of salvation completed, and the sanctuary where God shall in truth dwell among His people erected. In order to establish this promise, so rich in comfort, and firmly to ratify it to Daniel, he unveils to him (vers. 25–27), in its great outlines, the progress of the development of the kingdom of God, first from the end of the Exile to the coming of the Messias; then from the appearance of Christ to the time far in the future, when Christ shall be cut off, so that nothing remains to Him; and finally, the time of the supremacy and of the victory of the destroyer of the church of God, the Antichrist, and the destruction of this enemy by the irrevocably determined final judgment. If, now, in this he says nothing particular regarding the first period of this development, regarding the time from the Exile to Christ, the reason is, that he had already said all that was necessary regarding the development of the world-kingdom, and its relation to the kingdom and people of God, in the preceding revelation in ch. viii. It is the same angel Gabriel who (ch. viii.) comforted Daniel, and interpreted to him the vision of the second and third world-kingdom, and who here brings to him further revelations in answer to his prayer regarding the restoration of the holy city, which was lying in ruins, as is expressly remarked in ver. 21.—Also regarding the second long period which passes from the appearance of the Messias to His annihilation (*Vernichtung*), *i.e.* the destruction of His kingdom on the earth, little is apparently said, but in reality in the few words very much is said: that during this whole period the restoration and building shall proceed amid the oppressions of the times, namely, that the kingdom of God shall be built up to the extent determined by God in this long period, although amid severe persecution. This persecution shall during the last week mount up to the height of the cutting off of Christ and the destruction of His kingdom on the earth; but then with the extermination of the prince, the enemy of God, it shall reach its end.

But if, according to what has been said, this revelation presents the principal outlines of the development of the kingdom of God from the time of Daniel to its consummation at the end of this epoch of the world, the seventy שָׁבֻעִים which are appointed for it cannot be year-weeks, or cycles of seven years, but only symbolically defined periods of measured duration. This result of our exposition contradicts, however, the usual interpretations of this prophecy so completely, that in order to confirm our exposition, we must put thoroughly to the test the two classes of opposing interpretations—which, however, agree in this, that the definitions of time are to be understood chronologically, and that under the שָׁבֻעִים year-weeks are to be understood—and examine whether a chronological reckoning is in all respects tenable.

The first class of expositors who find the appearance of Christ in the flesh and His crucifixion, as well as the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, prophesied of in this passage, adduce in support of their view, partly the agreement of the chronological periods, partly the testimony of Christ, who referred ver. 27 to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. How does it now stand with these two arguments?

The *first* Hengstenberg (*Christol.* iii. 1, p. 137) introduces with the remark, "The predominant view in the synagogue and in the church has always been, that the seventy weeks, as well as the shorter periods into which the whole period is divided, are closely fixed and limited. The opposite supposition becomes very suspicious by this, that it is maintained only by such as come into conflict with the chronology by their hypotheses, or take no interest in chronological investigations." He then seeks first to confute the arguments brought forward in favour of the supposition that the chronological definitions are only given in the lump (*in Bausch und Bogen*), and then to present the positive arguments for the definiteness of the chronological statements. But he has in this identified the definiteness of the prophecy in general with its chronological definiteness, while there is between these two ideas a noticeable difference. Of the positive arguments adduced, the first is, that the seventy weeks stand in closer relation to the seventy years of Jeremiah, in so far as regards chronological definiteness, when the seventy years of Jeremiah are understood as strictly chronological and as chronologically fulfilled. But the force of this argument is neutralized by the fact, that in Jeremiah a chronologically described period, "years," is in this

prophecy, on the contrary, designated by a name the meaning of which is disputed, at all events is chronologically indefinite, since *weeks*, if seven-day periods are excluded by the contents of the prophecy, can as well signify Sabbath or jubilee periods, seven-year or seven times seven-year epochs. Still weaker is the second argument, that all the other designations of time with reference to the future in the book of Daniel are definite; for this is applicable only to the designations in ch. viii. 14 and xii. 11, 12, in which evening-mornings and days are named, but not to the passages ch. vii. 25, xii. 7, and iv. 13 (16), where the chronologically indefinite expression, *time, times*, occurs, which are arbitrarily identified with years.

There remains thus, for the determination of the time spoken of in this prophecy, only the argument from its fulfilment, which should give the decision for the chronological definiteness. But, on the contrary, there arises a grave doubt, from the circumstance that among the advocates of the so-called "church Messianic interpretation" the *terminus a quo* of the prophecy is disputed; for some of these interpreters take the edict of Cyrus (B.C. 536) as such, while, on the other hand, others take the edict which Artaxerxes issued on the return of Ezra to Jerusalem for the restoration of the service of God according to the law, in the seventeenth year of his reign, *i.e.* in the year B.C. 457, and others, again, among whom is Hengstenberg, take the journey of Nehemiah to Jerusalem with the permission to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, *i.e.* B.C. 445, or according to Hengstenberg, B.C. 455, as the *terminus a quo* of the seventy weeks—a difference of eighty-one years, which in chronological reckoning is very noticeable.

In our interpretation of ver. 25, we have given our decided opinion that the דָּבָר לְהָשִׁיב וגו׳, from the going forth of which seventy years are to be reckoned, refers to the edict of Cyrus permitting the Jews to return to their fatherland, and the arguments in favour of that opinion are given in p. 352. Against this reference to the edict of Cyrus, Hävernick, Hengstenberg, and Auberlen have objected that in that edict there is nothing said of building up the city, and that under Cyrus, as well as under the succeeding kings, Cambyses, Darius Hystaspes, and Xerxes, nothing also is done for the building of the city. We find it still unbuilt in the times of Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezra ix. 8, x. 13; Neh. i. 3, ii. 3, v. 34, iv. 1, vii. 4). Although from the

nature of the case the building of the temple supposes the existence also of houses in Jerusalem (cf. Hag. i. 4), yet there is not a single trace of any royal permission for the restoration of the people and the rebuilding of the city. Much rather this was expressly forbidden (Ezra iv. 7–23) by the same Artaxerxes Longimanus (who at a later period gave the permission however), in consequence of the slanderous reports of the Samaritans. "There was granted to the Jews a religious, but not a political restoration." For the first time in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus the affairs of Israel took a favourable turn. In that year Artaxerxes granted to Ezra permission to go to Jerusalem, entrusting him with royal letters of great importance (Ezra vii. 11–26, particularly vers. 18, 25 f.); in his twentieth year he gave to Nehemiah express permission to rebuild the city (Neh. ii.). Following the example of the old chronologist Julius Africanus in Jerome and many others, Häv., Hgstb., Reinke, Reusch, and others regard the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, while Auberlen, with Calovius, Newton, M. Geier, Gaussen, Pusey, and others, regard the seventh year, as the *terminus a quo* of the seventy weeks. But that the arguments derived from the absence of any mention being made in the edict of Cyrus of the building of Jerusalem against the reference of מֹצָא דָבָר וגו׳ to that edict are not very strong, at least are not decisive, is manifest from what Auberlen has advanced for the seventh and against the twentieth year. Proceeding from the proposition, correct in itself, that the time of Ezra and that of Nehemiah form *one* connected period of blessing for Israel, Auberlen thence shows that the edict relating to Nehemiah had only a secondary importance, as the sacred narrative itself indicates by the circumstance that it does not mention the edict at all (Neh. ii. 7, 8), while the royal letters to Ezra (Ezra vii.) are given at large. Since it was the same king Artaxerxes who sent away Ezra as well as Nehemiah, his heart must have been favourably inclined toward Israel in his seventh year. "Then must the word for the restoration and building of Jerusalem have gone forth from God." The consciousness of this is expressed by Ezra himself, when, after recording the royal edict (ch. vii. 27), he continues: "Blessed be Jehovah, the God of our fathers, which hath put such a thing as this in the king's heart, *to beautify the house of the Lord which is in Jerusalem;* and hath extended mercy to me before the king and his counsellors, and before all the king's mighty princes."

But, we must reply, wherein does the mercy extended to Ezra before the king consist? Is it in the permission to build up Jerusalem? Certainly not, but in the beautifying of the house of Jehovah in Jerusalem. And to that alone the royal authority granted to Ezra (Ezra vii.) refers. Of the building of the city there is not a word said. Only the means, as it appears, of restoring the temple-worship, which had fallen into great decay, and of re-establishing the law of God corresponding thereto, were granted to him in the long edict issued by the king.[1] If the clause, "from the going

[1] Auberlen, it is true, remarks (p. 138):—"The authority given to Ezra is so extensive that it essentially includes the rebuilding of the city. It refers certainly, for the most part [rather *wholly*], to the service of the sanctuary; but not only must Ezra set up judges (ch. vii. 25), he is also expressly permitted by the king to expend as it seems good to him the rest of the silver and gold (ch. vii. 18). How he then understood the commission, Ezra himself says clearly and distinctly in his prayer of repentance: 'Our Lord hath extended mercy unto us in the sight of the kings of Persia, to give us a reviving, to set up the house of our God, and to repair the desolations thereof (of our God), and to give us a wall in Judah and Jerusalem.' The argument from this passage lies not merely in the גָּדֵר (*encircling wall*), but especially in this, 'to repair the desolations thereof.' This could not be the desolations of the temple, which had been long before this rebuilt, and therefore we may understand by it the desolations of Jerusalem." But the strength of this argumentation rests merely on a verbally free rendering of the verse referred to (Ezra ix. 9). The circumstance that Ezra speaks of the kings (in the plur.) of Persia, who showed favour to the Jews, indicates that he meant not merely that which Artaxerxes had done and would yet do in the future, but that he refers also to the manifestation of favour on the part of kings Cyrus, Darius Hystaspes, and Artaxerxes; thus also the expression, "to give us a wall," cannot refer to the permission to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, which Artaxerxes some years later first granted to Nehemiah. Moreover, the expression, "to give us a גָּדֵר in *Judah* and Jerusalem," shows that by גָּדֵר cannot be understood the fortified walls of Jerusalem; for גָּדֵר never denotes the walls of a city or fortress as such, but always only the encompassing wall of a vineyard, which meaning is found in Mic. vii. 11, Ezek. xiii. 5. גָּדֵר is therefore to be understood here figuratively: encompassing wall in the sense of divine protection; and the meaning is not this: "that the place protected by the wall lies in Judah and Jerusalem; but in Judah and Jerusalem the Persian kings have given to the new congregation of the people a secure dwelling-place, because the power of the Persian kings secured to the Israelites who had returned from captivity the undisturbed and continued possession of their land" (Bertheau). The objection also, that חָרְבֹתָיו cannot be the ruins of the temple, because it was already built, is set aside as soon as we express the *infinitive* לְהַעֲמִיד, as it is rightly done, by the *præterite*, whereby this word refers to the completed building of the temple. Cf. with this Hengstenberg's extended refutation of this argument of Auberlen's (*Christol.* iii. 1, p. 144).

forth of the commandment," etc., cannot refer to the edict of Cyrus, because in it there is no express mention made of the rebuilding of Jerusalem, so also, for the same reason, it cannot refer to that which was issued by Artaxerxes in favour of Ezra. Auberlen's remark, however, is correct, when he says that the edict relating to Nehemiah is of secondary importance when compared with that relating to Ezra. Strictly speaking, there is no mention made of an edict relating to Nehemiah. Nehemiah, as cup-bearer of Artaxerxes, entreated of the king the favour of being sent to Judah, to the city of his fathers' sepulchres, that he might build it; and the king (the queen also sitting by him) granted him this request, and gave him letters to all the governors on this side the Euphrates, that they should permit him undisturbed to prosecute his journey, and to the overseers of the royal forests, that they should give him wood "for the gates of the palace which appertained to the house, and for the wall of the city" (Neh. ii. 4–8). However important this royal favour was in its consequences for Jerusalem,—for Nehemiah built the walls of the city, and thereby raised Jerusalem to a fortified city guarded against hostile assaults, —yet the royal favour for this undertaking was not such as to entitle it to be designated as מֹצָא דָבָר וגו׳, *a going forth of a commandment of God.* But if, in favour of the reference of מֹצָא דָבָר to the edict of Ezra, Auberlen (p. 128 ff.) attaches special importance to the circumstance that in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah are recorded two periods of post-exilian history, the first of which—namely, the time of Zerubbabel and of the high priest Joshua under Cyrus and Darius Hystaspes—we may designate the period of the building of the temple, the second—namely, the time of Ezra the priest, and Nehemiah the Tirshatha, under Artaxerxes Longimanus—we may designate the period of the restoration of the people and the building of the city,—the former the time of the *religious*, and the latter that of the *political* restoration; and, in seeking to establish this view, he interprets the first part of the book of Ezra as a whole in itself, and the second as a whole taken in combination with the book of Nehemiah;—if this is his position, then Hengstenberg has already (*Christol.* iii. p. 149) shown the incorrectness of this division of the book of Ezra, and well remarks that the whole book of Ezra has the temple as its central-point, and views with reference to it the mission of Ezra as well as that of Zerubbabel and Joshua. There is certainly an inner connection of the mission of Ezra with that of Nehemiah, but it consists only

in this, that Ezra's religious reformation was secured by Nehemiah's political reform. From the special design of the work of Ezra, to describe the restoration of the temple and of the service of God, we must also explain the circumstance that nothing is said in it of the building of the city of Jerusalem. Besides, this building, before Nehemiah's arrival in Judah, had not further advanced than to the re-erection of houses for the returned exiles who had settled in Jerusalem. Every attempt to restore the walls was hindered and frustrated by the enemies of Judah, so that the gates and the walls were yet lying burnt and in ruins on Nehemiah's arrival (Neh. i. 3, ii. 3, 5). Therefore neither the absence of any mention in the decree of Cyrus of the building of the city, nor the fact that the rebuilding of the city walls was first effected by Nehemiah, forms a decisive argument against the reference of מֹצָא דָּבָר וגו׳ to this edict; and we must maintain this reference as the only correct one, because this edict only, but not that which gave permission to Ezra or that which gave authority to Nehemiah to build the city walls, formed an epoch marking a crisis in the development of the theocracy, as this is connected in the announcement of Gabriel with the going forth of the word to restore Jerusalem.

Not less doubtful is the matter of the definition of the *terminus ad quem* of the seventy שָׁבֻעִים, and of the chronological reckoning of the whole period. As for the *terminus ad quem*, a sharply defined *factum* must form the conclusion of the sixty-ninth week; for at this point the public appearance of Christ, His being anointed with the Holy Ghost, is named as the end of the prophecy. If this *factum* occurred, according to Luke iii. 1, in the year of Rome 782, the twentieth year of Artaxerxes—*i.e.* the year 455 B.C., according to the usual chronology—would be the year 299 A.U.C.; if we add to that sixty-nine weeks = 483 years, then it gives the year 782 A.U.C. In the middle of this last week, beginning with the appearance of the Anointed, occurred His death, while the confirming of the covenant extends through the whole of it. With reference to the death of Christ, the prophecy and its fulfilment closely agree, since that event took place three and a half years after His baptism. But the *terminus ad quem* of the confirming of the covenant, as one more or less moveable, is capable of no definite chronological determination. It is sufficient to remark, that in the first years after the death of Christ the ἐκλογή of the Old Covenant people was gathered together, and then the message of Christ was brought also to the heathen, so that the prophet

might rightly represent the salvation as both subjectively and objectively consummated at the end of the seventy weeks for the covenant people, of whom alone he speaks (Hgst. pp. 163 f., 180). Thus also Auberlen, who, however, places the end of the seventy weeks in the *factum* of the stoning of Stephen, with which the Jews pressed, shook down, and made full to the overflowing the measure of their sins, already filled by the murder of the Messias; so that now the period of grace yet given to them after the work of Christ had come to an end, and the judgment fell upon Israel.

We will not urge against the precise accuracy of the fulfilment arrived at by this calculation, that the *terminus a quo* adopted by Hengstenberg, viz. the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, coincides with the 455th year B.C. only on the supposition that Xerxes reigned but eleven years, and that Artaxerxes came to the throne ten years earlier than the common reckoning, according to which Xerxes reigned twenty-one years, and that the correctness of this view is opposed by Hofm., Kleinert, Wieseler, and others, because the arguments for and against it are evenly balanced; but with Preiswerk, whose words Auberlen (p. 144) quotes with approbation, considering the uncertainty of ancient chronology on many points, we shall not lay much stress on calculating the exact year, but shall regard the approximate coincidence of the prophetical with the historical time as a sufficient proof that there may possibly have been an exact correspondence in the number of years, and that no one, at all events, can prove the contrary. But we must attach importance to this, that in this calculation a part of the communication of the angel is left wholly out of view. The angel announces not merely the cutting off of the Messias after seven and sixty-two weeks, but also the coming of the people of a prince who shall lay waste the city and the sanctuary, which all interpreters who understand וְכָרֵת מָשִׁיחַ of the death of Christ refer to the destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple by the Romans; he also says that this war shall last till the end of the seventy weeks. The destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans followed the death of Christ, not after an interval of only three and a half years, but of thirty years. Accordingly, the seventy weeks must extend to the year 70 A.D., whereby the whole calculation is shown to be inaccurate. If we yet further remark, that the advocates of this exposition of the prophecy are in a position to give no sufficient reason for the dividing of the sixty-nine weeks into seven

and sixty-two, and that their reference of the seven weeks to the time of the rebuilding of Jerusalem under Nehemiah, and of the sixty-two weeks to the period from the completion of this building to the appearance of Christ in the flesh, stands in open contradiction to the words of the text; finally, that the placing of the twentieth year of Artaxerxes as the *terminus a quo* of the reckoning of the מֹצָא דָבָר cannot be correct,—then may we also regard the much commended exact concord of the prophecy with the actual events of history derived from this interpretation of the verse as only an illusion, since from the "going forth of the word" to restore Jerusalem to the destruction of that city by Titus, not seventy weeks or 490 years elapsed, but, according as we date the going forth of this word in the year 536 or 455 B.C., 606 or 525 years, *i.e.* more than eighty-six, or at least seventy-five, year-weeks, passed. This great gulf, which thus shows itself in the calculation of the שָׁבֻעִים as year-weeks, between the prophecy and its chronological fulfilment, is not bridged over by the remark with which Auberlen (p. 141) has sought to justify his supposition that Ezra's return to Judah in the year 457 B.C. formed the *terminus a quo* of the seventy weeks, while yet the word of the angel announcing the restoration and the building up of Jerusalem first finds its actual accomplishment in the building of the city walls on Nehemiah's return—the remark, namely, that the external building up of the city had the same relation to the *terminus a quo* of Daniel's seventy year-weeks as the external destruction of Jerusalem to that of Jeremiah's seventy years. "The latter begin as early as the year 606 B.C., and therefore eighteen years before the destruction of Jerusalem, for at that time the kingdom of Judah ceased to exist as an independent theocracy; the former begin thirteen years before the rebuilding of the city, because then the re-establishment of the theocracy began." We find a repetition of the same phenomenon at the end of the seventy weeks. "These extend to the year 33 A.D. From this date Israel was at an end, though the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans did not take place till the year 70 A.D." For Jeremiah did not prophesy that the destruction of Jerusalem should last for seventy years, but only that the land of Judah would be desolate seventy years, and that for so long a time its inhabitants would serve the king of Babylon. The desolating of the land and Judah's subjugation to the king of Babylon did not begin with the destruction of Jerusalem, but with the first siege of the city by Nebuchadnezzar in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, *i.e.* in the year

606 B.C., and continued till the liberation of the Jews from Babylonian bondage by Cyrus in the first year of his reign, in the year 536 B.C., and thus after seventy years were fully accomplished. Jeremiah's chronologically definite prophecy is thus accurately fulfilled; but Daniel's prophecy of the seventy weeks is neither chronologically defined by years, nor has it been altogether so fulfilled as that the 70, 7, 62, and 1 week can be reckoned by year-weeks.

The New Testament also does not necessitate our seeking the end of the seventy weeks in the judgment the Romans were the means of executing against the ancient Jerusalem, which had rejected and crucified the Saviour. Nowhere in the N. T. is this prophecy, particularly the יִכָּרֵת מָשִׁיחַ, referred to the crucifixion of our Lord; nor has Christ or the apostles interpreted these verses, 26, 27 of this chapter, of the desolation and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. However general the opinion may be that Christ, in speaking of His *παρουσία*, Matt. xxiv., Mark xiii., and Luke xxi., in the words *ὅταν ἴδητε τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Δανιὴλ τοῦ προφήτου, κ.τ.λ.* (Matt. xxiv. 15, cf. Mark xiii. 14), had before His eyes this prophecy (Dan. ix. 26, 27), yet that opinion is without foundation, and is not established by the arguments which Hävernick (*Dan.* p. 383 f.), Wieseler (*die 70 Wochen*, p. 173 ff.), Hengstenberg (*Beitr.* i. p. 258 ff., and *Christol.* iii. 1, p. 113 ff.), and Auberlen (*Dan.* p. 120 f.) have brought forward for that purpose. We have already, in explaining the words עַל כְּנַף שִׁקּוּצִים, ver. 27, p. 370, shown that the *βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως*, found in the discourse of Christ, is not derived from Dan. ix. 27, but from Dan. xi. 31 or xii. 11, where the LXX. have rendered שִׁקּוּץ מְשֹׁמֵם by *τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως*. For the further confirmation of the arguments in behalf of this view there presented, we wish to add the following considerations. The appeal to the fact that Josephus, in the words (*Antt.* x. 11. 7) *Δανιὴλος καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ἀνέγραψε, καὶ ὅτι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐρημωθήσεται*, referred to the prophecy Dan. ix., and gave this interpretation not only as a private view of his own, but as (cf. *De Bell. Jud.* iv. 6. 3) *παλαιὸς λόγος ἀνδρῶν, i.e.* represented the view of his people, as commonly received, even by the Zealots,—this would form a valid proof that Dan. ix. was at that time commonly referred to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, only, however, if besides this no other prophecy of the book of Daniel could be apparently referred to the destruction of

the Jewish state by the Romans. But this is not the case. Josephus and his cotemporaries could find such a prophecy in that of the great enemy (Dan. vii. 25) who would arise out of the fourth or Roman world-kingdom, and would persecute and destroy the saints of the Most High. What Josephus adduces as the contents of the *παλαιὸς λόγος ἀνδρῶν*, namely, *τότε τὴν πόλιν ἁλώσεσθαι καὶ καταφλεγήσεσθαι τὰ ἅγια νόμῳ πολέμου*, occurs neither in ch. ix. nor in any other part of the book of Daniel, and was not so defined till after the historical fulfilment. Wieseler, indeed, thinks (p. 154) that the words *τὴν πόλιν καταφλεγήσεσθαι, κ.τ.λ.*, perfectly correspond with the words of Daniel, וְהָעִיר וְהַקֹּדֶשׁ יַשְׁחִית, ch. ix. 26 (*shall destroy the city and the sanctuary*, E. V.); but he also concedes that Josephus interpreted the kind of desolation, perhaps with reference to Dan. xi. 33 (? 31), after the result, as a total desolation. It is thus granted that not only in ch. ix., but also in ch. xi., Daniel predicted a desolation of the city and the sanctuary which could be interpreted of their destruction by the Romans, and the opinion, that besides ch. ix. no other part of Daniel can be found, is abandoned as incorrect. But the other circumstances which Josephus brings forward in the passage quoted, particularly that the Zealots by the desecration of the temple contributed to the fulfilling of that *παλαιὸς λόγος*, are much more distinctly contained in Dan. xi. 31 than in ch. ix. 26, where we must first introduce this sense in the words (ver. 27) עַל כְּנַף שִׁקּוּצִים מְשֹׁמֵם (*on the wing of abominations one causing desolation*). Similarly the other passages are constituted in which Josephus speaks of ancient prophecies which have been fulfilled in the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. No one specially points to Dan. ix.

But if the proof from Josephus could be made more valid than has yet been done, that the Jews of his time referred Dan. ix. to the overthrow of the Jewish commonwealth by the Romans, yet thereby it would not be proved that Christ also shared this Jewish opinion, and set it forth in His discourse, Matt. xxiv., as an undoubted truth. In favour of this view it has indeed been argued, "that the *ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ* fully corresponds to *ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων ἔσται* (LXX., Dan. ix. 27):" Hengstenberg, *Christol.* p. 117. But it is still more inconsistent with the proof from the Alexandrian translation of the verses before us than it is with that from Josephus. In the form of the LXX. text that has come down to us there are undoubtedly two different

paraphrases or interpretations of the Hebrew text of vers. 26 and 27 penetrating each other, and therein the obscure words of Daniel (after ch. xi. 31 and xii. 11) are so interpreted that they contain a reference to the desolation of the sanctuary by Antiochus.[1] The עַל כְּנַף שִׁקּוּצִים, incomprehensible to the translators, they interpreted after the וְחִלְּלוּ הַמִּקְדָּשׁ, ch. xi. 31, and derived from it the *ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν*. But Christ derived the expression *τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως* as well as the *ἑστὼς ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ* from ch. xi. 31, cf. with ch. xii. 11, but not from ch. ix. 27, where neither the original text, "on the wings of abomination shall the desolater come," nor the LXX. translation, *ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων ἔσται*—"over the sanctuary shall the abomination of the desolations come," leads to the idea of a "standing," or a "being placed," of the abomination of desolation. The standing (*ἑστώς*) without doubt supposes the placing, which corresponds to the וְנָתְנוּ (*δώσουσι*, LXX.) and the וְלֻתַּת (*ἑτοιμασθῇ δοθῆναι*, LXX.), and the *ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ* points to הַמִּקְדָּשׁ, ch. xi. 31, since by the setting up of the abomination of desolation, the sanctuary, or the holy place of the temple, was indeed desecrated.

The prophecy in Dan. xi. treats, as is acknowledged, of the desolation of the sanctuary by Antiochus Epiphanes. If thus the Lord, in His discourse, had spoken of the *βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρ. ἑστὼς ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ* as a sign of the approaching destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, it would not remotely follow that He referred this prophecy (ch. ix.) to that catastrophe. Much more would He then, as Kliefoth (p. 412) has well remarked, "represent that which Antiochus Epiphanes did against Jerusalem as an historical type of that which the Romans would do." He would only say, "As once

[1] That the Septuagint version (ch. xi. 31, xii. 11, ix. 24–27) is not in reality a translation, but rather an explanation of the passage as the LXX. understood it, is manifest. "They regard," as Klief. rightly judges, "ver. 24 and the first half of ver. 25 as teaching that it was prophesied to Daniel that Israel would soon return from exile, that Daniel also would return, and Jerusalem be built. The rest they treat very freely. They take the second half of ver. 25 out of its place, and insert it after the first clause of ver. 27; they also take the closing words of ver. 26 out of their place, and insert them after the second clause of ver. 27. The passage thus arranged they then interpret of Antiochus Epiphanes. They add together all the numbers they find in the text (70 + 7 + 62 = 139), and understand by them years, the years of the Seleucidan æra, so that they descend to the second year of Antiochus Epiphanes. Then they interpret all the separate statements of the times and actions of Antiochus Epiphanes in a similar manner as do the modern interpreters. Cf. Wieseler, p. 200 ff."

was done to Jerusalem by Antiochus, according to the word of Daniel, so shall it again soon be done; and therefore, if ye see repeating themselves the events which occurred under Antiochus in the fulfilment of Daniel's word, then know ye that it is the time for flight." But regarding the meaning which Christ found in Dan. ix. 26 and 27, not the least intimation would follow therefrom.

But in the discourse in question the Lord prophesied nothing whatever primarily or immediately of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, but treated in it, as we have already remarked, p. 370, generally of His *παρουσία* and the *συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος*, which He places only in connection with the destruction of the temple. The occasion of the discourse, as well as its contents, show this. After He had left the temple, never to enter it again, shortly before His last sufferings, while standing on the Mount of Olives, He announces to His disciples, who pointed to the temple, the entire destruction of that building; whereupon they say to Him, "Tell us *πότε ταῦτα ἔσται καὶ τί τὸ σημεῖον τῆς σῆς παρουσίας καὶ συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος*?" for they believe that this destruction and His *παρουσία* take place together at the end of the world. This question the Lord replies to in a long discourse, in which He gives them the wished-for information regarding the sign (*σημεῖον*, Matt. xxiv. 4–31), and regarding the time (*πότε*) of His *παρουσία* and the end of the world (vers. 32–34). The information concerning the sign begins with a warning to take heed and beware of being deceived; for that false messiahs would appear, and wars and tumults of nations rising up one against another, and other plagues, would come (vers. 4–7). All this would be only the beginning of the woes, *i.e.* of the afflictions which then would come upon the confessors of His name; but the end would not come till the gospel was first preached in all the world as a testimony to all nations (vers. 8–14). Then He speaks of the signs which immediately precede the end, namely, of the abomination of desolation in the holy place of which Daniel prophesied. With this a period of tribulation would commence such as never yet had been, so that if these days should not be shortened for the elect's sake, no one would be saved (vers. 15–28). To this He adds, in conclusion, the description of His own *παρουσία*, which would immediately (*εὐθέως*) follow this great tribulation (vers. 29–31). He connects with the description of His return (ver. 32 f.) a similitude, with which He answers the question concerning its time, and thus continues: "When ye see *all these things*, know that it is near,

even at the doors. Verily I say unto you, this γενεά shall not pass till *all these things* be fulfilled. But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only" (vers. 33, 34, 36).

From this brief sketch of the course of the thought it clearly appears that the Lord speaks expressly neither of the destruction of Jerusalem, nor yet of the time of that event. What is to be understood by βδέλυγμα τ. ἐρ. He supposes to be known to the disciples from the book of Daniel, and only says to them that they must flee when they see this standing in the holy place, so that they may escape destruction (ver. 15 ff.). Only in Luke is there distinct reference to the destruction of Jerusalem; for there we find, instead of the reference to the abomination of desolation, the words, "And when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that its ἐρήμωσις is nigh" (Luke xxi. 20). According to the record of all the three evangelists, however, the Lord not only connects in the closest manner the tribulation commencing with the appearance of the βδέλυγμα τ. ἐρ., or with the siege of Jerusalem, with the last great tribulation which opens the way for His return, but He also expressly says, that immediately after the tribulation of those days (Matt. xxiv. 29), or in those days of that tribulation (Mark xiii. 24), or then (τότε, Luke xxi. 27), the Son of man shall come in the clouds in great power and glory. From this close connection of His visible παρουσία with the desolation of the holy place or the siege of Jerusalem, it does not, it is true, follow that "by the oppression of Jerusalem connected with the παρουσία, and placed immediately before it, the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans cannot possibly be meant;" much rather that the discourse is "of a desecration and an oppression by Antichrist which would come upon the τόπος ἅγιος and Jerusalem in the then future time, immediately before the return of the Lord, in the days of the θλῖψις μεγάλη" (Kliefoth). But just as little does it follow from that close connection—as the eschatological discourse, Matt. xxiv., is understood by most interpreters—that the Lord Himself, as well as His disciples, regarded as contemporaneous the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans and His visible return in the last days, or saw as in prophetic perspective His παρουσία behind the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, and thus, without regard to the sequence of time, spoke first of the one event and then of the other. The first conclusion is inadmissible for this reason, that the disciples had made

inquiry regarding the time of the destruction of the temple then visibly before them. If the Lord, in His answer to this question, by making mention of the *βδέλυγμα τ. ἐρ. ἑστὼς ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ*, had no thought of this temple, but only of the *τόπος ἅγιος* of the future, the temple of the Christian church, then by the use of words which the disciples could not otherwise understand than of the laying waste and the desolation of the earthly sanctuary He would have confirmed them in their error. The second conclusion is out of harmony with the whole course of thought in the discourse. Besides, both of them are decidedly opposed by this, that the Lord, after setting forth all the events which precede and open the way for His *παρουσία* and the end of the world, says to the disciples, "When ye see *all these things*, know that it is near, even at the doors" (Matt. xxiv. 33), and solemnly adds, "This *γενεά*," *i.e.* the generation then living, "shall not pass till *all these things* be fulfilled" (ver. 34). Since the *πάντα ταῦτα* in ver. 33 comprehends all that goes before the *παρουσία*, all the events mentioned in vers. 15–28, or rather in vers. 5–28, it must be taken also in the same sense in ver. 34. If, therefore, the contemporaries of Jesus and His disciples—for we can understand nothing else by *ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη*—must live to see all these events, then must they have had a commencement before the destruction of Jerusalem, and though not perfectly, yet in the small beginnings, which like a germ comprehended in them the completion. Hence it is beyond a doubt that the Lord speaks of the judgment upon Jerusalem and the Jewish temple as the beginning of His *παρουσία* and of the *συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος*, not merely as a pre-intimation of them, but as an actual commencement of His coming to judgment, which continues during the centuries of the spread of the gospel over the earth; and when the gospel shall be preached to all nations, then the season and the hour kept in His own power by the Father shall reach its completion in the *ἐπιφανείᾳ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ* (2 Thess. ii. 8) to judge the world.[1] According

[1] This view of the *parousia* of Christ has been controverted by Dr. A. Christiani in his *Bemerkungen zur Auslegung der Apocalypse mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die chiliastische Frage* (Riga 1868, p. 21),—only, however, thus, that notwithstanding the remark, "Since the words *πάντα ταῦτα*, Matt. xxiv. 34, plainly refer back to ver. 33, they cannot in the one place signify more than in the other," he yet refers these words in ver. 34 to the event of the destruction of Jerusalem, because the contemporaries of Jesus in reality lived to see it; thus giving to them, as they occur in ver. 34, a much more limited sense than that which they have in ver. 33.

to this view, Christ, in His discourse, interpreted the prophecy of Daniel, ch. xi., of the abomination of desolation which should come, and had come, upon Jerusalem and Judah by Antiochus Epiphanes, as a type of the desolation of the sanctuary and of the people of God in the last time, wholly in the sense of the prophecy, which in ver. 36 passes over from the typical enemy of the saints to the enemy of the people of God in the time of the end.

Thus the supposition that Christ referred Dan. ix. 26 and 27 to the overthrow of Jerusalem by the Romans loses all support; and for the chronological reckoning of the seventy-weeks of Daniel, no help is obtained from the New Testament.

We have now to take into consideration the *second* view regarding the historical reference of the seventy weeks prevailing in our time. The opponents of the genuineness of the book of Daniel generally are agreed in this (resting on the supposition that the prophecies of Daniel do not extend beyond the death of Antiochus Epiphanes), that the destruction of this enemy of the Jews (Ant. Ep.), or the purification of the temple occurring a few years earlier, forms the *terminus ad quem* of the seventy weeks, and that their duration is to be reckoned from the year 168 or 172 B.C. back either to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, or to the beginning of the Exile. Since now the seventy year-weeks or 490 years, reckoned from the year 168 or 172 B.C., would bring us to the year 658 or 662 B.C., *i.e.* fifty-two or fifty-six years before the commencement of the Exile, and the *terminus a quo* of Jeremiah's prophecy of seventy years, a date from which cannot be reckoned any commencing period, they have for this reason sought to shorten the seventy weeks. Hitzig, Ewald, Wieseler, and others suppose that the first seven year-weeks (=forty-nine years) are not to be taken into the reckoning along with the sixty-two weeks, and that only sixty-two weeks = 434 years are to be counted to the year 175 (Ewald), or 172 (Hitzig), as the beginning of the last week filled up by the assault of Antiochus against Judaism. But this reckoning also brings us to the year 609 or 606 B.C., the beginning of the Exile, or three years further back. To date the sixty-two year-weeks from the commencement of the Exile, agrees altogether too little with the announcement that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem during sixty-two weeks it shall be built, so that, of the most recent representatives of this view, no one any longer consents to hold

the seventy years of the exile for a time of the restoring and the building of Jerusalem. Thus Hitzig and Ewald openly declare that the reckoning is not correct, that the pseudo-Daniel has erred, and has assumed ten weeks, *i.e.* seventy years, too many, either from ignorance of chronology, "or from a defect in thought, from an interpretation of a word of sacred Scripture, springing from certain conditions received as holy and necessary, but not otherwise demonstrable" (Ewald, p. 425). By this change of the sixty-two weeks = 434 years into fifty-two weeks or 364 years, they reach from the year 174 to 538 B.C., the year of the overthrow of Babylon by Cyrus, by whom the word "to restore Jerusalem" was promulgated. To this the seven weeks (= forty-nine years) are again added in order to reach the year 588 or 587 B.C., the year of the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, from which the year-weeks, shortened from seventy to sixty, are to be reckoned.

This hypothesis needs no serious refutation. For a reckoning which places the first 7 weeks = 49 years aside, and then shortens the 62 weeks by 10 in order afterwards again to bring in the 7 weeks, can make no pretence to the name of a "scientific explanation." When Hitzig remarks (p. 170) "that the 7 weeks form the πρῶτον ψεῦδος in the (Daniel's) reckoning, which the author must bring in; the whole theory of the 70 year-weeks demands the earlier commencement in the year 606 B.C."—we may, indeed, with greater accuracy say that the πρῶτον ψεῦδος of the modern interpretation, which needs such exegetical art and critical violence in order to change the 70 and the 62 weeks into 60 and 52, arises out of the dogmatic supposition that the 70 weeks must end with the consecration of the temple under Antiochus, or with the death of this enemy of God.

Among the opponents of the genuineness of the book this supposition is a dogmatic axiom, to the force of which the words of Scripture must yield. But this supposition is adopted also by interpreters such as Hofmann, Reichel (*die 70 Jahreswochen Dan.* ix. 24–27, in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1858, p. 735 ff.), Fries, and others, who recognise the genuineness of the book of Daniel, and hold the announcement of the angel in these verses to be a divine revelation. These interpreters have adopted this view for this reason, that in the description of the hostile prince who shall persecute Israel and desecrate the sanctuary, and then come to his end with terror (vers. 26 and 27), they believe that they recognise again the image of Antiochus Epiphanes, whose enmity against

the people and the sanctuary of God is described, ch. viii. 9 ff., 23 f. It cannot, it is true, be denied that there is a certain degree of similarity between the two. If in vers. 26 and 27 it is said of the hostile prince that he shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and put an end to the sacrifice and the meat-offering for half a week, then it is natural to think of the enemy of whom it is said: he "shall destroy the mighty and the holy people" (E. V. ch. viii. 24), "and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away" (ch. viii. 11), "and he shall take away the daily sacrifice" (ch. xi. 31), especially if, with Hofmann, we adopt the view (*Schriftbew.* ii. 2, p. 592) that between the expressions "take away the daily sacrifice" (הַתָּמִיד [הֵסִיר, *remove*] הֵרִים), and "he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease" (יַשְׁבִּית זֶבַח וּמִנְחָה), there "is no particular distinction."[1] But the predicate "*particular*" shows that Hofmann does not reject *every* distinction; and, indeed, there exists a not inconsiderable distinction; for, as we have already remarked, הַתָּמִיד denotes only that which is *permanent* in worship, as *e.g.* the daily morning and evening sacrifice; while, on the other hand, זֶבַח וּמִנְחָה denotes the whole series of sacrifices together. The making to cease of the bloody and the unbloody sacrifices expresses an altogether greater wickedness than the taking away of the daily sacrifice. This distinction is not set aside by a reference to the clause וְעַל כְּנַף שִׁקּוּצִים מְשֹׁמֵם (ver. 27) compared with וְנָתְנוּ הַשִּׁקּוּץ מְשֹׁמֵם (ch. xi. 31). For the assertion that the article in הַשִּׁקּוּץ מְשֹׁמֵם (ch. xi. 31, "*the* abomination that maketh desolate") denotes something of which Daniel had before this already heard, supplies no proof of this; but the article is simply to be accounted for from the placing over against one another of הַתָּמִיד and הַשִּׁקּוּץ. Moreover the הַשִּׁקּוּץ מְשֹׁמֵם is very different from the עַל כְּנַף שִׁקּוּצִים מְשֹׁמֵם. The being carried on the wings of idol-abominations is a much more comprehensive expression for the might and dominion of idol-abominations than the setting up of an idol-altar on Jehovah's altar of burnt-offering.

As little can we (with Hofm., p. 590) perceive in the הַבָּא, closely connecting itself with וְקִצּוֹ בַּשֶּׁטֶף (ver. 26), a reference to the divine judgment described in ch. viii., because the reference

[1] We confine ourselves here to what Hofm. in his *Schriftbew.* has brought forward in favour of this view, without going into the points which he has stated in his *die 70 Wochen, u. s. w.* p. 97, but has omitted in the *Schriftbew.*, and can with reference to that earlier argumentation only refer for its refutation to Kliefoth's *Daniel*, p. 417 ff.

to the enemy of God spoken of in ch. vii. 8 and 24 is as natural, yea, even more so, when we observe that the enemy of God in ch. vii. is destroyed by a solemn judgment of God—a circumstance which harmonizes much more with קְצוֹ בְּשַׁחַת than with בְּאֶפֶס יָד יִשָּׁבֵר, which is said of the enemy described in ch. viii. Add to this that the half-week during which the adversary shall (ch. ix. 27) carry on his work corresponds not to the 2300 evening-mornings (ch viii. 13), but, as Delitzsch acknowledges, to the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times, ch. vii. 25 and xii. 7, which $3\frac{1}{2}$ times, however, refer not to the period of persecution under Antiochus, but to that of Antichrist.

From all this it therefore follows, not that the prince who shall come, whose people shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and who shall cause the sacrifice to cease, is Antiochus, who shall raise himself against the people of the saints, take away the "continuance" (=*daily sacrifice*), and cast down the place of the sanctuary (ch. viii. 11), but only that this wickedness of Antiochus shall constitute a type for the abomination of desolation which the hostile prince mentioned in this prophecy shall set up, till, like Pharaoh, he find his overthrow in the flood, and the desolation which he causes shall pour itself upon him like a flood.

This interpretation of vers. 26 and 27 is not made doubtful also by referring to the words of 1 Macc. i. 54, *ᾠκοδόμησαν βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον*, as an evidence that at that time Dan. ix. 27 was regarded as a prophecy of the events then taking place (Hofm. *Weiss.* i. p. 309). For these words refer not to Dan. ix. 27, where the LXX. have *βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεων*, but to Dan. xi. 11, where the singular *βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως* stands with the verb *καὶ δώσουσι* (LXX. for וְנָתְנוּ), to which the *ᾠκοδομήσεται* visibly refers.

If, therefore, the reference of vers. 26, 27 to the period of Antiochus' persecution is exegetically untenable, then also, finally, it is completely disproved in the chronological reckoning of the 70 weeks. Proceeding from the right supposition, that after the 70 weeks, the fulfilling of all that was promised, the expiating and putting away of sin, and, along with that, the perfect working out of the divine plan of salvation for eternity, shall begin,—thus, that in ver. 24 the perfecting of the kingdom of God in glory is prophesied of,—Hofmann and his followers do not interpret the 7, 62, and 1 week which are mentioned in vers. 25–27 as a division of the 70 weeks, but they misplace the first-mentioned 7 weeks at the

end of the period consisting of 70 such weeks, and the following 62 + 1 in the time reaching from the beginning of the Chaldean supremacy in the year 605 to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes in the year 164, which makes 441 years = 63 year-weeks; according to which, not only the end of the 62 + 1 weeks does not coincide with the end of the 70 weeks, but also the 7 + 62 + 1 are to be regarded neither as identical with the 70 nor as following one another continuously in their order,—much more between the 63 and the 7 weeks a wide blank space, which before the coming of the end cannot be measured, must lie, which is not even properly covered up, much less filled up, by the remark that "the unfolding of the 70 proceeds backwards." For by this reckoning 7 + 62 + 1 are not an unfolding of the 70, and are not equal to 70, but would be equal to 62 + 1 + some unknown intervening period + 7 weeks. This were an impossibility which the representatives of this interpretation of the angel's communication do not, it is true, accept, but seek to set aside, by explaining the 7 weeks as periods formed of 7 times 7, or jubilee-year periods, and, on the contrary, the 62 + 1 of seven-year times or Sabbath-periods.

This strange interpretation of the angel's words, according to which not only must the succession of the periods given in the text be transposed, the first 7 weeks being placed last, but also the word שָׁבֻעִים in the passages immediately following one another must first denote jubilee (49 year) periods, then also Sabbath-year (7 year) periods, is not made plain by saying that "the end of the 62 + 1 week is the judgment of wrath against the persecutor, thus only the remote making possible the salvation; but the end of the 70 weeks is, according to ver. 24, the final salvation, and fulfilling of the prophecy and consecration of the Most Holy—thus the end of the 62 + 1 and of the 70 does not take place at the same time;" and—"if the end of the two took place at the same time, what kind of miserable consolation would this be for Daniel, in answer to his prayer, to be told that Jerusalem within the 70 weeks would in troublous times again arise, thus only arise amid destitution!" (Del. p. 284). For the prophecy would furnish but miserable consolation only in this case, if it consisted merely of the contents of vers. 25*b*, 26, and 27,—if it said nothing more than this, that Jerusalem should be built again within the 70 weeks in troublous times, and then finally would again be laid waste. But the other remark, that the judgment of wrath against the destroyer forms only the *remote* making possible of the salvation, and is separated from the final

deliverance or the completion of salvation by a long intervening period, stands in contradiction to the prophecy in ch. vii. and to the whole teaching of Scripture, according to which the destruction of the arch-enemy (Antichrist) and the setting up of the kingdom of glory are brought about by *one* act of judgment.

In the most recent discussion of this prophecy, Hofmann (*Schriftbew.* ii. 2, p. 585 ff., 2 Aufl.) has presented the following positive arguments for the interpretation and reckoning of the period of time in question. The message of the angel in vers. 25–27 consists of three parts: (1) A statement of how many *heptades* shall be between the going forth of the command to rebuild Jerusalem and a *Maschiach Nagid;* (2) the mentioning of that which constitutes the contents of sixty-two of these periods; (3) the prediction of what shall happen with the close of the latter of these times. In the first of these parts, דָּבָר with the following infinitive, which denotes a human action, is to be taken in the sense of *commandment*, as that word of Cyrus prophesied of Isa. xliv. 28, and the rebuilding of Jerusalem is to be interpreted as in this passage of Isaiah, or in Jeremiah's prophecy to the same import, and not as if afterwards a second rebuilding of Jerusalem amid the difficulty and oppression of the times is predicted; then will the sixty-two *heptades* remain separated from the seven, and not sixty-nine of these, but only seven, be reckoned between the going forth of the command to build Jerusalem again and the *Maschiach Nagid*, since in ver. 26 mention is made not of that which is to be expected on the other side of the sixty-nine, but of the sixty-two times; finally, the contents of the seven times are sufficiently denoted by their commencement and their termination, and will remain without being confounded with the building up of Jerusalem in troublous times, afterwards described.

All these statements of Hofmann are correct, and they agree with our interpretation of these verses, but they contain no proof that the sixty-two weeks are to be placed after the seven, and that they are of a different extent from these. The proof for this is first presented in the conclusion derived from these statements (on the ground of the correct supposition that by *Maschiach Nagid* not Cyrus, but the Messias, is to be understood), that because the first of these passages (ver. 25*a*) does not say of a part of these times what may be its contents, but much rather points out which part of them lies between the two events in the great future of Israel, and consequently separates them from one another, that on this

account these events belong to the end of the present course of the world, in which Israel hoped, and obviously the seven times shall constitute the end of the period consisting of seven such times. This argument thus founds itself on the circumstance that the appearing of the *Maschiach Nagid* which concludes the seven weeks, and separates them from the sixty-two weeks which follow, is not to be understood of the appearance of Christ in the flesh, but of His return in glory for the completion of the kingdom which was hoped for in consequence of the restoration of Jerusalem, prophesied of by Isaiah (*e.g.* ch. lv. 3, 4) and Jeremiah (*e.g.* ch. xxx. 9). But we could speak of these deductions as valid only if Isaiah and Jeremiah had prophesied only of the appearance of the Messias in glory, with the exclusion of His coming in the flesh. But since this is not the case—much rather, on the one side, Hofmann himself says the דָּבָר לְהָשִׁיב וגו׳ may be taken for a prediction, as that Isa. xliv. 28, of Cyrus—but Cyrus shall not build the Jerusalem of the millennial kingdom, but the Jerusalem with its temple which was destroyed by the Chaldeans—and, on the other hand, here first, if not alone, in the prophecies ch. xxv. and xxix., by which Daniel was led to pray, Jeremiah has predicted the return of Israel from exile after the expiry of the seventy years as the beginning of the working out of the divine counsel of salvation towards Israel,—therefore Daniel also could not understand the דָּבָר לְהָשִׁיב וגו׳ otherwise than of the restoration of Jerusalem after the seventy years of the Babylonish exile. The remark also, that nothing is said of the contents of the seven weeks, warrants us in no respect to seek their contents in the time of the millennial kingdom. The absence of any mention of the contents of the seven weeks is simply and sufficiently accounted for from the circumstance, as we have already (p. 375) shown, that Daniel had already given the needed information (ch. viii.) regarding this time, regarding the time from the end of the Exile to the appearance of Christ. Still less can the conclusion be drawn, from the circumstance that the building in the sixty-two weeks is designated as one falling in troublous times, that the restoration and the building of Jerusalem in the seven weeks shall be a building in glory. The לְהָשִׁיב וְלִבְנוֹת (*to restore and to build*, ver. 25*a*) does not form a contrast to the תָּשׁוּב וְנִבְנְתָה רְחוֹב וְחָרוּץ בְּצוֹק הָעִתִּים (= E.V. shall be built again, and the wall even in troublous times, ver. 25*b*), but it is only more indefinite, for the circumstances of the building are not particularly stated. Finally, the circumstance also, that after the sixty-two *heptades* a

new devastation of the holy city is placed in view, cannot influence us to escape from the idea of the second coming of Christ in the last time along with the building of Jerusalem during the seven *heptades*, since it was even revealed to the prophet that not merely would a cruel enemy of the saints of God (in Antiochus Epiphanes) arise out of the third world-kingdom, but also that a yet greater enemy would arise out of the fourth, an enemy who would perish in the burning fire (ch. vii. 12, 26 f.) in the judgment of the world immediately before the setting up of the kingdom of glory.

Thus neither the placing of the contents of the seven weeks in the eschatological future, nor yet the placing of these weeks at the beginning instead of at the end of the three periods of time which are distinguished in vers. 25–27, is established by these arguments. This Fries (*Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.* iv. p. 254 ff.) has observed, and rightly remarked, that the effort to interpret the events announced in ver. 26 f. of the tyranny of Antiochus, and to make this epoch coincide with the close of the sixty-two year-weeks in the chronological reckoning, cannot but lead to the mistake of including the years of Babylon in the seventy year-weeks—a mistake which is met by three rocks, against which every attempt of this kind must be shattered. (1) There is the objection that it is impossible that the times of the destruction and the desolation of Jerusalem could be conceived of under the same character as the times of its restoration, and be represented from the same point of view; (2) the inexplicable inconsequence which immediately arises, if in the seventy year-weeks, including the last restoration of Israel, the Babylonish but not also the Romish exile were comprehended; (3) the scarcely credible supposition that the message of the angel sent to Daniel was to correct that earlier divine word which was given by Jeremiah, and to make known that not simply seventy years, but rather seventy year-weeks, are meant. Of this latter supposition we have already (p. 323) shown that it has not a single point of support in the text.

In order to avoid these three rocks, Fries advances the opinion that the three portions into which the seventy year-weeks are divided, are each by itself separately to be reckoned chronologically, and that they form a connected whole, not in a chronological, but in a historico-pragmatical sense, "as the whole of all the times of the positive continuance of the theocracy in the Holy Land lying between the liberation from Babylonish exile and the completion of the historical kingdom of Israel" (p. 258); and, indeed, so that

the seven year-weeks, ver. 25*a*, form the last part of the seventy year-weeks, or, what is the same, the jubilee-period of the millennial kingdom; and the sixty-two year-weeks, ver. 26*a*, represent the period of the restoration of Israel after its liberation from Babylon and before its overthrow by the Romans—reckoned according to the average of the points of commencement and termination, according to which, from the reckoning 536 (edict of Cyrus), 457 (return of Ezra), and 410 (termination by the restoration), we obtain for the epoch of the restoration the mean year 467 B.C.; and for the crisis of subjection to the Roman power A.U.C. 691 (the overthrow of Jerusalem by Pompey), 714 (the appointment of Herod as king of the Jews), and 759 (the first Roman procurator in Palestine), we obtain the mean year 721 A.U.C. = 33 B.C., and the difference of these mean numbers, 467 and 33, amounts exactly to 434 years = 62 year-weeks. The period described in ver. 26 thus reaches from the beginnings of the subjection of Israel under the Roman world-kingdom to the expiry of the time of the *diaspora* of Israel, and the separate year-week, ver. 27, comprehends the period of the final trial of the people of God, and reaches from the bringing back of Israel to the destruction of Antichrist (pp. 261–266).

Against this new attempt to solve the mystery of the seventy weeks, Hofmann, in *Schriftbew.* ii. 2, p. 594, raises the objection, "that in ver. 26 a period must be described which belongs to the past, and in ver. 27, on the contrary, another which belongs to the time of the end; this makes the indissoluble connection which exists between the contents of the two verses absolutely impossible." In this he is perfectly right. The close connection between these two verses makes it certainly impossible to interpose an empty space of time between the cutting off of the Anointed, by which Fries understands the dispersion of Israel among the heathen in the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, and the coming of Antichrist, a space which would amount to 1800 years. But in opposition to this hypothesis we must also further remark, (1) that Fries has not justified the placing of the first portion of the seventy year-weeks (*i.e.* the seven weeks) at the end,—he has not removed the obstacles standing against this arbitrary supposition, for his interpretation of the words עַד מָשִׁיחַ נָגִיד, "till Messias the prince shall be," is verbally impossible, since, if *Nagid* is a predicate, then the verb יִהְיֶה could not be wanting; (2) that the interpretation of the יִכָּרֵת מָשִׁיחַ of the abolition of the old theocracy, and

of the dispersion of the Jews abandoned by God among the heathen, needs no serious refutation, but with this interpretation the whole hypothesis stands or falls. Finally, (3) the supposition requires that the sixty-two weeks must be chronologically reckoned as year-weeks; the seven weeks, on the contrary, must be interpreted mystically as jubilee-periods, and the one week as a period of time of indefinite duration; a freak of arbitrariness exceeding all measure, which can no longer be spoken of as scripture *interpretation*.

Over against such arbitrary hypotheses, we can regard it as only an advance on the way toward a right understanding of this prophecy, that Hofmann (p. 594) closes his most recent investigations into this question with the following remarks:—"On the contrary, I always find that the indefiniteness of the expression שָׁבוּעַ, which denotes a period in some way divided into sevens, leaves room for the possibility of comprehending together the sixty-three and the seven weeks in one period of seventy, as its beginning and its end. . . . What was the extent of the units of which the seventy times consist, the expression שָׁבוּעַ did not inform Daniel: he could only conjecture it." This facilitates the adoption of the symbolical interpretation of the numbers, which, after the example of Leyrer and Kliefoth, we regard as the only possible one, because it does not necessitate our changing the seventy years of the exile into years of the restoration of Jerusalem, and placing the seven weeks, which the text presents as the first period of the seventy weeks, last.

The symbolical interpretation of the seventy שָׁבֻעִים and their divisions is supported by the following considerations:—(1) By the double circumstance, that on the one side all the explanations of them as year-weeks necessitate an explanation of the angel's message which is justified neither by the words nor by the succession of the statements, and do violence to the text, without obtaining a natural progress of thought, and on the other side all attempts to reckon these year-weeks chronologically show themselves to be insufficient and impossible. (2) The same conclusion is sustained by the choice of the word שָׁבוּעַ for the definition of the whole epoch and its separate periods; for this word only denotes a space of time measured by sevens, but indicates nothing as to the duration of these sevens. Since Daniel in ch. viii. 14 and xii. 11 uses a chronologically definite measure of time (evening-mornings, days), we must conclude from the choice of the expressions, seven,

seven times (as in ch. vii. 25 and xii. 7 of the like expression, times), which cannot be reckoned chronologically, that the period for the perfecting of the people and the kingdom of God was not to be chronologically defined, but only noted as a divinely appointed period measured by sevens. "They are sevens, of that there is no doubt; but the measure of the unit is not given:" thus Lämmert remarks (*Zur Revision der bibl. Zahlensymb. in den Jahrbb. f. D. Theol.* ix. 1). He further says: "If the great difficulty of taking these numbers chronologically does not of itself urge to their symbolical interpretation, then we should be led to this by the disagreement existing between Gabriel's answer (ver. 22) and Daniel's question (ver. 2). To his human inquiries regarding the end of the Babylonish exile, Daniel receives not a human but a divine answer, in which the seventy years of Jeremiah are reckoned as sevens, and it is indicated that the full close of the history of redemption shall only be reached after a long succession of periods of development."

By the definition of these periods according to a symbolical measure of time, the reckoning of the actual duration of the periods named is withdrawn beyond the reach of our human research, and the definition of the days and hours of the development of the kingdom of God down to its consummation is reserved for God, the Governor of the world and the Ruler of human history; yet by the announcement of the development in its principal stadia, according to a measure fixed by God, the strong consolation is afforded of knowing that the fortunes of His people are in His hands, and that no hostile power will rule over them one hour longer than God the Lord thinks fit to afford time and space, in regard to the enemy for his unfolding and ripening for the judgment, and in regard to the saints for the purifying and the confirmation of their faith for the eternal life in His kingdom according to His wisdom and righteousness.

The prophecy, in that it thus announces the times of the development of the future consummation of the kingdom of God and of this world according to a measure that is symbolical and not chronological, does not in the least degree lose its character as a revelation, but thereby first rightly proves its high origin as divine, and beyond the reach of human thought. For, as Leyrer (Herz.'s *Realenc.* xviii. p. 387) rightly remarks, "should not He who as Creator has ordained all things according to measure and number, also as Governor of the world set higher measures and

bounds to the developments of history? which are to be taken at one time as identical with earthly measures of time, which indeed the *eventus* often first teaches (*e.g.* the seventy years of the Babylonish exile, Dan. ix. 2), but at another time as symbolical, but yet so that the historical course holds and moves itself within the divinely measured sphere, as with the seventy weeks of Daniel, wherein, for the establishing of the faith of individuals and of the church, there lies the consolation, that all events even to the minutest, particularly also the times of war and of oppression, are graciously measured by God (Jer. v. 22; Job xxxviii. 11; Ps. xciii. 3 f.)."[1]

To give this consolation to the faithful is the object of this revelation, and that object it fully accomplishes. For the time and the hour of the consummation of the kingdom of God it belongs not to us to know. What the Lord said to His disciples (Acts i. 7) before His ascension, in answer to their question as to the time of the setting up of the kingdom of Israel—"It belongs not to you to know χρόνους ἢ καιροὺς οὓς ὁ πατὴρ ἔθετο ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ"—that He says not only to the twelve apostles, but to the whole Christian world. That the reason for this answer is to be sought not merely in the existing condition of the disciples at the time He uttered it, but in this, that the time and the hour of the appearance of the Lord for the judgment of the world and the completion of His kingdom in glory are not to be announced beforehand to men, is clear from the circumstance that Christ in the eschatological discourse (Matt. xxiv. 36; Mark xiii. 32) declares generally, "Of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only." According to this, God, the Creator and Ruler of the world, has kept in His own power the determination of the time and the hour of the consummation of the world, so that we may not expect an announcement of it beforehand in the Scripture. What has been advanced in

[1] Auberlen, notwithstanding that he interprets the seventy שָׁבֻעִים chronologically as year-weeks, does not yet altogether misapprehend the symbolical character of this definition of time, but rightly remarks (p. 133 f.), "The history of redemption is governed by these sacred numbers; they are like the simple foundation of the building, the skeleton in its organism. These are not only outward indications of time, but also indications of nature and essence." What he indeed says regarding the symbolical meaning of the seventy weeks and their divisions, depends on his erroneous interpretation of the prophecy of the appearance of Christ in the flesh, and is not consistent with itself.

opposition to this view for the justifying of the chronological interpretation of Daniel's prophecy of seventy weeks, and similar prophecies (cf. *e.g.* Hengstb. *Christol.* iii. 1, p. 202 ff.), cannot be regarded as valid proof. If Bengel, in *Ordo Temporum*, p. 259, 2d ed., remarks with reference to Mark xiii. 32 : "*Negatur prævia scientia, pro ipso duntaxat præsenti sermonis tempore, ante passionem et glorificationem Jesu. Non dixit, nemo sciet, sed: nemo scit. Ipse jam, jamque, sciturus erat: et quum scientiam diei et horæ nactus fuit, ipsius erat, scientiam dare, cui vellet et quando vellet*,"—so no one can certainly dispute *a priori* the conclusion "*Ipse jam*," etc., drawn from the correct statements preceding, but also every one will confess that the statement "*Ipsius erat*," etc., cannot prove it to be a fact that Jesus, after His glorification, revealed to John in Patmos the time and the hour of His return for the final judgment. Bengel's attempt to interpret the prophetical numbers of the Apocalypse chronologically, and accordingly to reckon the year of the coming again of our Lord, has altogether failed, as all modern scientific interpreters have acknowledged. So also fails the attempt which has been made to conclude from what Christ has said regarding the day of His παρουσία, that the Scripture can have no chronologically defined prophecies, while yet Christ Himself prophesied His resurrection after three days.

CHAP. X.–XII. THE REVELATION REGARDING THE AFFLICTION OF THE PEOPLE OF GOD ON THE PART OF THE RULERS OF THE WORLD TILL THE CONSUMMATION OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

In the third year of the reign of Cyrus, Daniel received the last revelation regarding the future of his people, which gives a fuller unfolding of the hostile attitude of the world-power toward the people and the kingdom of God from the time of the Persian dominion to the end of the days, as well as regarding the powerful protection which the covenant people shall experience amid the severe oppressions they would be exposed to for their purification. This revelation connects itself, both as to its contents and form, so closely with ch. viii., that it is to be viewed as a further unfolding of that prophecy, and serves for the illustration and confirmation of that which was announced to the prophet shortly before the destruction of the Chaldean world-kingdom regarding the world-kingdoms that were to follow, and their relation to the theocracy. It consists of three parts:—(1.) There is the description of the

appearance of God as to its nature, the impression it produced on the prophet, and its object (ch. x. 1–xi. 2*a*). (2.) The unveiling of the future, in brief statements regarding the relation of the Persian and the Javanic world-kingdoms to Israel, and in more comprehensive descriptions of the wars of the kings of the north and the south for the supremacy, with the hostilities thence arising against the kingdom of God—hostilities which aim at its destruction, but which, because of the powerful succour which is rendered to Israel by Michael the angel-prince, shall come to an end in the destruction of the enemy of God and the final salvation of the people of God (ch. xi. 2*b*–xii. 3). (3.) This revelation concludes with the definition of the duration of the time of oppression, and with the command given to Daniel to seal up the words, together with the prophecy, till the time of the end, and to rest till the end come: "For thou shalt rest and stand in thy lot at the end of the days" (ch. xii. 4–13).

If we attentively examine first of all the form of this revelation, namely, the manifestation of God, by which there is given to Daniel the understanding of the events of the future (ch. x. 14, cf. ch. xi. and xii.), this revelation will be found to be distinguished from all the others in this, that it is communicated partly by supernatural illumination for the interpretation of the dream-vision, partly by visions, partly by the appearance of angels. Auberlen (*d. Proph. Dan.* p. 91 f.) has already referred to this distinction, and therein has found a beautiful and noteworthy progression, namely, that the one revelation always prepares the way, in a material and formal respect, for that which follows, from which we may see how God gradually prepared the prophet for the reception of still more definite disclosures. "First Nebuchadnezzar dreams, and Daniel simply interprets (ch. ii. and iv.); afterwards Daniel himself has a dream, but as yet it is only as a vision in a dream of the night (ch. vii. 1, 2); then follows a vision in a waking state (ch. viii. 1–3); and finally, in the last two revelations (ch. ix. and x.–xii.), when Daniel, now a feeble, trembling (?) old man (ch. x. 8 ff.), is already almost transplanted out of this world—now the ecstatic state seems to be no longer necessary for him. Now in his usual state he sees and hears angels speak like men, while his companions do not see the appearances from the higher world, and are only overwhelmed with terror, like those who accompanied Paul to Damascus (ch. ix. 20 ff., x. 4 ff., cf. Acts of Ap. ix. 7)." It is true, indeed, that, as Aub. remarks, there is a

progression from interpreting of dreams to the receiving of visions in dreams and in the waking state, but by this reference neither are the actual contents of the revelation given in different forms perfectly comprehended, nor still less is the meaning of the difference made clear. Auberlen, in thus representing the distinction, has left out of view the circumstance, that the visions in ch. vii. and viii. are also interpreted to Daniel by an angel; moreover, that the revelation in ch. viii. does not merely consist of a vision, in which Daniel sees the destruction of the Persian world-kingdom by the Javanic under the figure of a he-goat casting down the ram, but that Daniel, after this vision, also hears an angel speak, and a voice comes to him from above the waters of the Ulai which commands the angel Gabriel to explain the vision to the seer (ch. viii. 13 ff.), and that this second part of that revelation has a great likeness to that in ch. x.–xii.; finally, that the same angel Gabriel again appears in ch. ix., and brings to Daniel the revelation regarding the seventy weeks (ch. ix. 24–27). But as to the interpretation of these revelations given in different forms, this difference is conditioned partly by the subjective relations sustained by the recipients to God, while, on the other hand, the form is in the most intimate manner connected with the contents of the revelation, and indeed in a way wholly different and much deeper than Auberlen thinks, if he therein sees only the material progression to greater speciality in the prophecy.

To comprehend the meaning of the divine revelation in ch. x.–xii., we must examine more closely the resemblance which it presents to ch. viii. 13–19. As in the vision ch. viii., which points to the oppression of the time of the end (ch. viii. 17, 19), Daniel heard a voice from the Ulai (ch. viii. 16), so in ch. x. and xii. the personage from whom that voice proceeded appears within the circle of Daniel's vision, and announces to him what shall happen to his people בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים (ch. x. 14). This celestial person appears to him in such awful divine majesty, that he falls to the ground on hearing his voice, as already in ch. viii. 17 ff. on hearing his voice and message, so that he feared he should perish; and it was only by repeated supernatural consolation and strengthening that he was able to stand erect again, and was made capable of hearing the revelation. The heavenly being who appears to him resembles in appearance the glory of Jehovah which Ezekiel had seen by the river Chaboras (Chebar); and this appearance of the man clothed in linen prepared the contents of his revelation, for

God so manifested Himself to Daniel (as He will approve Himself to His people in the times of the future great tribulation) as He who in judgment and in righteousness rules the affairs of the world-kingdoms and of the kingdom of God, and conducts them to the issues foreseen; so that the effect of His appearance on Daniel formed a pre-intimation and a pledge of that which would happen to the people of Daniel in the future. As Daniel was thrown to the ground by the divine majesty of the man clothed in linen, but was raised up again by a supernatural hand, so shall the people of God be thrown to the ground by the fearful judgments that shall pass over them, but shall again be raised up by the all-powerful help of their God and His angel-prince Michael, and shall be strengthened to endure the tribulation. According to this, the very appearance of God has prophetic significance; and the reason why this last vision is communicated to Daniel neither by a vision nor by angels, but by a majestic Theophany, does not lie in the more definite disclosures which should be given to him regarding the future, but only in this, that the revelation, as is mentioned in the superscription, ch. x. 1, places in view the אֱמֶת וְצָבָא גָּדוֹל (ch. x. 1).

Of this oppression, that spoken of in ch. viii., which should come upon the people of God from the fierce and cunning king seen as a little horn, forms a type; therefore Daniel hears the voice from the waters of the Ulai. That which is there briefly indicated, is in ch. x.–xii. further extended and completed. In regard to the definiteness of the prediction, the revelation in ch. x.–xii. does not go beyond that in ch. viii.; but it does so with respect to the detailed description found in it of the wars of the world-rulers against one another and against the people of God, as well as in this, that it opens a glimpse into the spirit-world, and gives disclosures regarding the unseen spiritual powers who mingle in the history of nations. But over these powers God the Lord exercises dominion, and helps His people to obtain a victory over all their enemies. To reveal this, and in actual fact to attest it to the prophet, and through him to the church of God of all times, is the object of the Theophany, which is circumstantially described in ch. x. for the sake of its prophetical character.

Chap. x.–xi. 2*a*. *The Theophany.*

Ch. x. 1–3. *The introduction to the following manifestation of God.*

Ver. 1. This verse is to be regarded as an inscription or general

statement of the substance of it. Therefore Daniel speaks of himself in the third person, as in ch. vii. 1, and in the historical portions ch. i.–vi. The definition of the time, "In the first year of Cores (Cyrus) king of Persia," refers us back to ch. i. 21, but it does not, as has been there already remarked, stand in contradiction to the first year of Cyrus named there. דָּבָר is the following revelation, which was communicated to the prophet not by a vision (חָזוֹן), but by a manifestation of God (מַרְאֶה), and was given in the form of simple human discourse. The remark regarding Daniel, "whose name was Belteshazzar," is designed only to make it obvious that the Daniel of the third year of Cyrus was the same who was carried to Babylon in the first year of Nebuchadnezzar (seventy-two years before). To the question why Daniel did not return to his native land in the first year of Cyrus, which Hitzig has thus formulated for the purpose of framing an argument against the genuineness of this prophecy—"How could he, who was a pattern of piety (ch. i. 8, Ezek. xiv. 14), so disregard the opportunity that was offered and the summons of Isaiah (ch. xlviii. 20, lii. 11 ff.) as if he stood on the side of those who forgot the holy mountain?" (Isa. lxv. 11)—the supposition of his advanced old age (Häv.) is no sufficient answer. For, on the contrary, Hitzig has rightly replied that old men also, such as had even seen the former temple, had returned home (Ezra iii. 12), and Daniel was not so infirm as to be unable for the journey. The correct answer is rather this, that Daniel, because divine revelations had been communicated to him, had obtained a position at the court of the world-rulers in which he was able to do much for the good of his people, and might not, without a special divine injunction, leave this place; that he thus, not from indifference toward the holy mountain or from neglect of the injunctions to flee from Babylon (Isa. xlviii. 20, lii. 11 ff.), but from obedience to God, and for the furtherance of the cause of His kingdom, remained at his post till the Lord His God should call him away from it.

In the second hemistich the contents of this new divine revelation are characterized. הַדָּבָר with the article points back to דָּבָר in the first half of the verse. Of this "word" Daniel says that it contains אֱמֶת and צָבָא גָּדוֹל. In the statement that "the thing was true," Hitzig finds an intimation that thereby the author betrays his standpoint, namely, the time when "the thing" was realized, for Daniel could not say this before it happened. But this objection supposes that the author was a lying prophet, who

spoke from his own heart (Jer. xxix. 8, 15). But if Daniel had actually received a "word" from God, he could before its fulfilment testify its truth. The testimony to the truth of the word here indicates, as it does in ch. viii. 26 in the mouth of the angel, that the word of God now communicated to the prophet contained things which it would be difficult for the human heart to believe. The second predicate צָבָא גָּדוֹל shows in what respect this is so. For that these words do not, with the LXX. and Aquil., refer to what follows is obvious, as is acknowledged by all modern interpreters. צָבָא, *warfare, military service*, then the difficulty of this service, and figuratively *difficulty*, afflictions of life, Job vii. 1, x. 17, and also here. "The word is, *i.e.* concerns, has as its contents, great afflictions" [E.V. "the time appointed was long"].

In the last clause of this verse בִּין and בִּינָה are not the imperative (v. Lengerke), because a summons to give heed, or understand, would not be here in place. בִּינָה is a substantive, and the throwing of the accent on the penultima is occasioned by the accented לוֹ which follows. בִּין is the 3*d pers. perf.*, not the infinitive (Häv.). Understanding was to him בַּמַּרְאֶה, by that which was seen, *i.e.* by the appearance described in vers. 5 ff. בַּמַּרְאֶה cannot at all be referred (Klief.) to the earlier prophecies of ch. viii. 7, 9. The statement in these two passages serves for the confirmation of that which was said regarding the contents of the word from God, and stands in relation to ch. viii. 27, where Daniel was troubled because no one understood the vision. He was helped out of this state of non-understanding by the following revelation, cf. ver. 14. But the objection that it cannot be here said that Daniel understood the word, because he himself, ch. xii. 8, says that he did not understand it, has been disposed of by Kliefoth, who justly remarks that the non-understanding in ch. xii. 8 regards a single point, namely, the duration of the affliction, regarding which, however, disclosures are given to the prophet in ch. xii. 10 f. The translation: "he heard the word, and understood the vision" (Kran.), is set aside by this circumstance, that it takes בִּין in a different sense from בִּינָה, contrary to the parallelism of the passages.

Vers. 2, 3 introduce the following revelation by a statement of the occasion of it. בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם refers back to the date named in ver. 1. The יָמִים after שָׁבֻעִים does not serve to designate the three weeks as common day-weeks, in contrast to the שָׁבֻעִים of ch. ix. 24 ff., but is an accusative subordinated to the definition of time which expresses the idea of continuance: three weeks long, or three whole

weeks, as Gen. xli. 1; cf. Gesen. *Gramm.* § 118, 3. For three weeks Daniel mourned and fasted, *i.e.* abstained from the usual food. לֶחֶם חֲמֻדוֹת, *precious food, delicacies;* but Häv., v. Leng., Maur., Hitz., and Kran. interpret it of *leavened bread*, so called in contrast to the unleavened paschal bread, the bread of affliction (Deut. xvi. 3). But this contrast is not well founded, for the מַצּוֹת (*unleavened cakes*) of the passover was not (notwithstanding Deut. xvi. 3) bread of sorrow, but pure, holy bread, which Daniel did not eat, in opposition to the law, for three weeks. לֶחֶם is not to be limited to bread in its narrower sense, but denotes *food* generally. Flesh and wine are festival food, Isa. xxii. 13, Gen. xxvii. 25, which is not had every day. The anointing with oil was the sign of joy and of a joyous frame of mind, as with guests at a banquet, Amos vi. 6, and was intermitted in the time of sorrow; cf. 2 Sam. xiv. 2. Fasting, as an abstaining from the better sustenance of common life, was the outward sign of sorrow of soul.

According to ver. 4, Daniel mourned and fasted in the first month of the year, the month in the middle of which the paschal feast was kept, in which Israel celebrated their deliverance from their state of slavery in Egypt and their advancement to be the people of God, and were joyful before their God. On the 24th day of this month occurred the Theophany (ver. 4 ff.), with which, however, his fasting came to an end. According to this, it appears that he fasted from the third to the twenty-third of the month Nisan; thus it began immediately after the feast of the new moon, which was kept for two days (cf. 1 Sam. xx. 18 f., 27, 34 with vi. 29, ii. 19). Thus Häv. and Hitzig conclude; while v. Leng. and Maurer argue, from ver. 13, that between the time of fasting and the appearance of the angel an interval elapsed, consequently that Daniel fasted from the first to the twenty-first of the month Nisan. But from ver. 13 nothing further follows than that the angel was detained twenty-one days; so that the question as to the beginning and the end of the fast is not certainly answered from the text, and, as being irrelevant to the matter, it can remain undecided. More important is the question as to the cause of such long-continued great sorrow, which is not answered by the remark that he was thus prepared for receiving a divine revelation. According to ver. 12, Daniel sought הָבִין, *i.e.* understanding as to the state of the matter, or regarding the future of his people, which filled him with concern. The word about the restoration of Jerusalem which he had received through the angel Gabriel in the first year of Darius (ch. ix.) had

come to pass since that revelation in the first year of Cyrus, but had had only little effect on the religious lukewarmness of the majority of the people. Of the whole people only a very small portion had returned to the land of their fathers, and had begun, after restoring the altar of burnt-offering, to build the house of God in Jerusalem. But while the foundation of the new temple was laid, there mingled with the joyful shoutings of the people also the loud wailings of the old men who had seen the former temple in its glory, when they beheld this building undertaken amid circumstances so depressing and sorrowful (Ezra iii.). In addition to this, the Samaritans immediately, when the Jewish rulers refused for conscience sake to permit them to take part with them in the building, sought, by means of influences used at the Persian court, to prevent the carrying on of the building (Ezra iv. 1–5). This sad state of matters could not but, at the beginning of the new year, fill the heart of Daniel with deep sorrow, and move him at the return of the time of the passover to mourn in fasting and prayer over the delay of the salvation promised to his people, and to supplicate in behalf of Israel the pardon of their sins, and their deliverance out of the hand of their enemies. Therefore he mourned and fasted before and during the paschal days for three weeks, until on the twenty-fourth day of the month he received a revelation from God.

Vers. 4–6. *The Theophany.*—On the day named Daniel found himself on the side (banks) of the river Hiddekel, *i.e.* the Tigris (see under Gen. ii. 14), along with some who accompanied him (ver. 7); thus he was there in reality, and not merely in vision as at the Ulai, ch. viii. 2. For what purpose he was there is not said. Here he saw a celestial being, whose form is described, vers. 5, 6. It was a man (אֶחָד, *one*, not several) clothed in בַּדִּים, *i.e.* in a *talar* of shining white linen (regarding בַּדִּים, see under Ezek. ix. 2), and his loins girt about with gold of Uphaz. אוּפָז occurs nowhere else, except in Jer. x. 9: gold of Uphaz and silver of Tarshish, from which we must conclude that Uphaz is the name of a region, a country, probably only a dialectically different form for אוֹפִיר; the combination with the Sanscr. *vipâça* = *Hyphasis* is, on the other hand, very far-fetched.

Ver. 6. His body shone like תַּרְשִׁישׁ, *i.e.* the chrysolite of the Old and the topaz of the New Testament (see under Ezek. i. 16); his countenance had the appearance of lightning, his eyes as lamps

of fire, his arms and the place of his feet like the sight of polished brass (קָלָל, see under Ezek. i. 7). מַרְגְּלוֹת, *place of the feet*, does not stand for *feet*, but denotes that part of the human frame where the feet are; and the word indicates that not the feet alone, but the under parts of the body shone like burnished brass. The voice of his words, *i.e.* the sound of his speaking, was like קוֹל הָמוֹן, for which in Ezek. i. 24 קוֹל הַמְּלָה (*the voice of noise*), and by קוֹל מַחֲנֶה (Ezek. i. 24) the noise of a host is denoted.

This heavenly form has thus, it is true, the shining white *talar* common to the angel, Ezek. ix. 9, but all the other features, as here described—the shining of his body, the brightness of his countenance, his eyes like a lamp of fire, arms and feet like glistering brass, the sound of his speaking—all these point to the revelation of the כְּבוֹד יְהוָה, the glorious appearance of the Lord, Ezek. i., and teach us that the אִישׁ seen by Daniel was no common angel-prince, but a manifestation of Jehovah, *i.e.* the Logos. This is placed beyond a doubt by a comparison with Rev. i. 13–15, where the form of the Son of man whom John saw walking in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks is described like the glorious appearance seen by Ezekiel and Daniel.

The place where this heavenly being was, is not here specially stated. In ch. xii. 6 he appears hovering over the waters of the river, the Tigris. This agrees also with the verse before us, according to which Daniel, while standing on the banks of the river, on lifting up his eyes beheld the vision. Hence it further follows, that the אִישׁ seen here by Daniel is the same heavenly being whose voice he heard, ch. viii. 16, from the waters of the Ulai, without seeing his form.

When now he whose voice Daniel heard from thence presents himself before him here on the Tigris in a majesty which human nature is not able to endure, and announces to him the future, and finally, ch. xii. 6 ff., with a solemn oath attests the completion of the divine counsel, he thereby shows himself, as C. B. Michaelis *ad Dan.* p. 372, Schmieder in Gerlach's *Bibelw.*, and Oehler (Art. *Messias* in Herz.'s *Realenc.* ix. p. 417) have acknowledged, to be the Angel of Jehovah *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, as the "Angel of His presence." The combination of this angel with that in the form of a son of man appearing in the clouds (ch. vii. 13) is natural; and this combination is placed beyond a doubt by the comparison with Rev. i. 13, where John sees the glorified Christ, who is described by a name definitely referring to Dan. vii. 13, as *ὅμοιον υἱῷ ἀνθρώπου.*

On the other hand, the opinion maintained to some extent among the Rabbis, which even Hengstenberg has in modern times advocated (*Beitr.* i. p. 165 ff.; *Christol.* iii. 2, p. 50 ff.), namely, that the angel of the Lord who here appears to Daniel in divine majesty is identical with the angel-prince Michael, has no support in Scripture, and stands in contradiction to vers. 13 and 21, where he who speaks is certainly distinguished from Michael, for here there is ascribed to Michael a position with reference to the people of God which is not appropriate to the Angel of the Lord or the Logos. It is true, indeed, that Hengstenberg holds, with many old interpreters, that he who *speaks* with Daniel, ver. 11, and reveals to him the future, is different from him who *appears* to him, vers. 5 and 6, and is identical with the angel Gabriel. But the reasons advanced in support of this are not sufficient. The latter supposition is grounded partly on the similarity of the address to Daniel, אִישׁ חֲמֻדוֹת, vers. 11 and 19, cf. with ch. ix. 23, partly on the similarity of the circumstances, ch. viii. 17, 18, cf. with ver. 10 and ch. xii. 5. But the address to Daniel אִישׁ חֲמֻדוֹת proves nothing, because it does not express to Daniel the relation of the angel to him, but of the Lord who sent the angel; and Gabriel in ch. ix. 23 does not *address* the prophet thus, but only says that he is חֲמֻדוֹת, *i.e.* a man greatly beloved of God. The similarity of circumstances with ch. viii. 17, 18 proves nothing further than that he who appeared was a heavenly being. More noticeable is the similarity of ch. viii. 13 with ch. xii. 5, so far as in both cases two angels appear along with him who hovers over the waters, and the voice from above the waters in ch. viii. 16 directs the angel Gabriel to explain the vision to the prophet. But from the circumstance that in ch. viii. and also in ch. ix. Gabriel gives to the prophet disclosures regarding the future, it by no means follows, even on the supposition that he who is represented in the chapter before us as *speaking* is different from him who *appears* in vers. 5 and 6, that the angel who speaks is Gabriel. If he were Gabriel, he would have been named here, according to the analogy of vers. 9, 21.

To this is to be added, that the assumed difference between him who speaks, ver. 11, and him who appears, vers. 5, 6, is not made out, nor yet is it on the whole demonstrable. It is true that in favour of this difference, he who speaks is on the banks of the river where Daniel stands, while he who appears, vers. 5, 6, and also at the end of the vision, ch. xii., is in the midst of the Tigris, and

in ver. 5 of this chapter (ch. xii.) two other persons are standing on the two banks of the river, one of whom asks him who is clothed with linen, as if in the name of Daniel, when the things announced shall happen. Now if we assume that he who is clothed in linen is no other than he who speaks to Daniel, ver. 11, then one of these two persons becomes a *κωφὸν πρόσωπον*, and it cannot be at all seen for what purpose he appears. If, on the contrary, the difference of the two is assumed, then each has his own function. The Angel of the Lord is present in silent majesty, and only by a brief sentence confirms the words of his messenger (ch. xii. 7). The one of those standing on the banks is he who, as the messenger and interpreter of the Angel of the Lord, had communicated all disclosures regarding the future to Daniel as he stood by the banks. The third, the angel standing on the farther bank, directs the question regarding the duration of the time to the Angel of the Lord. Thus Hengstenberg is in harmony with C. B. Michaelis and others.

But however important these reasons for the difference appears, yet we cannot regard them as conclusive. From the circumstance that, ch. x. 10, a hand touched Daniel as he was sinking down in weakness and set him on his knees, it does not with certainty follow that this was the hand of the angel (Gabriel) who stood by Daniel, who spoke to him, ver. 11. The words of the text, "a hand touched me," leave the person whose hand it was altogether undefined; and also in vers. 16 and 18, where Daniel is again touched, so that he was able to open his mouth and was made capable of hearing the words that were addressed to him, the person from whom the touch proceeded is altogether indefinite. The designations, כִּדְמוּת בְּנֵי אָדָם, *like the similitude of the sons of men*, ver. 16, and כְּמַרְאֵה אָדָם, *like the appearance of a man*, ver. 18, do not point to a definite angel who appears speaking in the sequel. But the circumstance that in ch. xii., besides the form that hovered over the water, other two angels appear on the banks, does not warrant us to assume that these two angels were already present or visible in ch. x. 5 ff. The words, "Then I looked and saw other two, the one," etc., ch. xii. 5, much rather indicate that the scene was changed, that Daniel now for the first time saw the two angels on the banks. In ch. x. he only sees him who is clothed with linen, and was so terrified by this "great sight" that he fell powerless to the ground on hearing his voice, and was only able to stand up after a hand had touched him and a comforting word had been spoken to him.

Nothing is here, as in ch. viii. 15, said of the coming of the angel. If thus, after mention being made of the hand which by touching him set him on his knees, it is further said, "and he spake to me. . . ." (ver. 11), the context only leads to this conclusion, that he who spake to him was the man whose appearance and words had so overwhelmed him. To suppose another person, or an angel different from the one who was clothed with linen, as speaking, could only be justified if the contents of that which was spoken demanded such a supposition.

He who spake said, among other things, that he was sent to Daniel (vers. 11); that the prince of the kingdom of Persia had withstood him one and twenty days; and that Michael, one of the chief angel-princes, had come to his help (vers. 13 and 21). These statements do not indicate that he was an inferior angel, but they are suitable to the Angel of the Lord; for he also says (Zech. ii. 13, 15, iv. 9) that he is sent by Jehovah; cf. also Isa. xlviii. 16 and lxi. 1. The coming to his help by the angel-prince Michael, also, does not denote that he who speaks was an angel subordinated to the archangel Michael. In Zech. i. 15 עָזַר denotes help which men render to God; and in 1 Chron. xii. 21 f. it is related that Israelites of different tribes came to David to help him against his enemies, *i.e.* under his leadership to fight for him. Similarly we may suppose that the angel Michael gave help to the Angel of the Lord against the prince of the kingdom of Persia.

There thus remains only the objection, that if we take the angel clothed with linen and him who speaks as the same, then in ch. xii. 5 one of the angels who stood on the two banks of the Tigris becomes a *κωφὸν πρόσωπον*; but if we are not able to declare the object for which two angels appear there, yet the one of those two angels cannot certainly be the same as he who announced, ch. x. and xi., the future to the prophet, because these angels are expressly designated as *two others* (שְׁנַיִם אֲחֵרִים), and the אֲחֵרִים excludes the identifying of these with angels that previously appeared to Daniel. This argument is not set aside by the reply that the angels standing on the two banks of the river are spoken of as אֲחֵרִים with reference to the Angel of the Lord, ver. 6, for the reference of the אֲחֵרִים to that which follows is inconsistent with the context; see under ch. xii. 5.

Thus every argument utterly fails that has been adduced in favour of the supposition that he who speaks, ver. 11, is different from him who is clothed in linen; and we are warranted to abide

by the words of the narrative, which in ch. x. names no other angel than the man clothed with linen, who must on that account be the same as he who speaks and announces the future to the prophet. The hand which again set him up by touching him, is, it is true, to be thought of as proceeding from an angel; but it is not more definitely described, because this angel is not further noticed. But after the man clothed with linen has announced the future to the prophet, the scene changes (ch. xii. 5). Daniel sees the same angels over the waters of the Tigris, and standing on the two banks of the river. Where he who was clothed in linen stands, is left indefinite in the narrative. If from the first it is he who hovers over the water of the river, he could yet talk with the prophet standing on its banks. But it is also possible that at first he was visible close beside the banks.

Ver. 7. According to this verse, the form described in vers. 5 and 6 was visible to Daniel alone. His companions saw not the appearance, but they were so alarmed by the invisible nearness of the heavenly being that they fled and hid themselves. What is here said resembles Acts ix. 3 ff., where Christ, after His exaltation, appeared to Paul and spoke to him—Paul's companions hearing only the voice, but seeing no one. In order to account for the flight of Daniel's companions, it is not necessary to suppose the existence of thunder and lightning, of which the text makes no mention. The supposition also of Theodor. and Hitzig, that the men indeed saw not the angel, but that they heard his voice, is incorrect; for the voice was not heard till after his companions had fled. הַמַּרְאָה, pointed as fem., *that which was seen*, the appearance, seems to be a more limited conception than מַרְאֶה, *visio*. יִבְרְחוּ בְּהֶחְבֵּא: *they fled, for they hid themselves;* so that the hiding is not to be regarded as the object of the fleeing, but the fleeing is made known in their hiding themselves.

Ver. 8. Daniel here calls the appearance *great* with reference to the majesty displayed, such as had never hitherto been known to him. Its influence upon him is, therefore, also greater than that of the appearance of Gabriel, ch. viii. 17. There remained in him no strength, *i.e.* he felt himself overwhelmed, and as if about to perish. His הוֹד, *splendour*—the same as the Chald. זִיו, ch. vii. 28, v. 6, 9—*i.e.* the fresh colour of life which marked his countenance, was changed לְמַשְׁחִית, properly, *to destruction*, to entire disfigurement, to corruption. The last clause, "and I retained no strength," gives greater force to the preceding statement.

Vers. 9, 10. When Daniel heard the voice, which according to ver. 6 was like the noise of a multitude, he was stunned, and fell on his face to the ground, as ch. viii. 17. Yet the expression here, הָיִיתִי נִרְדָּם, is stronger than נִבְעַתִּי, ch. viii. 17. Ver. 10 shows how great was his amazement in the further description it gives. The touching of him by an unseen hand raised him up and caused him to reel on his knees and hands (תְּנִיעֵנִי, *vacillare me fecit*), but did not enable him to stand erect. This he was first able to do after he heard the comfortable words, and was directed to mark the communication of the heavenly messenger. Regarding אִישׁ חֲמֻדוֹת see under ch. ix. 23, and for עָמַד עַל עָמְדֶךָ see at ch. viii. 18. He now raises himself up, but still trembling (מְרֹעָד). The עַתָּה, *now* am I sent to thee, points to the delay of his coming spoken of in ver. 12.

Ver. 12. According to this verse, the words of Daniel, *i.e.* his prayer from the first day of his seeking to understand the future, and of his self-mortification in sorrow and fasting (vers. 2, 3), was heard of God, and the angel was immediately sent forth by God to convey to him revelations. And, he adds, בָּאתִי בִּדְבָרֶיךָ, *I am come for thy words, i.e.* in consequence of thy prayer, according to it. The בָּאתִי most interpreters understand of the coming to Daniel; Hofmann (*Schriftbew.* i. p. 331) and Kliefoth, on the contrary, understand it of the coming of the angel to Persia (ver. 13). According to the matter, both views are correct, but in the form in which they are presented they are incorrect. Against the latter stands the adversative ו in וְשַׂר (*but the prince*), ver. 13, by which the contents of ver. 13 are introduced; for, according to this, ver. 13 cannot represent the object of the coming. Against the former stands the fact, that the angel does not come to Daniel immediately, but only after having gained a victory over the prince of the kingdom. The בָּאתִי is again taken up in ver. 14*a*, and must have here the same meaning that it has there. But in ver. 14*a* it is connected with לְהָבִינְךָ, "I am come to bring thee understanding," in ver. 12 with בִּדְבָרֶיךָ, which only denotes that the "coming" corresponded to Daniel's prayer, but not that he came immediately to him. Daniel had, without doubt, prayed for the accomplishment of the salvation promised to his people, and *eo ipso* for the removal of all the hindrances that stood in the way of that accomplishment. The hearing of his prayer may be regarded, therefore, as containing in it not merely the fact that God directed an angel to convey to him disclosures regarding the future fortunes of his

people, but also at the same time as implying that on the side of God steps were taken for the removal of these hindrances.

The thirteenth verse speaks of this, not as denoting that the angel came to Persia for the purpose of working for Israel, but much rather as announcing the reason of the twenty-one days' delay in the coming of the angel to Daniel, in the form of a parenthetical clause. His coming to Daniel was hindered by this, that the prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood him twenty-one days. The twenty-one days are those three weeks of Daniel's fasting and prayer, ver. 2. Hence we see that the coming of the angel had its reference to Daniel, for he came to bring him a comforting answer from God; but in order that he might be able to do this, he must first, according to ver. 13, enter into war with and overcome the spirit of the king of Persia, hostile to the people of God. The contents of ver. 13 are hence not to be understood as showing that the angel went to Persia in order that he might there arrange the cause of Israel with the king; the verse much rather speaks of a war in the kingdom of supernatural spirits, which could not relate to the court of the king of Persia. The prince (שַׂר) of the kingdom of Persia, briefly designated in ver. 21 "the prince of Persia," is not king Cyrus, or the *collectivum* of the kings of Persia, as Häv. and Kran., with Calvin and most of the Reformers, think, but the guardian spirit or the protecting genius of the Persian kingdom, as the Rabbis and most of the Christian interpreters have rightly acknowledged. For the angel that appeared to Daniel did not fight with the kings of Persia, but with a spiritual intelligence of a like nature, for the victory, or precedence with the kings of Persia. This spirit of the kingdom of Persia, whom, after the example of Jerome, almost all interpreters call the guardian angel of this kingdom, is as little the nature-power of this kingdom as Michael is the nature-power of Israel, but is a spirit-being; yet not the heathen national god of the Persians, but, according to the view of Scripture (1 Cor. x. 20 f.), the δαιμόνιον of the Persian kingdom, *i.e.* the supernatural spiritual power standing behind the national gods, which we may properly call the guardian spirit of this kingdom. In the עֹמֵד לְנֶגְדִּי lies, according to the excellent remark of Kliefoth, the idea, that "the שַׂר of the kingdom of Persia stood beside the kings of the Persians to influence them against Israel, and to direct against Israel the power lying in Persian heathendom, so as to support the insinuations of the Samaritans; that the angel, ver. 5, came on account of Daniel's prayer

to dislodge this 'prince' from his position and deprive him of his influence, but he kept his place for twenty-one days, till Michael came to his help; then he so gained the mastery over him, that he now stood in his place beside the kings of Persia, so as henceforth to influence them in favour of Israel." He who appeared to Daniel, ver. 5, and spake with him, ver. 11, is not "the angel who had his dominion among the nations of the world," or "his sphere of action in the embodiments of the heathen world-power, to which the Jewish people were now in subjection, to promote therein the working out of God's plan of salvation" (Hofm. *Schriftbew.* i. p. 334). This supposition is destitute of support from the Scriptures. It is rather the Angel of the Lord who carries out God's plans in the world, and for their accomplishment and execution makes war against the hostile spirit of the heathen world-power. The subjugation of this spirit supposes a particular angel ruling in the heathen world just as little as Jehovah's contending against the heathen nations that oppress and persecute His kingdom and people.

In the war against the hostile spirit of the kingdom of Persia, the archangel Michael came to the help of the Angel of the Lord. The name מִיכָאֵל, *who is as God*, comes into view, as does the name *Gabriel*, only according to the appellative signification of the word, and expresses, after the analogy of Ex. xv. 11, Ps. lxxxix. 7 f., the idea of God's unparalleled helping power. *Michael* is thus the angel possessing the unparalleled power of God. He is here said to be "one of the chief princes," *i.e.* of the highest angel-princes,—ver. 21, "your prince," *i.e.* the prince who contends for Israel, who conducts the cause of Israel. The first title points undoubtedly to an arrangement of orders and degrees among the angels, designating Michael as one of the most distinguished of the angel-princes; hence called in Jude 9 ἀρχάγγελος, also in Rev. xii. 7, where he is represented as contending with his angels against the dragon. The opinion that Michael is called "one of the chief princes," not as in contrast with the angels, but only with the demons of the heathen gods (Kliefoth), is opposed by the words themselves and by the context. From the circumstance that the guardian spirit of Persia is called שַׂר it does not follow that שָׂרִים is not a designation of the angels generally, but only of the princes of the people, who are the spirits ruling in the social affairs of nations and kingdoms (Hofmann, p. 337); and even though this conclusion may be granted, this meaning for הַשָּׂרִים with the article and the predicate הָרִאשֹׁנִים is undemonstrable. For the Scripture does

not place the demon-powers of heathendom so on a line with the angels that both are designated as שָׂרִים רִאשֹׁנִים. The שָׂרִים רִאשֹׁנִים can only be the princes, chiefs, of the good angels remaining in communion with God, and working for the kingdom of God. Though what is said by the angel Michael, for the sake of the Israelitish people, among whom he has the sphere of his activity, may be said for their comfort, yet it does not follow therefrom that that which is said "cannot give disclosures regarding the relation within the angel-world, but only regarding the relation to the great historical nations and powers of the world" (Hofm. p. 338). For as regards the statement adduced in support of this opinion—"the greatness and importance of the work entrusted to him makes him one of the רִאשֹׁנִים, not that the work is entrusted to him because he is so"—just the contrary is true. To a subordinate spirit God will not entrust a work demanding special power and greatness; much rather the being entrusted with a great and important work supposes a man exalted above the common mass. And for the comforting of Israel the words, "Michael, one of the foremost princes, came to my help," affirm that Israel is under very powerful protection, because its guardian spirit is one of the foremost of the angel-princes, whereby *implic.* it is said at the same time that the people, though they be little esteemed before the world, yet cannot be destroyed by the nations of the world. This thought follows as a conclusion from what is said regarding the dignity of their guardian angel, but it does not form the contents of the saying regarding Michael and his place among the heavenly spirits.

But we learn from ver. 21 the reason why the archangel Michael, and no other angel, came to the help of him who was clothed with linen. It was because Michael was the prince of Israel, *i.e.* "the high angel-prince who had to maintain the cause of the people of God in the invisible spirit-world against opposing powers" (Auberlen, p. 289); and as such he appears also in Jude 9 and Rev. xii. 7. The coming of Michael to give help does not include in it this, that he was superior in might or in position to the angel that spake, and thus supplies no proof that the angel that spake was Gabriel, or an angel different from him who was clothed with linen. For even a subordinate servant can bring help to his master, and in a conflict render him aid in gaining the victory. Against the idea of the subjection of Michael to the angel that spake, or the man clothed with linen, stands the further

unfolding of the angel's message, the statement in ver. 21 and ch. xi. 1, according to which the angel that spake gave strength and help to Michael in the first year of the Median Darius, from which we have more reason to conclude that the angel who spake stood above the angel Michael; see under ch. xi. 1.

In consequence of the assistance on the part of Michael, the Angel of the Lord obtained the place of superiority by the side of the king of Persia. נוֹתַר has not here the usual meaning, *to be over and above, to remain*, but is to be translated after הוֹתִיר, Gen. xlix. 4, *to have the pre-eminence, to excel*, in the passive signification of the Hiphil: "*to be provided with the preference, to gain the superiority.*" The translation, "I have maintained the place" (Hofm.), cannot be proved. אֵצֶל, *at the side of, near*, is explained from the idea of the protecting spirit standing by the side of his protege. The plural, "kings of Persia," neither refers to Cyrus and Cambyses, nor to Cyrus and the conquered kings living with him (Crœsus, etc.), nor to Cyrus and the prince, *i.e.* his guardian spirit (Hitzig). The plural denotes, that by the subjugation of the demon of the Persian kingdom, his influence not merely over Cyrus, but over all the following kings of Persia, was brought to an end, so that the whole of the Persian kings became accessible to the influence of the spirit proceeding from God and advancing the welfare of Israel.

Ver. 14. With this joyful message the angel comes to Daniel, to open up to him what would befall his people in the last time. The punctuation of יִקָּרֶה (*shall befall*) is according to יִקְרָא (Gen. xlix. 1); the *Kethiv* יִקָּרֶה has the correct form. בְּאַחֲרִית חַיָּמִים as ch. ii. 28, the Messianic world-time, in ch. viii. 17 is called the time of the end. "For," the angel adds, "the vision refers, or stretches itself out, to *the* days." לַיָּמִים, with the article, are the days of the אַחֲרִית (*the latter time*), the Messianic world-time. חָזוֹן is the revelation which in ver. 1 is called דָּבָר and מַרְאֶה, the following revelation in ch. xi. Kliefoth is incorrect in thinking on the revelations already given, ch. vii., viii., ix., to Daniel, regarding which the angel now seeks to bring to him further understanding. For although those revelations stretch out to the last time, and the revelations in ch. xi. only give further disclosures regarding it, yet neither does the angel who speaks to Daniel here thus represent the matter, nor does the form of the revelation ch. x.–xii., namely, the majestic appearance of the Angel of the Lord, not a common angel-revelation, correspond with this supposition. חָזוֹן

also cannot, without further definition, refer to those earlier revelations; and the opinion that הָבִין denotes the understanding, as distinguished from the revelation or proclamation, does not accord with the usual style of Daniel's language. הָבִין denotes here, as in ch. viii. 16, the interpretation of the vision, which in both cases contains the things which shall befall the people of God in the future. Cf. ch. ix. 22, where יָבִין is used of the announcement of the revelation of God regarding the seventy weeks.

Vers. 15–19. In these verses it is further related how Daniel was gradually raised up and made capable of receiving the revelation of God. The communication of the angel hitherto had not fully gained this object. Daniel "stood trembling," but he could not yet speak. With his face bent towards the earth he was as yet speechless. Then one having the likeness of a man touched his lips, whereby he received the power of speech, and could address him who stood before him, and utter the complaint: "By the vision anguish, *i.e.* violent terror, has fallen upon me: woes are turned upon me." For this style of speech cf. 1 Sam. iv. 19, and for the matter itself, cf. Isa. xxi. 3, xiii. 8. For the following וְלֹא עָצַרְתִּי כֹחַ (*and I have no strength*, ver. 16), cf. ver. 8.

Ver. 17. Therefore he may not talk with this Lord, *i.e.* with Him who appeared before him in such dread majesty; and he is yet in such a state, since all strength has departed from him and his breath has gone, that he fears he must die; cf. 1 Kings xvii. 17. Then once more one like the appearance of a man touched him. כְּמַרְאֵה אָדָם is in reality = כִּדְמוּת בְּנֵי אָדָם: both forms of expression leave the person of him who touched him undefined, and only state that the touching proceeded from some one who was like a man, or that it was such as proceeds from men, and are like the expression used in ver. 10, "a hand touched me." From this it does not follow that he who spoke to him touched him, but only that it was a spiritual being, who appeared like to a man. After thus being touched for the third time (ver. 18), the encouragement of the angel that talked with him imparted to him full strength, so that he could calmly listen to and observe his communication.

Ver. 20–ch. xi. 1. But before he communicated to Daniel what would befall his people in the "latter days" (ver. 14), he gives to him yet further disclosures regarding the proceedings in the spirit-kingdom which determine the fate of nations, and contain for Israel, in the times of persecution awaiting them, the comforting certainty that they had in the Angel of the Lord and in the

guardian angel Michael a strong protection against the enmities of the heathen world. Kliefoth supposes that the angel who speaks in ver. 20–ch. xi. 1 gives a brief *resumé* of the contents of his previous statement (vers. 12–14). But it is not so. These verses, 20–ch. xi. 1, contain new disclosures not yet made known in vers. 12–19, although resembling the contents of ver. 13. Of the coming of the prince of Javan (ver. 20*b*), and the help which the angel-prince renders to Darius (ch. xi. 1), nothing is said in ver. 13; also what the Angel of the Lord, ver. 20, says regarding the conflict with the prince of Persia is different from that which is said in ver. 13. In ver. 13 he speaks of that which he has done before his coming to Daniel; in ver. 20, of that which he will now do. To the question, "Knowest thou wherefore I come unto thee?" no answer follows; it has, however, an affirmative sense, and is only an animated mode of address to remind Daniel of that which is said in vers. 12–14, and to impress it upon him as weighty and worthy of consideration. Then follows the new communication: "and now will I return to fight with the prince of Persia," *i.e.* to carry forward and bring to an end the victory gained for thee before my arrival over the demon of Persia, the spirit of the Persian kingdom.

The words which follow, וְאָנִי יוֹצֵא וְהִנֵּה וגו׳ (ver. 20*b*, *and when I am gone forth, lo*, etc.), present some difficulty. The וְאָנִי in comparison with אָשׁוּב (*will I return*) points to a contrast, and וְהִנֵּה plainly indicates that which shall begin with the אָנִי יוֹצֵא. By this, the union of the וְאָנִי יוֹצֵא with that which goes before and the adversative interpretation of וְהִנֵּה (v. Leng.) is excluded. But יוֹצֵא is interpreted differently. Hävernick, Maurer, and others understand it of going forth to war; only we must not then think (with Maurer) of the war against the prince of Persia. "For he will do that even now (in the third year of Cyrus), and at this time the coming of the prince of Grecia has no meaning" (Hitzig). Hofmann and Hitzig understand, therefore, יוֹצֵא, in contrast to בָּא, of a going forth from the conflict, as in 2 Kings xi. 7 "they *shall go forth* on the Sabbath" is placed over against "that *enter in* on the Sabbath" in ver. 5; but in an entirely different sense. Hitzig thus renders the clause: "when I have done with the Persians, and am on the point of departing, then shall the king of Grecia rise up against me." יָוָן must then be the Seleucidan kingdom, and the שַׂר the guardian spirit of Egypt—suppositions which need no refutation, while the interpretation of the words themselves fails

by the arbitrary interpolation "against me" after בָּא. According to Hofmann, the angel says that "he had to return and contend further with the prince of the people of Persia; and that when he has retired from this conflict, then shall the prince of the Grecian people come, compelling him to enter on a new war." This last clause Hofmann thus more fully illustrates: "Into the conflict with the prince of the people of Persia, which the angel retires from, the prince of the Grecian people enters, and against him he resumes it after that the Persian kingdom has fallen, and is then also helped by Michael, the prince of the Jewish people, in this war against the prince of Grecia, as he had been in the war against the prince of Persia" (*Schriftbew.* i. pp. 333, 334 f.). But Hitzig and Kliefoth have, in opposition to this, referred to the incongruity which lies in the thought that the prince of Javan shall enter into the war of the angel against the Persians, and assume and carry it forward. The angel fights against the demon of Persia, not to destroy the Persians, but to influence the Persian king in favour of the people of God; on the contrary, the prince of Javan comes to destroy the Persian king. According to this, we cannot say that the prince of Javan enters into the place of the angel in the war. "The Grecians and the Persians much rather stand," as Hitzig rightly remarks, "on one side, and are adversaries of Michael and our שׂר," *i.e.* of the angel who spake to Daniel. Add to this, that although יָצָא, *to go out*, means also *to go away*, *to go off*, yet the meaning to go away from the conflict, to abandon it, is not confirmed: much rather יָצָא, *sensu militari*, always denotes only "to go out, forth, into the conflict;" cf. 1 Sam. viii. 20, xxiii. 15; 1 Chron. xx. 1; Job xxxix. 21, etc. We have to take the word in this signification here (with C. B. Michaelis, Klief., and Kran.), only we must not, with Kranichfeld, supply the clause, "to another more extensive conflict," because this supplement is arbitrary, but rather, with Kliefoth, interpret the word generally as it stands of the going out of the angel to fight for the people of God, without excluding the war with the prince of Persia, or limiting it to this war. Thus the following will be the meaning of the passage: Now shall I return to resume and continue the war with the prince of Persia, to maintain the position gained (ver. 13) beside the kings of Persia; but when (while) I thus go forth to war, *i.e.* while I carry on this conflict, lo, the prince of Javan shall come (הִנֵּה with the partic. בָּא of the future)—then shall there be a new conflict. This last thought is not, it is true, expressly uttered, but

it appears from ver. 21. The warring with the prince, *i.e.* the spirit of Persia hostile to Israel, refers to the oppositions which the Jews would encounter in the hindrances put in the way of their building the temple from the time of Cyrus to the time of Darius Hystaspes, and further under Xerxes and Artaxerxes till the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem by Nehemiah, as well as at a later time on the side of the Persian world-power, in the midst of all which difficulties the Angel of the Lord promises to guide the affairs of His people. שַׂר יָוָן is the spirit of the Macedonian world-kingdom, which would arise and show as great hostility as did the spirit of Persia against the people of God.

Ver. 21. This verse is antithetically connected with the preceding by אֲבָל, *but yet*. The contrast, however, does not refer to the fears for the theocracy (Kranichfeld) arising out of the last-named circumstance (ver. 20*b*), according to which the angel seeks to inform Daniel that under these circumstances the prophecy can only contain calamity. For "the prophecy by no means contains only calamity, but war and victory and everlasting victory added thereto" (Klief.). C. B. Michaelis has more correctly interpreted the connection thus: *Verum ne forte et sic, quod principem Græciæ Persarum principi successurum intellexisti, animum despondeas, audi ergo, quod tibi tuisque solatio esse potest, ego indicabo tibi, quod*, etc. "The Scripture of truth" is the book in which God has designated beforehand, according to truth, the history of the world as it shall certainly be unfolded; cf. Mal. iii. 16, Ps. cxxxix. 16, Rev. v. 1. The following clause, וְאֵין אֶחָד, is not connected adversatively with the preceding: "there is yet no one . . ." (Hofmann and others), but illustratively, for the angel states more minutely the nature of the war which he has to carry on. He has no one who fights with him against these enemies (עַל אֵלֶּה, against the evil spirits of Persia and Greece) but Michael the angel-prince of Israel, who strongly shows himself with him, *i.e.* as an ally in the conflict (מִתְחַזֵּק as 1 Sam. iv. 9, 2 Sam. x. 12), *i.e.* renders to him powerful aid, as he himself in the first year of Darius the Mede had been a strong helper and protection to Michael.

Ch. xi. 1. The first verse of the eleventh chapter belongs to ch. x. 21; the וַאֲנִי (*also I*) is emphatically placed over against the mention of Michael, whereby the connection of this verse with ch. x. 21 is placed beyond a doubt, and at the same time the reference of לוֹ (ch. xi. 1*b*) to מִיכָאֵל (ch. x. 21*b*) is decided. Hengstenberg

indeed thinks (*Christol.* iii. 2, p. 53) that the reference of the לוֹ to Michael is "against all that is already spoken in relation to Michael, and particularly against that which immediately goes before," under a reference to Hitzig. But Hitzig only says that in ver. 21 Michael is of one lineage with the speaker; but, on the contrary, the expressions לְמַחֲזִיק (*to confirm*) and לְמָעוֹז (*to strengthen*) aré so strong, that in לוֹ we must think on one inferior, a man. Moreover, Hitzig can think of nothing done by Michael under Darius, since the transference of the kingdom to the Medes changed nothing in the fortune of the Jews. This was first effected by Cyrus. But Hengstenberg himself does not recognise this last reason, but remarks that ch. xi. 1 relates to the transference of the sovereignty from the Chaldeans to the Persians, whereby a way was opened for the return of Israel, and rightly, with Häv., thus determines the meaning of the verse in general: "As at that time the Lord made the change of the monarchy a cause of blessing to the covenant people, so in all the troubles that may arise to them in the heathen monarchies He will show Himself to be the same true and gracious God." The other reason, namely, that the strong expressions, "to confirm and strengthen," necessitate us to think of one inferior as referred to in לוֹ, affects only the view already refuted above, that the speaker is either Gabriel or another inferior angel. If, on the contrary, the speaker is one person with him who is clothed in linen, *i.e.* with the Angel of the Lord, who is like unto God, then this person can also say of himself that he was a help and protection to the angel-prince Michael, because he stands higher than Michael; and the reference of the לוֹ to Michael, which the "also I" in contrast to "Michael your prince" demands, corresponds wholly with that which is said of Michael. Besides, the reference of לוֹ to Darius (Häv., Hengstb.) is excluded by this, that the name of Darius the Mede is not at all the object of the statements of the verse to which לוֹ could refer, but occurs only in a subordinate or secondary determination of time. The thought of the verse is accordingly the following: "In the first year of Darius the Mede, Michael effected this, that Babylon, which was hostile to the people of God, was overthrown by the power of Medo-Persia, in doing which the Angel of the Lord rendered to him powerful help." To this follows in order in ver. 2 the announcement of the future, which is introduced by the formula וְעַתָּה וגו׳ resumed from ch. x. 21.

Chap. xi. 2–xii. 3. *The Revelation of the Future.*

Proceeding from the present, the angel reveals in great general outlines the career of the Persian world-kingdom, and the establishment and destruction, which immediately followed, of the kingdom which was founded by the valiant king of Javan, which would not descend to his posterity, but would fall to others (vers. 2–4). Then there follows a detailed description of the wars of the kings of the south and the north for the supremacy, wherein first the king of the south prevails (vers. 5–9); the decisive conflicts between the two (vers. 10–12), wherein the south is subjugated; and the attempts of the kings of the north to extend their power more widely, wherein they perish (vers. 13–20); finally, the coming of a "vile person," who rises suddenly to power by cunning and intrigue, humbles the king of the south, has "indignation against the holy covenant," desolates the sanctuary of God, and brings severe affliction upon the people of God, "to purge and to make them white to the time of the end" (vers. 21–35). At the time of the end this hostile king shall raise himself above all gods, and above every human ordinance, and make the "god of fortresses" his god, "whom he will acknowledge and increase with glory" (vers. 36–39). But in the time of the end he shall pass through the countries with his army as a flood, enter into the glorious land, and take possession of Egypt with its treasures; but, troubled by tidings out of the east and the north, shall go forth in great fury utterly to destroy many, and shall come to his end on the holy mountain (vers. 40–45). At this time of greatest tribulation shall the angel-prince Michael contend for the people of Daniel. Every one that shall be found written in the book shall be saved, and the dead shall rise again, some to everlasting life, some to everlasting shame (ch. xii. 1–3).

This prophecy is so rich in special features which in part have been literally fulfilled, that believing interpreters from Jerome to Kliefoth have found in it predictions which extend far beyond the measure of prophetic revelation, while rationalistic and naturalistic interpreters, following the example of Porphyry, from the speciality of the predictions, conclude that the chapter does not contain a prophetic revelation of the future, but only an apocalyptic description of the past and of the present of the Maccabean pseudo-Daniel. Against both views Kranichfeld has decidedly declared himself, and sought to show that in these prophetic representations "the prediction does not press itself into the place of historical develop-

ment, *i.e.* that it does not concern itself with such future dates as do not connect themselves with the historical present of the prophetic author (Daniel), as the unfolding of religious moral thought animated by divine influence." This is on the whole correct. Here also the prophecy does not become the prediction of historical dates which do not stand in inner connection with the fundamental idea of the book, which is to announce the unfolding of the heathen world-power over against the kingdom of God. This vision, also, as to its contents and form, is accounted for from the circumstances of time stated in ch. x. 1, and contains much which a supposed Maccabean origin makes in the highest degree improbable, and directly contradicts. First, it is "against the nature of a fictitious production which should be written in the time of the greatest national commotion, that the great repeated victories of the people over the Syrian power should have been so slightingly spoken of as is the case here (ch. xi. 34)," *i.e.* should be designated only as "a little help." Then the prophetic representation over against the historical facts of the case is full of inaccuracies; and these historical inconveniences are found not only in the description which had reference to the history of the times preceding the author, but also, above all, in the history of the times of the Maccabees themselves. Thus, *e.g.*, in ch. xi. 40–45 an Egyptian expedition of Antiochus Epiphanes shortly before his death is prophesied, for which, besides Porphyry, no voucher and, in general, no historical probability exists (Kran.).

Kranichfeld, however, goes too far when he holds all the special features of the prophetic revelation to be only individualizing paintings for the purpose of the contemplation, and therein seeks to find further developed only the fundamental thoughts of the great inner incurable enmity of the heathen ungodly kingdom already stated in ch. ii. 41–43, vii. 8, 20, 24, viii. 8, 22, 24. The truth lies in the middle between these two extremes.

This chapter contains neither mere individualizing paintings of general prophetic thoughts, nor predictions of historical dates inconsistent with the nature of prophecy, but prophetic descriptions of the development of the heathen world-power from the days of Cyrus to the fall of the Javanic world-kingdom, as well as of the position which the two kingdoms (arising out of this kingdom) of the north and south, between which the holy land lay, assumed toward each other and toward the theocracy; for by the war of these two kingdoms for the sovereignty, not merely were the

covenant land and the covenant people brought in general into a sorrowful condition, but they also were the special object of a war which typically characterizes and portrays the relation of the world-kingdom to the kingdom of God. This war arose under the Seleucidan Antiochus Epiphanes to such a height, that it formed a prelude of the war of the time of the end. The undertaking of this king to root out the worship of the living God and destroy the Jewish religion, shows in type the great war which the world-power in the last phasis of its development shall undertake against the kingdom of God, by exalting itself above every god, to hasten on its own destruction and the consummation of the kingdom of God.

The description of this war as to its origin, character, and issue forms the principal subject of this prophecy. It is set forth in the revelation of the angel from ch. xi. 21 to the end (ch. xii. 3), while the preceding description, as well of the course of the Persian and Javanic world-kingdoms as of the wars of the kings of the north and the south (ch. xi. 2–20), prepares for it. But this preparatory description is not merely individualizing pictures of the idea of the incurable hostility of the heathen ungodly kingdom, but a prophetic delineation of the chief lines of the process which the heathen world-power shall pass through till it shall advance to the attempt to destroy the kingdom of God. These chief lines are so distinctly laid down, that they contain their concrete fulfilment in the historical development of the world-power. In like manner are so described the appearance and the wars of the enemy of God, who desolates the sanctuary of God and takes away the daily sacrifice, that we can recognise in the assault of Antiochus Epiphanes against the temple and the worship of the people of Israel a fulfilling of this prophecy. Yet here the foretelling (*Weissagung*) does not renounce the character of prophecy (*Prophetie*): it does not pass over into prediction (*Prædiction*) of historical facts and events, but so places in the light of the divine foresight and predetermination the image of this enemy of God, and his wickedness against the sanctuary and the people of God, that it brings under contemplation, and places under the point of view of the purification of the covenant people for the time of the end (ch. xi. 35), the gradual progress of his enmity against God till he exalts himself above all divine and human relations.

From the typical relation in which Antiochus, the O. T. enemy of God, stands to Antichrist, the N. T. enemy, is explained the

connection of the end, the final salvation of the people of God, and the resurrection from the dead, with the destruction of this enemy, without any express mention being made of the fourth world-kingdom and of the last enemy arising out of it; from which the modern critics have drawn the erroneous conclusion, that the Maccabean pseudo-Daniel expected the setting up of the Messianic kingdom in glory along with the overthrow of Antiochus Epiphanes. At the foundation of this conclusion there lies an entire misapprehension of the contents and object of this prophecy, namely, the idea that the prophecy seeks to furnish a historical sketch, clothed in an apocalyptic form, of the development of the world-kingdoms from Cyrus to Antiochus Epiphanes. In support of this error, it is true that the church interpretation given by Jerome is so far valid, in that it interprets the prophecy partially considered under the point of view of the very special predictions of historical persons and events, and from this view concludes that vers. 21–35 treat of Antiochus Epiphanes, and vers. 36–45 of Antichrist; according to which there would be in ver. 36 an immediate passing from Antiochus to the Antichrist, or in ch. xii. 1 a sudden transition from the death of Antiochus to the time of the end and the resurrection from the dead. But the prophecy does not at all correspond to this representation. The Angel of the Lord will reveal to Daniel, not what shall happen from the third year of Cyrus to the time of Antiochus, and further to the resurrection of the dead, but, according to the express declaration of ch. x. 14, what shall happen to his people בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים, *i.e.* in the Messianic future, because the prophecy relates to this time. In the אַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים takes place the destruction of the world-power, and the setting up of the Messianic kingdom at the end of the present world-æon. All that the angel says regarding the Persian and the Javanic world-kingdoms, and the wars of the kings of the north and the south, has its aim to the end-time, serves only briefly to indicate the chief elements of the development of the world-kingdoms till the time when the war that brings in the end shall burst forth, and to show how, after the overthrow of the Javanic world-kingdom, neither the kings of the north nor those of the south shall gain the possession of the dominion of the world. Neither by the violence of war, nor by covenants which they will ratify by political marriages, shall they succeed in establishing a lasting power. They shall not prosper, because (ch. xi. 27) the end goes yet to *the* time appointed (by God). A new attempt of the

king of the north to subjugate the kingdom of the south shall be defeated by the intervention of the ships of Chittim; and the anger awakened in him by this frustration of his plans shall break forth against the holy covenant, only for the purifying of the people of God for the time of the end, because the end goes yet to the appointed time (ch. xi. 35). At the time of the end his power will greatly increase, because that which was determined by God shall prosper till the end of the indignation (ch. xi. 36); but in the time of the end he shall suddenly fall from the summit of his power and come to his end (ch. xi. 45), but the people of God shall be saved, and the wise shall shine in heavenly glory (ch. xii. 1–3).

Accordingly the revelation has this as its object, to show how the heathen world-kingdoms shall not attain to an enduring stability, and by their persecution of the people of God shall only accomplish their purification, and bring on the end, in which, through their destruction, the people of God shall be delivered from all oppression and be transfigured. In order to reveal this to him (that it must be carried forward to completion by severe tribulation), it was not necessary that he should receive a complete account of the different events which shall take place in the heathen world-power in the course of time, nor have it especially made prominent that their enmity shall first come to a completed manifestation under the last king who should arise out of the fourth world-kingdom. For that the Javanic world-kingdom shall not form the last embodiment of the world-power, but that after it a fourth more powerful kingdom shall arise—this was already revealed to Daniel in ch. vii. Moreover, in ch. viii. the violent enemy of the people of Israel who would arise from the Diadoch-kingdoms of the Javanic world-monarchy, was already designated as the type of the last enemy who would arise out of the ten kingdoms of the fourth world-kingdom. After these preceding revelations, the announcement of the great tribulation that would come upon the people of God from these two enemies could be presented in one comprehensive painting, wherein the assault made by the prefigurative enemy against the covenant people shall form the foreground of the picture for a representation of the daring of the antitypical enemy, proceeding even to the extent of abolishing all divine and human ordinances, who shall bring the last and severest tribulation on the church of God, at the end of the days, for its purification and preparation for eternity.

Ch. xi. 2–20. *The events of the nearest future.*

Ver. 2. The revelation passes quickly from Persia (ver. 2*b*) and the kingdom of Alexander (vers. 3 and 4), to the description of the wars of the kingdoms of the south and the north, arising out of the latter, in which wars the Holy Land, lying between the two, was implicated. Regarding Persia it is only said that yet three kings shall arise, and that the fourth, having reached to great power by his riches, shall stir up all against the kingdom of Javan. Since this prophecy originates in the third year of the Persian king Cyrus (ch. x. 1), then the three kings who shall yet (עוֹד) arise are the three successors of Cyrus, viz. Cambyses, the pseudo-Smerdis, and Darius Hystaspes; the fourth is then Xerxes, with whom all that is said regarding the fourth perfectly agrees. Thus Hävernick, Ebrard, Delitzsch, Auberlen, and Kliefoth interpret; on the contrary, v. Lengerke, Maurer, Hitzig, and Kranichfeld will make the fourth the third, so as thereby to justify the erroneous interpretation of the four wings and the four heads of the leopard (ch. vii. 6) of the first four kings of the Persian monarchy, because, as they say, the article in הָרְבִיעִי necessarily requires that *the* fourth is already mentioned in the immediately preceding statements. But the validity of this conclusion is not to be conceived; and the assertion that the O. T. knows only of four kings of Persia (Hitzig) cannot be established from Ezra iv. 5–7, nor from any other passage. From the naming of only four kings of Persia in the book of Ezra, since from the end of the Exile to Ezra and Nehemiah four kings had reigned, it in no way follows that the book of Daniel and the O. T. generally know of only four. Moreover, this assertion is not at all correct; for in Neh. xii. 22, besides those four there is mention made also of a Darius, and to the Jews in the age of the Maccabees there was well known, according to 1 Macc. i. 1, also the name of the last Persian king, Darius, who was put to death by Alexander. If the last named, the king who by great riches (ver. 2) reached to a higher power, is included among the three previously named, then he should have been here designated "the third." The verb עָמַד, to place oneself, then to stand, is used here and frequently in the following passages, as in ch. viii. 23, in the sense of *to stand up* (= קוּם), with reference to the coming of a new ruler. The gathering together of greater riches than all (his predecessors), agrees specially with Xerxes; cf. Herodot. iii. 96, vi. 27–29, and Justini *Histor.* ii. 2. The latter says of him: "*Divitias, non ducem laudes, quarum tanta*

copia in regno ejus fuit, ut, cum flumina multitudine consumerentur, opes tamen regiæ superessent."

חֶזְקָתוֹ is the *infinit.* or *nomen actionis*, the *becoming strong*; cf. 2 Chron. xii. 1 with 2 Kings xiv. 5 and Isa. viii. 11. בְּעָשְׁרוֹ is not in apposition to it, "according to his riches" (Häv.); but it gives the means by which he became strong. "Xerxes expended his treasures for the raising and arming of an immense host, so as by such חֹזֶק (cf. Amos vi. 13) to conquer Greece" (Hitzig). אֵת מַלְכוּת יָוָן is not in apposition to הַכֹּל, *all*, namely, the kingdom of Javan (Maurer, Kranichfeld). This does not furnish a suitable sense; for the thought that הַכֹּל, "they all," designates the divided states of Greece, and the apposition, "the kingdom of Javan," denotes that they were brought by the war with Xerxes to form themselves into the unity of the Macedonian kingdom, could not possibly be so expressed. Moreover, the reference to the circumstances of the Grecian states is quite foreign to the context. אֵת מ' יָוָן is much rather a second, more remote object, and אֵת is to be interpreted, with Hävernick, either as the preposition *with*, so far as יָעִיר involves the idea of war, conflict, or simply, with Hitzig, as the accusative of the object of the movement (cf. Ex. ix. 29, 33), to stir up, to rouse, after the kingdom of Javan, properly to make, to cause, that all (הַכֹּל = every one, cf. Ps. xiv. 3) set out towards. Daniel calls Greece מַלְכוּת, after the analogy of the Oriental states, as a united historical power, without respect to the political constitution of the Grecian states, not suitable to prophecy (Kliefoth).

From the conflict of Persia with Greece, the angel (ver. 3) passes immediately over to the founder of the Grecian (Macedonian) world-kingdom; for the prophecy proceeds not to the prediction of historical details, but mentions only the elements and factors which constitute the historical development. The expedition of Xerxes against Greece brings to the foreground the world-historical conflict between Persia and Greece, which led to the destruction of the Persian kingdom by Alexander the Great. The reply of Alexander to Darius Codomannus (Arrian, *Exped Alex.* ii. 14. 4) supplies a historical document, in which Alexander justifies his expedition against Persia by saying that Macedonia and the rest of Hellas were assailed in war by the Persians without any cause (*οὐδὲν προηδικημένοι*), and that therefore he had resolved to punish the Persians. A deeper reason for this lies in this, that the prophecy closes the list of Persian kings with Xerxes, but not in this, that under Xerxes the Persian monarchy reached its climax,

and partly already under him, and yet more after his reign, the fall of the kingdom had begun (Hävernick, Auberlen); still less in the opinion, proved to be erroneous, that the Maccabean Jew knew no other Persian kings, and confounded Xerxes with Darius Codomannus (v. Lengerke, Maurer, Hitzig).

Vers. 3 and 4. But only brief notices, characterizing its nature, were given regarding the Macedonian kingdom, which agree with the prophecies ch. vii. 6 and viii. 5–8, 21, 22, without adding new elements. The founder of the kingdom is called מֶלֶךְ גִּבּוֹר, "brave king," "hero-king," and his kingdom "a great dominion." Of his government it is said יַעֲשֶׂה כִּרְצוֹנוֹ, he does, rules, according to his will (cf. ch. viii. 4), so that his power might be characterized as irresistible and boundless self-will. Similarly Curtius writes of him (x. 5. 35): *Fatendum est, cum plurimum virtuti debuerit, plus debuisse fortunæ, quam solus omnium mortalium in potestate habuit. Hujus siquidem beneficio agere videbatur gentibus quidquid placebat.* By the כְּ in כְּעָמְדוֹ the coming of the king and the destruction of his kingdom are stated as synchronous, so as to express with great force the shortness of its duration. עָמְדוֹ is not to be otherwise interpreted than עָמֹד in ver. 3, and is thus not to be translated: "when he thus stands up," *sc.* in the regal power described in ver. 3 (Kran.), or: "on the pinnacle of his might" (Häv.), but: "when (or as) he has made his appearance, his kingdom shall be broken." In the words, also, there does not lie the idea "that he himself in his life-time is deprived of his throne and his kingdom by a violent catastrophe" (Kran.); for the destruction of the kingdom does not necessarily include in it the putting to death of the ruler. The thought is only this: "when he has appeared and founded a great dominion, his kingdom shall be immediately broken." תִּשָּׁבֵר (*shall be broken*) is chosen with reference to ch. viii. 8, "toward the four winds of heaven." We may neither supply תֵּחָץ (*shall be divided*) to וְלֹא לְאַחֲרִיתוֹ (*and not to his posterity*), nor is this latter expression "connected with תֵּחָץ in pregnant construction;" for תֵּחָץ, from חָצָה, signifies *to divide*, from which we are not to assume the idea of *to allot, assign*. We have simply to supply הִיא in the sense of the *verb. subst., shall be*, as well here as in the following clause, וְלֹא כְּמֶשְׁלוֹ. The אַחֲרִית signifies here as little as in Amos iv. 2, ix. 1, posterity = זֶרַע, but remnant, that which is left behind, the survivors of the king, by which we are to understand not merely his sons, but all the members of his family. וְלֹא כְּמֶשְׁלוֹ, "and it shall not be according to the dominion which he ruled." This thought,

corresponding to וְלֹא בְכֹחוֹ in ch. viii. 22, is the natural conclusion from the idea of division to all the four winds, which the falling asunder into several or many small kingdoms involves. הִנָּתֵשׁ, "shall be plucked up" (of plants from the earth), denotes the rooting up of that which is stable, the destroying and dissolving of the kingdom into portions. In this division it shall pass to others מִלְּבַד־אֵלֶּה, "with the exclusion of those" (the אַחֲרִית), the surviving members of the family of Alexander. To וְלַאֲחֵרִים (*and for others*) supply תִּהְיֶה (*shall be*).

In ver. 4, accordingly, the prophetic thought is expressed, that the Javanic kingdom, as soon as the brave king has founded a great dominion, shall be broken to pieces and divided toward the four winds of heaven, so that its separate parts, without reaching to the might of the broken kingdom, shall be given not to the survivors of the family of the founder, but to strangers. This was historically fulfilled in the fact, that after the sudden death of Alexander his son Hercules was not recognised by his generals as successor on the throne, but was afterwards murdered by Polysperchon; his son also born by Roxana, along with his guardian Philip Arideus, met the same fate; but the generals, after they had at first divided the kingdom into more than thirty parts (see above, p. 256), soon began to war with each other, the result of which was, that at last four larger kingdoms were firmly established (see above, p. 294). Cf. Diod. Sic. xx. 28, xix. 105; Pausan. ix. 7; Justini *hist.* xv. 2, and Appiani *Syr.* c. 51.

Vers. 5 and 6. From the 5th verse the prophecy passes to the wars of the kings of the south and the north for the supremacy and for the dominion over the Holy Land, which lay between the two. Ver. 5 describes the growing strength of these two kings, and ver. 6 an attempt made by them to join themselves together. חָזַק, *to become strong*. The king of the south is the ruler of Egypt; this appears from the context, and is confirmed by ver. 8. וּמִן שָׂרָיו is differently interpreted; מִן, however, is unanimously regarded as a partitive: "one of his princes," as *e.g.* Neh. xiii. 28, Gen. xxviii. 11, Ex. vi. 25. The suffix to שָׂרָיו (*his* princes) does not (with C. B. Michaelis, Bertholdt, Rosenmüller, and Kranichfeld) refer to מֶלֶךְ גִּבּוֹר, ver. 3, because this noun is too far removed, and then also עָלָיו must be referred to it; but thereby the statement in ver. 5*b*, that one of the princes of the king of Javan would gain greater power and dominion than the valiant king had, would contradict the statement in ver. 4, that no one of the Diadochs would attain

to the dominion of Alexander.[1] The suffix to שָׂרָיו can only be referred to the immediately preceding מִמֶּלֶךְ הַנֶּגֶב: "one of the princes of the king of the south." But then ו in וּמִן cannot be explicative, but is only the simple copula. This interpretation also is not opposed by the Atnach under שָׂרָיו, for this accent is added to the subject because it stands before separately, and is again resumed in וְיֶחֱזַק by the copula ו, as *e.g.* Ezek. xxxiv. 19. The thought is this: one of the princes of the king of the south shall attain to greater power than this king, and shall found a great dominion. That this prince is the king of the north, or founds a dominion in the north, is not expressly said, but is gathered from ver. 6, where the king of the south enters into a league with the king of the north.

Ver. 6. לְקֵץ שָׁנִים, "in the end of years," *i.e.* after the expiry of a course of years; cf. 2 Chron. xviii. 2. The subject to יִתְחַבָּרוּ (*join themselves*, 2 Chron. xx. 35) cannot, it is evident, be אַחֲרִים, ver. 4 (Kran.), but only the king of the south and his prince who founded a great dominion, since the covenant, according to the following clause, is brought about by the daughter of the king of the south being given in marriage (בּוֹא אֶל, *to come to*, as Josh. xv. 18, Judg. i. 14) to the king of the north, to make מֵישָׁרִים, to effect an agreement. מֵישָׁרִים, *rectitudes*, synonymous with righteousness and right, Prov. i. 3, here designates the rectitude of the relation of the two rulers to each other in regard to the intrigues and deceits they had previously practised toward each other; thus not union, but sincerity in keeping the covenant that had been concluded. "But she shall not retain the power of the arm." עֲצַר כּוֹחַ as x. 8, 16, and הַזְּרוֹעַ, the arm as a figure of help, assistance. The meaning is: she will not retain the power to render the help which her marriage should secure; she shall not be able to bring about and to preserve the sincerity of the covenant; and thus the king of the south shall not be preserved with this his help, but shall become subject to the more powerful king of the north. The following

[1] This contradiction is not set aside, but only strengthened, by translating וְיֶחֱזַק עָלָיו "he overcame him" (Kran.), according to which the king of Javan must be thought of as overcome by one of his princes, the king of the south. For the thought that the king of Javan survived the destruction of his kingdom, and that, after one of his princes had become the king of the south and had founded a great dominion, he was overcome by him, contradicts too strongly the statement of ver. 5, that the kingdom of the valiant king of Javan would be destroyed, and that it would not fall to his survivors, but to others with the exception of those, for one to be able to interpret the words in this sense.

passages state this. The subject to לֹא יַעֲמֹד is the מֶלֶךְ נֶגֶב; and his, *i.e.* this king's, help is his own daughter, who should establish מֵישָׁרִים by her marriage with the king of the north. וּזְרֹעוֹ is a second subject subordinated or co-ordinated to the subject lying in the verb: he together with his help. We may not explain the passage: neither he nor his help, because in this case הוּא could not be wanting, particularly in comparison with the following הִיא. The "not standing" is further positively defined by וְנִתְּנָה, to be delivered up, to perish. The plur. מְבִיאֶיהָ is the plur. of the category: who brought her, *i.e.* who brought her into the marriage (מֵבִיא to be explained after בּוֹא), without reference to the number of those who were engaged in doing so; cf. the similar plur. in particip. Lev. xix. 8, Num. xxiv. 9, and in the noun, Gen. xxi. 7. הַיֹּלְדָה, particip. with the suffix, wherein the article represents the relative אֲשֶׁר. מְחַזֵּיק, in the same meaning as ver. 1, the support, the helper. The sense is: not only she, but all who brought about the establishment of this marriage, and the object aimed at by it. בָּעִתִּים has the article: in the times determined for each of these persons.

Vers. 7–9. A violent war shall then break out, in which the king of the north shall be overcome. One of the offspring of her roots shall appear. מִן in מִנֵּצֶר is partitive, as ver. 5, and נֵצֶר is used collectively. The figure reminds us of Isa. xi. 1. The suffix to שָׁרְשֶׁיהָ refers to the king's daughter, ver. 6. Her roots are her parents, and the offspring of her roots a brother of the king's daughter, but not a descendant of his daughter, as Kranichfeld by losing sight of נֵצֶר supposes. כַּנּוֹ is the accusative of direction, for which, in vers. 20, 21, 38, עַל כַּנּוֹ stands more distinctly; the suffix refers to the king of the south, who was also the subject in יַעֲמֹד, ver. 6*b*. יָבֹא אֶל־חַיִל does not mean: he will go to the (to his) army (Michaelis, Berth., v. Leng., Hitz., Klief.); this would be a very heavy remark within the very characteristic, significant description here given (Kran., Häv.); nor does it mean: he attained to might (Häv.); but: he shall come to the army, *i.e.* against the host of the enemy, *i.e.* the king of the north (Kran.). בּוֹא אֶל, as Gen. xxxii. 9, Isa. xxxvii. 33, is used of a hostile approach against a camp, a city, so as to take it, in contradistinction to the following יָבֹא בְּמָעוֹז: to penetrate into the fortress. מָעוֹז has a collective signification, as בָּהֶם referring to it shows. עָשָׂה בְּ, to act against or with any one, cf. Jer. xviii. 23 ("deal with them"), *ad libidinem agere* (Maurer), essentially corresponding to כִּרְצוֹנוֹ in vers. 33, 36. הֶחֱזִיק, to show power, *i.e.* to demonstrate his superior power.

Ver. 8. To bring the subjugated kingdom wholly under his power, he shall carry away its gods along with all the precious treasures into Egypt. The carrying away of the images of the gods was a usual custom with conquerors; cf. Isa. xlvi. 1 f., Jer. xlviii. 7, xlix. 3. In the images the gods themselves were carried away; therefore they are called "their gods." נְסִכֵיהֶם signifies here not drink-offerings, but molten images; the form is analogous to the plur. פְּסִילִים, formed from פֶּסֶל; on the contrary, נְסִיכָם *libationes*, Deut. xxxii. 38, stands for נִסְכֵיהֶם, Isa. xli. 29. The suffix is not to be referred to אֱלֹהִים, but, like the suffix in אֱלֹהֵיהֶם, to the inhabitants of the conquered country. כֶּסֶף וְזָהָב are in apposition to כְּלֵי חֶמְדָּתָם, not the genitive of the subject (Kran.), because an attributive genitive cannot follow a noun determined by a suffix. Häv., v. Leng., Maurer, Hitzig, Ewald, and Klief. translate וְהוּא שָׁנִים יַעֲמֹד וגו׳: he shall during (some) years stand off from the king of the north. Literally this translation may perhaps be justified, for עָמַד, *c.* מִן, Gen. xxix. 35, has the meaning of "to leave off," and the expression "to stand off from war" may be used concisely for "to desist from making war" upon one. But this interpretation does not accord with the connection. First, it is opposed by the expressive וְהוּא, which cannot be understood, if nothing further should be said than that the king of the south, after he had overthrown the fortresses of the enemies' country, and had carried away their gods and their treasures, abstained from war for some years. The וְהוּא much rather leads us to this, that the passage introduced by it states some new important matter which does not of itself appear from the subjugation of the enemy and his kingdom. To this is to be added, that the contents of ver. 9, where the subject to בָּא can only be the king of the north, do not accord with the abstaining of the king of the south from warring against the king of the north. By Ewald's remark, "With such miserable marchings to and fro they mutually weaken themselves," the matter is not made intelligible. For the penetrating of the king of the south into the fortresses of his enemy, and the carrying away of his gods and his treasures, was not a miserable, useless expedition; but then we do not understand how the completely humbled king of the north, after his conqueror abstained from war, was in the condition to penetrate into his kingdom and then to return to his own land. Would his conqueror have suffered him to do this? We must, therefore, with Kranichfeld, Gesenius, de Wette, and Winer, after the example of the

Syriac and the Vulgate, take יַעֲמֹד מִן in the sense of: to stand out before, מִן in the sense of מִפְּנֵי, *contra*, as in Ps. xliii. 1 it is construed with רִיב, which is supported by the circumstance that עָמַד in vers. 6, 15, 17, and 25, has this meaning. By this not only is וְהוּא rightly translated: *and he*, the same who penetrated into the fortresses of his adversary and carried away his gods, shall also take his stand against him, assert his supremacy for years; but also ver. 9 contains a suitable addition, for it shows how he kept his ground. The king of the north shall after some time invade the kingdom of the king of the south, but shall return to his own land, namely, because he can effect nothing. Kran. takes the king of the south as the subject to וּבָא, ver. 9; but this is impossible, for then the word must be בְּמַלְכוּתוֹ, particularly in parallelism with אַדְמָתוֹ. As the words stand, מֶלֶךְ הַנֶּגֶב can only be the genitive to בְּמַלְכוּת; thus the supposition that "the king of the south is the subject" is excluded, because the expression, "the king of the south comes into the kingdom of the south and returns to his own land," has no meaning when, according to the context, the south denotes Egypt. With the וּבָא there also begins a change of the subject, which, though it appears contrary to the idiom of the German [and English] language, is frequently found in Hebrew; *e.g.* in vers. 11*a* and 9*a*. By the mention of an expedition of the king of the north into the kingdom of the king of the south, from which he again returned without having effected anything, the way is opened for passing to the following description of the supremacy of the king of the north over the king of the south.

Vers. 10–12. *The decisive wars.*

Ver. 10. Here the suffix in בָּנָיו refers to the king of the north, who in ver. 9 was the person acting. Thus all interpreters with the exception of Kranichfeld, who understands בנו of the son of the Egyptian prince, according to which this verse ought to speak of the hostilities sought, in the wantonness of his own mind, of the king of the south against the king of the north. But this interpretation of Kranichfeld is shattered, not to speak of other verbal reasons which oppose it, against the contents of ver. 11. The rage of the king of the south, and his going to war against the king of the north, supposes that the latter had given rise to this rage by an assault. Besides, the description given in ver. 10 is much too grand to be capable of being referred to hostility exercised in mere wantonness. For such conflicts we do not assemble a multitude

of powerful armies, and, when these powerful hosts penetrate into the fortresses of the enemy's country, then find that for the victorious invaders there is wanting the occasion of becoming exasperated for new warfare. The *Kethiv* בנו is rightly interpreted by the Masoretes as plur., which the following verbs demand, while the singulars וּבָא וְשָׁטַף וְעָבַר (*shall come, and overflow, and pass through*) are explained from the circumstance that the hosts are viewed unitedly in הָמוֹן (*multitude*). בָּא בוֹא expresses the unrestrained coming or pressing forward, while the verbs שָׁטַף וְעָבַר, reminding us of Isa. viii. 8, describe pictorially the overflowing of the land by the masses of the hostile army. וְיָשֹׁב (jussive, denoting the divine guidance), *and shall return*, expresses the repetition of the deluge of the land by the hosts marching back out of it after the עָבַר, the march through the land,—not the new arming for war (Häv.), but renewed entrance into the region of the enemy, whereby they carry on the war עַד מָעוֹז, to the fortress of the king of the south, corresponding with the בְּמָעוֹז מֶלֶךְ הַצָּפוֹן in ver. 7 (*to the fortress of the king of the north*). יִתְגָּרוּ signifies properly to stir up to war, *i.e.* to arm, then to engage in war. In the first member of the verse it has the former, and in the last the latter meaning. The violent pressing forward of the adversary will greatly embitter the king of the south, fill him with the greatest anger, so that he will go out to make war with him. The adversary marshals a great multitude of combatants; but these shall be given into his hand, into the hand of the king of the south. הֶעֱמִיד הָמוֹן רָב (*he raised up a great multitude*) the context requires us to refer to the king of the north. נִתַּן בְּיָדוֹ, v. Leng., Maurer, and Hitzig understand of the acceptance of the command over the army—contrary to the usage of the words, which mean, to give into the hand = to deliver up, cf. 1 Kings xx. 28, Dan. i. 2, viii. 12, 13, and is contrary also to the context. The marshalling of the host supposes certainly the power to direct it, so that it needs not then for the first time to be given into the power of him who marshalled it. The expression also, "to give into his hand," as meaning "to place under his command," is not found in Scripture. To this is to be added, that the article in הֶהָמוֹן refers back to הָמוֹן רָב. But if הֶהָמוֹן is the host assembled by the king of the north, then it can only be given up into the hand of the enemy, *i.e.* the king of the south, and thus the suffix in בְּיָדוֹ can only refer to him. The statements in ver. 12 are in harmony with this, so far as they confessedly speak of the king of the south.

Ver. 12. This verse illustrates the last clause of ver. 11, *i.e.* explains more fully how the great multitude of the enemy are given into his hand. The first two clauses of ver. 12 stand in correlation to each other, as the change of the time and the absence of the copula before יָרוּם show (the *Keri* וְרָם proceeds from a misunderstanding). The meaning is this: "As the multitude rises up, so his heart is lifted up." הֲהָמוֹן, with the article, can only be the host of the king of the north mentioned in ver. 12. The supposition that the Egyptian army is meant, is the result of the difficulty arising out of the misapprehension of the right relation in which the perfect וְנִשָּׂא (*hath lifted up raised*) stands to the imperfect יָרוּם. נִשָּׂא as in Isa. xxxiii. 10: they raise themselves to the conflict. רוּם לֵבָב, the lifting up of the heart, commonly in the sense of pride; here the increase of courage, but so that pride is not altogether to be excluded. The subject to יָרוּם is the king of the south, to whom the suffix to בְּיָדוֹ, ver. 11, points. With excited courage he overthrows myriads, namely, the powerful multitude of the enemies, but he yet does not reach to power, he does not attain to the supremacy over the king of the north and over his kingdom which he is striving after. The Vulgate, without however fully expressing the meaning, has rendered וְלֹא יָעוֹז by *sed non prævalebit.*

Vers. 13–15. This thought is expanded and proved in these verses.—Ver. 13. The king of the north returns to his own land, gathers a host together more numerous than before, and shall then, at the end of the times of years, come again with a more powerful army and with a great train. רְכוּשׁ, *that which is acquired, the goods*, is the train necessary for the suitable equipment of the army—"the condition to a successful warlike expedition" (Kran.). The definition of time corresponding to the בָּעִתִּים in ver. 6 is specially to be observed: לְקֵץ הָעִתִּים שָׁנִים (*at the end of times, years*), in which שָׁנִים is to be interpreted (as יָמִים with שָׁבֻעִים, ch. x. 3, 4, and other designations of time) as denoting that the עִתִּים stretch over years, are times lasting during years. הָעִתִּים, with the definite article, are in prophetic discourse *the times determined by God.*

Ver. 14. In those times shall many rise up against the king of the south (עָמַד עַל as ch. viii. 20); also בְּנֵי פָרִיצֵי עַמְּךָ, the violent people of the nation (of the Jews), shall raise themselves against him. בְּנֵי פָרִיצִים are such as belong to the classes of violent men who break through the barriers of the divine law (Ezek. xviii. 10). These shall raise themselves לְהַעֲמִיד חָזוֹן, to establish the prophecy,

i.e. to bring it to an accomplishment. הֶעֱמִיד = קָיַם, Ezek. xiii. 6, as עָמַד = קוּם in Daniel, and generally in the later Hebrew. Almost all interpreters since Jerome have referred this to Daniel's vision of the oppression under Antiochus Epiphanes, ch. viii. 9–14, ver. 23. This is so far right, as the apostasy of one party among the Jews from the law of their fathers, and their adoption of heathen customs, contributed to bring about that oppression with which the theocracy was visited by Antiochus Epiphanes; but the limiting of the חָזוֹן to those definite prophecies is too narrow. חָזוֹן without the article is prophecy in undefined generality, and is to be extended to all the prophecies which threatened the people of Israel with severe chastisements and sufferings on account of their falling away from the law and their apostasy from their God. וְנִכְשָׁלוּ, *they shall stumble, fall.* "The falling away shall bring to them no gain, but only the sufferings and tribulation prophesied of" (Kliefoth).

Ver. 15. In this verse, with וְיָבֹא the יָבוֹא בוֹא, ver. 13, is again assumed, and the consequence of the war announced. שְׁפֹךְ סוֹלְלָה, *to heap up an entrenchment;* cf. Ezek. iv. 2, 2 Kings xix. 32. עִיר מִבְצָרוֹת, *city of fortifications*, without the article, also collectively of the fortresses of the kingdom of the south generally. Before such power the army, *i.e.* the war-strength, of the south shall not maintain its ground; even his chosen people shall not possess strength necessary for this.

Vers. 16–19. *The further undertakings of the king of the north.*

Ver. 16. Having penetrated into the kingdom of the south, he shall act there according to his own pleasure, without any one being able to withstand him; just as before this the king of the south did in the kingdom of the north (ver. 7). With וְיַעַשׂ the jussive appears instead of the future—cf. יְהִי, וְיֵשֶׁם (ver. 17), יָשֹׁב (vers. 18 and 19)—to show that the further actions and undertakings of the king of the north are carried on under the divine decree. הַבָּא אֵלָיו is he that comes into the land of the south, the king of the north (vers. 14 and 15). Having reached the height of victory, he falls under the dominion of pride and haughtiness, by which he hastens on his ruin and overthrow. After he has subdued the kingdom of the southern king, he will go into the land of beauty, *i.e.* into the Holy Land (with reference to אֶרֶץ הַצְּבִי, ch. viii. 9). וְכָלָה בְיָדוֹ, *and destruction is in his hand* (an explanatory clause), כָּלָה being here not a verb, but a substantive. Only this meaning of כָּלָה is verbally established, see under ch. ix. 27, but not the meaning attributed to

the word, from the unsuitable introduction of historical events, *accomplishing, perfectio*, according to which Häv., v. Leng., Maur., and Kliefoth translate the clause: *and it* (the Holy Land) *is wholly given into his hand.* בְּלָה means *finishing, conclusion*, only in the sense of *destruction*, also in 2 Chron. xii. 2 and Ezek. xiii. 13. For the use of בְּיָדוֹ of spiritual things which one intends or aims at, cf. Job xi. 14, Isa. xliv. 20. The destruction, however, refers not to the Egyptians (Hitzig), but to the Holy Land, in which violent (rapacious) people (ver. 14) make common cause with the heathen king, and thereby put arms into his hands by which he may destroy the land.

Ver. 17. This verse has been very differently expounded. According to the example of Jerome, who translates it: *et ponet faciem suam ut veniat ad tenendum universum regnum ejus*, and adds to this the explanatory remark: *ut evertat illum h. e. Ptolemæum, sive illud, h. e. regnum ejus*, many translate the words לָבוֹא בְּתֹקֶף וגו by *to come in or against the strength of his whole* (Egyptian) *kingdom* (C. B. Michaelis, Venema, Hävernick, v. Lengerke, Maurer), *i.e.* to obtain the superiority over the Egyptian kingdom (Kliefoth). But this last interpretation is decidedly opposed by the circumstance that תֹּקֶף means *strength* not in the active sense = *power over something*, but only in the intransitive or passive sense, *strength as the property of any one.* Moreover, both of these explanations are opposed by the verbal use of בּוֹא *c.* בְּ *rei*, which does not signify: to come in or against a matter, but: *to come with*—cf. בּוֹא בְּחַיִל, to come with power, ver. 13, also Isa. xl. 10, Ps. lxxi. 16—as well as by the context, for of the completely subjugated south (according to vers. 15 and 16) it cannot yet be said תֹּקֶף מַלְכוּתוֹ. Correctly, Theodot. translates: *εἰσελθεῖν ἐν ἰσχύϊ πάσης τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ*; Luther: "to come with the strength of his whole kingdom." Similarly M. Geier, Hitzig, and Kran. The king of the north intends thus to come with the force of his whole kingdom to obtain full possession of the kingdom of the south. וְיְשָׁרִים עִמּוֹ is an explanatory clause defining the manner in which he seeks to gain his object. יְשָׁרִים, plur. of the adjective יָשָׁר, in a substantive signification, *that which is straight, recta*, as Prov. xvi. 13, *probà* (Ewald's Gram. § 172; while in his commentary he translates the word by *agreement*). עִמּוֹ, *with him, i.e.* having in intention. The sense of the passage is determined according to לַעֲשׂוֹת מֵישָׁרִים, ver. 6: with the intention of establishing a direct, right relation, namely, by means of a political marriage to bring to himself the

kingdom of the south. וְעָשָׂה forms a clause by itself: he shall do it, carry it out; there is therefore no need for Hitzig's arbitrary change of the text into יַעֲשֶׂה.

The second half of this verse (ver. 17) describes how he carries out this intention, but yet does not reach his end. "He shall give him the daughter of women." הַנָּשִׁים, *of women*, the plur. of the class, as כְּפִיר אֲרָיוֹת, Judg. xiv. 5, *a young lion* (*of lionesses*); בֶּן אֲתֹנוֹת, Zech. ix. 9, the *foal of an ass* (*of she-asses*). The suffix to לְהַשְׁחִיתָהּ (*corrupting her*, E.V.) is referred by many to מַלְכוּתוֹ (*his kingdom*); but this reference fails along with the incorrect interpretation of the בְּתֹקֶף as the end of the coming. Since in the first half of the verse the object of his undertaking is not named, but in ver. 16 is denoted by אֵלָיו, the suffix in question can only be referred to בַּת הַנָּשִׁים. Thus J. D. Michaelis, Bertholdt, Rosenmüller; the former, however, gives to the word לְהַשְׁחִיתָהּ the verbally untenable meaning: "to seduce her into a morally corrupt course of conduct;" but Hitzig changes the text, strikes out the suffix, and translates: "to accomplish vileness." הַשְׁחִית means only *to destroy, to ruin*, hence "to destroy her" (Kran.). This, it is true, was not the object of the marriage, but only its consequence; but the consequence is set forth as had in view, so as forcibly to express the thought that the marriage could lead, according to a higher direction, only to the destruction of the daughter.

The last clauses of the verse express the failure of the measure adopted. The verbs are fem., not neut.; thus the meaning is not: "it shall neither stand, nor succeed to him" (v. Leng., Maurer, Hitzig), but: "she (the daughter) shall not stand," not be able to carry out the plan contemplated by her father. The words וְלֹא־לוֹ תִהְיֶה do not stand for וְלֹא תִהְיֶה לוֹ: "she shall not be to him" or "for him." In this case לֹא must be connected with the verb. According to the text, לֹא־לוֹ forms one idea, as לֹא כוֹחַ, *impotent* (cf. Ewald, § 270): "she shall be a *not for him*" (*ein Nichtihm*), *i.e.* he shall have nothing at all from her.

Vers. 18 and 19. His fate further drives him to make an assault on the islands and maritime coasts of the west (אִיִּים), many of which he takes. וְיָשֵׁב is not, after the *Keri*, to be changed into וְיָשֶׂם; for turning himself from Egypt to the islands, he turns back his face toward his own land in the north. The two following clauses are explained by most interpreters thus: "but a captain shall stop his scorn (bring it to silence), and moreover shall give back (recompense) scorn to him in return." This is then, according to the

example of Jerome, referred to the expedition of Antiochus Epiphanes against the Grecian islands which were under the protection of Rome, for which he was assailed and overcome by the consul Lucius Scipio (Asiaticus) in a battle fought at *Magnesia ad Sipylum* in Lydia. But the translation in question affords a tolerable sense only when we take בִּלְתִּי in the meaning *moreover, in addition to;* a meaning which it has not, and cannot have according to its etymology. In all places where it is so rendered a negative sentence goes before it, cf. Gen. xliii. 3, xlvii. 18, Judg. vii. 14, or a sentence asking a question with a negative sense, as Amos iii. 3, 4; according to which, לֹא must here stand before הַשְׁבִּית if we would translate it by *besides that* or *only*. בִּלְתִּי has the idea of *exception*, and can only be rendered after an affirmative statement by *however*, for the passage introduced by it limits the statement going before. Thus Theodot. rightly: *καταπαύσει ἄρχοντας ὀνειδισμοῦ αὐτῶν, πλὴν ὁ ὀνειδισμὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπιστρέψει αὐτῷ*; and in close connection with this, Jerome has: *et cessare faciet principem opprobrii sui et opprobrium ejus convertetur in eum.* In like manner the Peshito. This rendering we must, with Kranichfeld, accede to, and accordingly understand וְהִשְׁבִּית וגו of the king of the north, and interpret the indefinite קָצִין (*leader, chief*) in undefined generality of collectively, and חֶרְפָּתוֹ (*his reproach*) as the second object subordinated to קָצִין, and refer לוֹ as the dative to קָצִין. Thus the second חֶרְפָּתוֹ gains expressiveness corresponding to its place before the verb as the contrast to חֶרְפָּתוֹ לוֹ: "however his reproach," *i.e.* the dishonour he did to the chiefs, "shall they recompense to him." The subject to יָשִׁיב is the collective קָצִין. The statement of the last clause introduces us to the announcement, mentioned in ver. 19, of the overthrow of the king of the north, who wished to spread his power also over the west. Since the chiefs (princes) of the islands rendered back to him his reproach, *i.e.* requited to him his attack against them, he was under the necessity of returning to the fortresses of his own land. With that begins his fall, which ends with his complete destruction.

Ver. 20. Another stands up in his place, who causeth נוֹגֵשׂ to pass over, through his eagerness for riches. נוֹגֵשׂ most understand as a *collector of tribute*, referring for this to 2 Kings xxiii. 35, and הֲדַר מַלְכוּת as the Holy Land, and then think on Heliodorus, whom Seleucus Nicator sent to Jerusalem to seize the temple treasure. But this interpretation of the words is too limited. נָגַשׂ denotes, no doubt (2 Kings xxiii. 35), to collect gold and silver; but it does

not thence follow that נוֹגֵשׂ, when silver and gold are not spoken of, means to collect tribute. The word in general designates the *taskmaster* who urges on the people to severe labour, afflicts and oppresses them as cattle. הֲדַר מַלְכוּת is not synonymous with אֶרֶץ הַצְּבִי, ver. 16, but stands much nearer to הוֹד מַלְכוּת, ver. 21, and designates *the glory of the kingdom*. The glory of the kingdom was brought down by נוֹגֵשׂ, and הָעֲבִיר refers to the whole kingdom of the king spoken of, not merely to the Holy Land, which formed but a part of his kingdom. By these oppressions of his kingdom he prepared himself in a short time for destruction. יָמִים אֲחָדִים (*days few*), as in Gen. xxvii. 44, xxix. 20, the designation of a very short time. The reference of these words, "*in days few*," to the time *after* the pillage of the temple of Jerusalem by Heliodorus is not only an arbitrary proceeding, but is also contrary to the import of the words, since בְּ in בְּיָמִים does not mean *post*. וְלֹא בְאַפַּיִם, in contradistinction and contrast to וְלֹא בְמִלְחָמָה, can only denote private enmity or private revenge. "Neither by anger (*i.e.* private revenge) nor by war" points to an immediate divine judgment.

If we now, before proceeding further in our exposition, attentively consider the contents of the revelation of vers. 5–20, so as to have a clear view of its relation to the historical fulfilment, we shall find the following to be the course of the thoughts exhibited:—After the fall of the Javanic world-kingdom (ver. 4) the king of the south shall attain to great power, and one of his princes shall found (ver. 5) a yet greater dominion in the north. After a course of years they shall enter into an agreement, for the king of the south shall give his daughter in marriage to the king of the north so as to establish a right relationship between them; but this agreement shall bring about the destruction of the daughter, as well as of her father and all who co-operated for the effecting of this marriage (ver. 6). Hereupon a descendant of that king of the south shall undertake a war against the king of the north, victoriously invade the country of the adversary, gather together great spoil and carry it away to Egypt, and for years hold the supremacy. The king of the north shall, it is true, penetrate into his kingdom, but he shall again return home without effecting anything (vers. 7–9). His sons also shall pass over the kingdom of the south with a multitude of hosts, but the multitude shall be given into the hand of the king, who shall not come to power by casting down myriads. The king of the north shall return with a host yet more numerous; against the king of the

south many, also faithless members of the Jewish nation, shall rise up, and the king of the north shall take the fortified cities, without the king of the south having the power to offer him resistance (vers. 10–15). The conqueror shall now rule in the conquered lands after his own pleasure, and set his foot on the Holy Land with the intention of destroying it. Thereupon he shall come with the whole might of his kingdom against the king of the south, and by the marriage of his daughter seek to establish a right relationship with him, but he shall only thereby bring about the destruction of his daughter. Finally, he shall make an assault against the islands and the maritime countries of the west; but he shall be smitten by his chiefs, and be compelled to return to the fortresses of his own land, and shall fall (vers. 16–19). But his successor, who shall send taskmasters through the most glorious regions of the kingdom, shall be destroyed in a short time (ver. 20).

Thus the revelation depicts how, in the war of the kings of the south and of the north, first the king of the south subdued the north, but when at the summit of his conquest he sank under the power of his adversary through the insurrections and the revolt of an apostate party of the Jews; whereupon, by an assault upon the west in his endeavour after a firmer establishment and a wider extension of his power, he brings about his own overthrow, and his successor, in consequence of the oppression of his kingdom, comes to his end in a few days.

Now, since the king who comes into his place (ver. 21 ff.) after he has become strong raises himself up against the holy covenant, takes away the daily worship in the temple of the Lord, etc., is, according to the historical evidence found in the books of the Maccabees, the Seleucidan Antiochus Epiphanes, so the prophetic announcement, vers. 5–20, stretches itself over the period from the division of the monarchy of Alexander among his generals to the commencement of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes in the year 175 B.C., during which there reigned seven Syrian and six Egyptian kings, viz.—

Syrian Kings.		Egyptian Kings.	
Seleucus Nicator, . .	from B.C. 310	Ptolemy Lagus, . .	from B.C. 323
Antiochus Sidetes, ...	280	Ptolemy Philadelphus, . . .	284
Antiochus Theus, ...	260	Ptolemy Euergetes, ...	246
Seleucus Callinicus, ...	245	Ptolemy Philopator, . . .	221
Seleucus Ceraunus, ...	225	Ptolemy Epiphanes, ...	204
Antiochus the Great, ...	223	Ptolemy Philometor, . . .	180
Seleucus Philopator, ...	186		

But in the prophetic revelation there is mention made of only four kings of the north (one in vers. 5–9; his sons, vers. 10–12; a third, vers. 13–19; and the fourth, ver. 20) and three kings of the south (the first, vers. 5 and 6; the "branch," vers. 7–9; and the king, vers. 10–15), distinctly different, whereby of the former, the relation of the sons (ver. 10) to the king indefinitely mentioned in ver. 11, is admitted, and of the latter the kings of the south, it remains doubtful whether he who is spoken of in vers. 9–15 is different from or is identical with "the branch of her roots" (ver. 7). This circumstance shows that the prophecy does not treat of individual historical personages, but only places in view the king of the south and the king of the north as representatives of the power of these two kingdoms. Of these kings special deeds and undertakings are indeed mentioned, which point to definite persons; *e.g.* of the king of the north, that he was one of the princes of the king of the south, and founded a greater dominion than his (ver. 5); the marriage of the daughter of the king of the south to the king of the north (ver. 6); afterwards the marriage also of the daughter of the king of the north (ver. 17), and other special circumstances in the wars between the two, which are to be regarded not merely as individualizing portraitures, but denote concrete facts which have verified themselves in history. But yet all these specialities do not establish the view that the prophecy consists of a series of predictions of historical *facta*, because even these features of the prophecy which find their actual fulfilments in history do not coincide with the historical reality.

Thus all interpreters regard the king of the south, ver. 5, as Ptolemy Lagus, and that one of his princes (מִן־שָׂרָיו) who founded a greater dominion as Seleucus Nicator, or the "Conqueror," who, in the division of the countries which the conquerors made after the overthrow and death of Antiochus, obtained, according to Appian, *Syr.* c. 55, Syria from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean Sea and Phrygia; then by using every opportunity of enlarging his kingdom, he obtained also Mesopotamia, Armenia, and a part of Cappadocia, and besides subjugated the Persians, Parthians, Bactrians, Arabians, and other nations as far as the Indus, which Alexander had conquered; so that, after Alexander, no one had more nations of Asia under his sway than Seleucus, for from the borders of Phrygia to the Indus all owned his sway. While this extension of his kingdom quite harmonizes with the prophecy of the greatness of his sovereignty, yet the de-

signation "one of his princes" does not accord with the position of Ptolemy Lagus. Both of these were certainly at the beginning generals of Alexander. Seleucus, afterwards vicegerent of the Babylonians, found himself, however, from fear of Antigonus, who sought to put him to death, under the necessity of fleeing to Egypt to Ptolemy, by whom he was hospitably received, and with whom and other vicegerents he entered into a league against Antigonus, and when war arose, led an Egyptian fleet against Antigonus (Diod. Sic. xix. 55–62). He was accordingly not one of Ptolemy's generals.

Moreover, the marriage of the king's daughter, ver. 6, is thus explained by Jerome, and all interpreters who follow him:—Ptolemy Philadelphus made peace with Antiochus Theus, after many years' war, on the condition that Antiochus should put away his own wife Laodice, who was at the same time his half-sister, and disinherit her son, and should marry Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy, and should appoint her first-born son as his successor on the throne of the kingdom (Appian, *Syr.* c. 65, and Jerome). This *factum* can be regarded as a fulfilling of the prophecy, ver. 6; but the consequences which resulted from this political marriage do not correspond with the consequences prophesied of. According to the testimony of history, Ptolemy died two years after this marriage, whereupon Antiochus set aside Berenice, and took to himself again his former wife Laodice, along with her children. But she effected the death of her husband by poison, as she feared his fickleness, and then her son Seleucus Callinicus ascended the throne. Berenice fled with her son to the asylum of Daphne, but she was there murdered along with him. The prophecy, according to this, differs from the historical facts, not merely in regard to the consequences of the events, but also in regard to the matter itself; for it speaks not only of the daughter, but also of her father being given up to death, while the natural death of her father is in no respect connected with that marriage, and not till after his death did the consequences fatal to his daughter and her child develop themselves.

Further, as to the contents of vers. 7–9, history furnishes the following confirmations:—In order to save his sister, who was put aside by Antiochus Theus, her brother, Ptolemy Euergetes, invaded the Syrian kingdom, in which Seleucus Callinicus had succeeded his father on the throne, in alliance with the armies of the Asiatic cities, and put to death his mother Laodice, since he had

come too late to save his sister, in revenge for her murder, overthrew all the Syrian fortresses from Cilicia to the Tigris and Babylonia, and would have conquered the whole of the Syrian kingdom, if an insurrection which had broken out in Egypt had not caused him to return thither, carrying with him many images of the gods, and immense treasure, which he had taken from the vanquished cities. Then, while engaged in Egypt, Callinicus recovered the cities of Asia Minor, but failed to conquer the maritime countries, because his fleet was wrecked in a storm; and when he thereupon undertook a land expedition against Egypt, he was totally defeated, so that he returned to Antioch with only a few followers: cf. Justin, *Hist.* xxvii. 1, 2; Polyb. v. 58; and Appian, *Syr.* c. 65. On the other hand, the announcement of the war of his sons with many hosts overflowing the land, ver. 10, is not confirmed by history. After the death of Callinicus in captivity, his son Seleucus Ceraunus succeeded to the government, a very incompetent man, who after two years was poisoned by his generals in the war with Attalus, without having undertaken anything against Egypt. His brother Antiochus, surnamed the Great, succeeded him, who, in order to recover Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, renewed the war against the king of Egypt (not till about two years after he ascended the throne, however, did Ptolemy Philopator begin to reign), in which he penetrated twice to Dura, two (German) miles north from Cæsarea (Polyb. x. 49), then concluded a four months' truce, and led his host back to the Orontes (Polyb. v. 66; Justin, xxx. 1). After the renewal of hostilities he drove the Egyptian army back to Sidon, conquered Gilead and Samaria, and took up his winter-quarters in Ptolemais (Polyb. v. 63–71). In the beginning of the following year, however, he was defeated by the Egyptians at Raphia, not far from Gaza, and was compelled, with great loss in dead and prisoners, to return as quickly as possible to Antioch, and to leave Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine to the Egyptians (Polyb. v. 79, 80, 82–86). Vers. 11 and 12 refer to this war. Thirteen or fourteen years after this, Antiochus, in league with Philip III. of Macedon, renewed the war against the Egyptians, when, after Philopator's death, Ptolemy Epiphanes, being five years old, had ascended the throne, retook the three above-named countries (Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine), vanquished the Egyptian host led by Scopas near Paneas, and compelled the fortress of Sidon, into which the Egyptians had fled, to surrender after a lengthened siege, and

then concluded a peace with Ptolemy on the condition that he took to wife the daughter of Antiochus, Cleopatra, who should bring with her, as her dowry, Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine (Polyb. xv. 20, xxviii. 17; App. *Syr.* c. i.; Liv. xxxiii. 19; and Joseph. *Antt.* xii. 4. 1). Since the time of Jerome, the prophecy vers. 13–17 has been referred to this last war. But also here the historical events fall far behind the contents of the prophecy. The prophecy points to the complete subjugation of the king of the south, while this war was carried on only for the possession of the Asiatic provinces of the Egyptian kingdom. Also the rising up of many (רַבִּים, ver. 14) against the king of the south is not historically verified; and even the relation spoken of by Josephus (*Antt.* xii. 3. 3) in which the Jews stood to Antiochus the Great was not of such a kind as to be capable of being regarded as a fulfilling of the "exalting themselves" of the בְּנֵי פָּרִיצִים, ver. 14. Still less does the statement of ver. 16, that the king of the north would stand in the glorious land, agree with כָּלָה interpreted of conduct of Antiochus the Great toward the Jews; for according to Josephus, *Antt. l.c.*, he treated the Jews round about Jerusalem favourably, because of their own accord they had submitted to him and had supported his army, and granted to them not only indulgence in regard to the observance of their religious ordinances, but also afforded them protection.

Moreover, ver. 18, containing the prophecy of the undertaking of the king of the north against the islands, has not its historical fulfilment in the expedition of Antiochus the Great against the coasts and islands of Asia Minor and the Hellespont; but ver. 19, that which is said regarding his return to the fortresses of his own land and his overthrow, does not so correspond with the historical issue of the reign of this king that one would be able to recognise therein a prediction of it. Finally, of his successor, Seleucus Philopator, to whom ver. 20 must refer, if the foregoing verses treat of Antiochus the Great, nothing further is communicated, than that he *quum paternis cladibus fractas admodum Syriæ opes accepisset, post otiosum nullisque admodum rebus gestis nobilitatum annorum duodecim regnum*, was put to death through the treachery of Heliodorus, *unius ex purpuratis* (Liv. xli. 19, cf. App. *Syr.* c. 45), and the mission of Heliodorus to Jerusalem to seize the treasures of the temple, which is fabulously described in 2 Macc. iii. 4 ff. The יִשָּׁבֵר (*shall be destroyed*) of this king בְּיָמִים אֲחָדִים (*within few days*) does not harmonize with the fact of his twelve years' reign.

From this comparison this much follows, that the prophecy does not furnish a prediction of the historical wars of the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies, but an ideal description of the war of the kings of the north and the south in its general outlines, whereby, it is true, diverse special elements of the prophetical announcement have historically been fulfilled, but the historical reality does not correspond with the contents of the prophecy in anything like an exhaustive manner. This ideal character of the prophecy comes yet more prominently forward to view in the following prophetic description.

Chap. xi. 21–xii. 3. *The further unveiling of the future.*

In this section we have (ver. 21) first the description of the prince who, in striving after supremacy, uses all the means that cunning and power can contrive, and in his enmity against the holy covenant knows no bounds. This description is divided into two parts—(1) vers. 21–35, and (2) vers. 36–ch. xii. 3—which designate the two stadia of his proceedings. In the *first* part are described, (1) his gradual rising to power, vers. 21–24; (2) his war with the king of the south for the supremacy, vers. 25–27; (3) his rising up against the covenant people, even to the desecration of the sanctuary by the taking away of the daily sacrifice and the setting up of the abomination of desolation, vers. 28–32; (4) the effect and consequence of this for the people of God, vers. 32–35. This prince is the enemy of the holy God who is prophesied of in ch. viii. 9–13, 23–25, under the figure of the little horn, and is typically represented in the rising up of the Syrian king Antiochus Epiphanes against the covenant people and their worship of God.

Vers. 21–24. *The prince's advancement to power.*—He appears as נִבְזֶה, *one despised, i.e.* not such an one as by reason of birth has any just claim to the throne, and therefore as an intruder, also one who finds no recognition (Kranichfeld); which Hitzig has more definitely explained by mentioning that not Antiochus Epiphanes, but his nephew Demetrius, the son of the murdered Seleucus Philopator, was the true heir, but was of such a character that he was not esteemed worthy of the throne. נִבְזֶה, *is despised*, not = *bad, unworthy*, but yet supposes unworthiness. There was not laid on him the honour or majesty of the kingdom. The dignity of the kingdom requires הוֹד, *splendour, majesty*, such as God lays upon the king of Israel, Ps. xxi. 6 (5), 1 Chron. xxix. 25. But

here the subject spoken of is the honour which men give to the king, and which was denied to the "despised one" on account of his character. He comes בְּשַׁלְוָה, *in security, i.e.* unexpectedly (cf. ch. viii. 25), and takes possession of the kingdom. הֶחֱזִיק, *to grasp*, here to draw violently to himself. בַּחֲלַקְלַקּוֹת, properly, *by smoothnesses*, intrigues and cunning, not merely flatteries or smooth words, but generally hypocritical behaviour in word and deed; cf. ver. 34.

Ver. 22. The kingdom he seized he also knew how to hold fast with great power. זְרֹעוֹת הַשֶּׁטֶף, *arms* (*i.e.* warlike strength) *of an inundation, i.e.* armies overflowing the land are swept away before him, destroyed by yet stronger military forces. It is not merely the enemy, but also the "prince of the covenant," whom he destroys. נְגִיד בְּרִית is analogous to בַּעֲלֵי בְרִית, Gen. xiv. 13, and אַנְשֵׁי בְרִית, Obad. 7, cf. Mal. ii. 14, and, as the absence of the article shows, is to be taken in a general sense. The interpretation of נְגִיד בְּרִית of the high priest Onias III., who at the commencement of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes was driven from his office by his brother, and afterwards, at the instigation of Menelaus, was murdered by the Syrian governor Andronicus at Daphne near Antioch, 2 Macc. iv. 1 ff., 33 ff. (Rosenmüller, Hitzig, etc.)—this interpretation is not warranted by the facts of history. This murder does not at all relate to the matter before us, not only because the Jewish high priest at Antioch did not sustain the relation of a "prince of the covenant," but also because the murder was perpetrated without the previous knowledge of Antiochus, and when the matter was reported to him, the murderer was put to death by his command (2 Macc. iv. 36–38). Thus also it stands in no connection with the war of Antiochus against Egypt. The words cannot also (with Hävernick, v. Leng., Maurer, Ebrard, Kliefoth) be referred to the Egyptian king Ptolemy Philometor, because history knows nothing of a covenant entered into between this king and Antiochus Epiphanes, but only that soon after the commencement of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes the guardians of the young Philometor demanded Cœle-Syria from Antiochus, which Antiochus the Great had promised (see above, p. 448) as a dowry to his daughter Cleopatra, who was betrothed to Ptolemy Philometor, but Antiochus did not deliver it up, and hence a war arose between them. To this is to be added, that, as Dereser, v. Lengerke, Maurer, and Kranichfeld have rightly remarked, the description in vers. 22–24 bears an altogether general character, so that v. Leng. and Maurer

find therein references to all the three expeditions of Antiochus, and in vers. 25–27 find more fully foretold what is only briefly hinted at in vers. 22–24. The undertaking of the king against Egypt is first described in ver. 24. We must therefore, with Kranichfeld, understand נְגִיד בְּרִית in undefined generality of covenant princes in general, in the sense already given.

Vers. 23 and 24. In these verses there is a fuller statement of the manner in which he treats the princes of the covenant and takes possession of their territory. The ו at the beginning of ver. 23 is explicative, and the suffix in אֵלָיו, pointing back to נְגִיד ב', is also to be interpreted collectively. מִן־הִתְחַבְּרוּת אֵלָיו, literally, "from the confederating himself with them" (הִתְחַבְּרוּת is infin. formed in the Syriac manner), *i.e.* from the time when he had made a covenant with them, he practised deceit. This was done by his coming (עֲלָה of a warlike coming) and gaining strength with a few people, namely (ver. 24), by his coming unexpectedly into the fattest and richest places of the province, and there doing unheard-of things—things which no previous king, no one of his predecessors, had ever done, scattering among them (his followers) spoil and prey and riches. Thus rightly, after the Syriac and the Vulgate (*dissipabit*), Rosenmüller, Kranichfeld, and Ewald; while, on the contrary, v. Leng., Maurer, Hitzig, and Kliefoth interpret בָּזַז in the sense of *to distribute*, and refer the words to the circumstance that Antiochus Epiphanes squandered money lavishly, and made presents to his inferiors often without any occasion. But to distribute money and spoil is nothing unheard of, and in no way does it agree with the "fattest provinces." The context decidedly refers to conduct which injured the fat provinces. This can only consist in squandering and dissipating the wealth of this province which he had plundered to its injury (לָהֶם [*to them*], *dativ. incommodi*). An historical confirmation is found in 1 Macc. iii. 29–31. To bring the provinces wholly under his power, he devises plans against the fortresses that he might subdue them. וְעַד־עֵת, and indeed (he did this) even for a time. We cannot, with Klief., refer this merely to the last preceding passage, that his assaults against the fortresses succeeded only partly and for a time. The addition ("and that for a time") denotes a period determined by a higher power (cf. ver. 35 and ch. xii. 4, 6), and relates to the whole proceedings of this prince hitherto described; as C. B. Michaelis has already rightly explained: *nec enim semper et in perpetuum dolus ei succedet et terminus suus ei tandem erit.*

Vers. 25–27. These verses describe the victorious war of the king who had come to power against the king of the south, the war of Antiochus Epiphanes against king Ptolemy Philometor, which is described in 1 Macc. i. 16–19, with manifest reference to this prophecy. וְיָעַר (*he shall stir up*) is *potentialis* in the sense of divine decree: "he shall stir up his power and his heart." כֹּחַ is not warlike power, which is mentioned in בְּחַיִל־גָּדוֹל (ver. 25), but the power which consists in the bringing of a great army under his command; לֵבָב, the mental energy for the carrying out of his plans. For לֹא יַעֲמֹד, cf. ch. viii. 4. The subject is the last-named king of the south, who, notwithstanding his very great and powerful army, shall not stand in battle, but shall give way, because devices are contrived against him. The subject to יְחֻשְּׁבוּ is not the enemy, the king of the north, with his army, but, according to ver. 26, his table-companions.

Ver. 26. Here it is more definitely stated why he cannot stand. אֹכְלֵי פִתְּבָגוֹ, *who eat his food* (פִּתְבָג, see under ch. i. 5), *i.e.* his table-companions (cf. Ps. xli. 10 [9]), persons about him. יְשַׁבְּרוּהוּ, *shall break him, i.e.* cast him to the ground. His army shall therefore overflow, but shall execute nothing, only many shall fall down slain. The first member of the verse points to treachery, whereby the battle was lost and the war was fruitless. Hitzig incorrectly interprets יִשְׁטוֹף: rushes away, *i.e.* is disorganized and takes to flight. But שָׁטַף cannot have this meaning.

Ver. 27. Here then is described how the two kings seek through feigned friendship to destroy one another. *The* two kings are of course the two kings of the north and the south previously named. Of a third, namely, of two kings of Egypt, Philometor and Physkon, Daniel knows nothing. The third, Physkon, is introduced from history; and hence Hitzig, v. Lengerke, and others understand by the "*two kings*," the two kings Antiochus and Philometor confederated against the king of the south, but Kliefoth, on the contrary, thinks of Antiochus and Physkon, the latter of whom he regards as the king of the south, ver. 25. All this is arbitrary. Jerome has already rejected the historical evidence for this, and remarks: *verum ex eo, quia scriptura nunc dicit: duos fuisse reges, quorum cor fuerit fraudulentum . . . hoc secundum historiam demonstrari non potest.* לְבָבָם לְמֵרָע Hitzig translates: "their heart belongs to wickedness," contrary to the context. לְ denotes also here only the direction: "their heart goes toward wicked deeds," is directed thereto. מֵרָע (from רעע), formed after

מְעַר (cf. Ewald, § 160*a*), the *evil-doing*, consists in this, that the one seeks to overthrow and destroy the other under the cloak of feigned friendship; for they eat as friends at one table, and "speak lies"—the one tells lies to the other, professing friendship. But their design shall not succeed. All interpretations of these words which are determined by historical *facta* are arbitrary. The history of Antiochus Epiphanes furnishes no illustrations for this. In the sense of the prophecy לֹא תִצְלָח has only this meaning: the design of the king of the north to destroy the king of the south, and to make himself master both of the north and the south, shall not succeed, and the king of the south will not fulfil what he promises to his deceitful adversary. For yet the end shall be at the time appointed. These words state the reason why the מֶרֶע shall not succeed. Hitzig incorrectly translates: "but the end holds onwards to the appointed time;" for כִּי cannot in this connection be rendered by *but*, and לְ cannot express the idea of holding to anything. לְ denotes here, as generally, the direction toward the end, as ver. 35, and ch. viii. 17, 19. The end goes yet on to the time appointed by God. That this מוֹעֵד (*appointment* of time) does not lie in the present, but in the future, is denoted by עוֹד, although we do not, with Hävernick, interpret עוֹד by "for the end lies yet further out," nor, with v. Lengerke and Maurer, may we supply the verb "withdraws itself, is reserved." עוֹד stands before קֵץ because on it the emphasis lies. קֵץ is, however, not the end of the war between Antiochus and Egypt (v. Leng., Maur., Hitzig), but cannot be otherwise taken than עֵת קֵץ, vers. 35, 40, and ch. xii. 4. But in the latter passage עֵת קֵץ is the time of the resurrection of the dead, thus the end of the present course of the world, with which all the oppression of the people of God ceases. Accordingly קֵץ in the verse before us, as in vers. 35 and 40, is the time in which the conduct of the kings previously described, in their rising up and in their hostility against the people of God, reaches its end (ver. 45); and with the overthrow of these enemies the period of oppression also comes to an end. This end comes only לַמּוֹעֵד, *at the time* which God has determined for the purifying of His people (ver. 35). So long may the kings of the north and the south prosecute their aims; so long shall they strive for the possession of the kingdom without succeeding in their plans. לַמּוֹעֵד has here and in ver. 35 the definite article, because in both verses the language refers not to any definite time, but to the time determined by God for the consummation of His kingdom. The

placing of the article in this word in the verse before us is not, with Kliefoth, to be explained from a reference to ch. viii. 17, 19. The two revelations are separated from each other by too long a space of time for this one to refer back to that earlier one by the mere use of the article, although both treat of the same subject. The לַמּוֹעֵד occurs besides in ver. 29, where it is natural to suppose that it has the same meaning as here; but the contents of that verse oppose such a conclusion. Ver. 29 treats, it is true, of a renewed warlike expedition against the south, which, however, brings neither the final deciding of the war with the south (cf. ver. 40), nor yet the end of the oppression of the people of God; הַמּוֹעֵד is thus only the time determined for the second aggression against the south, not the time of the end.

Vers. 28–32. *The rising up against the holy covenant.*

Ver. 28. The success gained by the crafty king of the north in his war against the king of the south (ver. 25 f.) increases his endeavours after the enlarging of his dominions. Returning from Egypt with great riches, *i.e.* with rich spoil, he raises his heart against the holy covenant. By the *potentialis* יָשֹׁב (*he shall return*) this new undertaking is placed in the point of view of a divine decree, to denote that he thereby brings about his own destruction. בְּרִית קֹדֶשׁ signifies not the holy people in covenant with God (v. Lengerke, Maurer, and many older interpreters), but the divine institution of the Old Covenant, the Jewish Theocracy. The Jews are only members of this covenant, cf. ver. 30. Calvin is right when he says: *Mihi simplicior sensus probatur, quod scilicet bellum gerat adversus Deum.* The holy covenant is named instead of the covenant people to represent the undertaking as an outrage against the kingdom of God, which was founded in Israel. וְעָשָׂה, *and he shall do, perform*, that which his heart thinks, or that which he has in his mind against the holy covenant. The historical fulfilment is narrated in 1 Macc. i. 22–29. וְשָׁב לְאַרְצוֹ resumes וְיָשֹׁב אַרְצוֹ, and teaches us that Antiochus undertook the first assault against the holy covenant on his return from Egypt into his kingdom (to Antioch), as is expressly stated in 1 Macc. i. 20.

Ver. 29. In order that he might bring Egypt wholly under his power, he undertook a new expedition thither (יָשׁוּב וּבָא, *he comes again*). But this expedition, like the first, was not successful (בְּ—כְּ, *as—so*, cf. Josh. xiv. 11, Ezek. xviii. 4). For the ships of Chittim come against him. צִיִּים כִּתִּים, *ships the Chittæi*, for

צִיִּם מְיַד כִּתִּים, Num. xxiv. 24, whence the expression is derived. כִּתִּים is Cyprus with its chief city *Κίτιον* (now Chieti or Chitti); see under Gen. x. 4. Ships coming from Cyprus are ships which come from the west, from the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean. In 1 Macc. i. 1 and viii. 5 כִּתִּים is interpreted of Macedonia, according to which Bertholdt and Dereser think of the Macedonian fleet with which the Roman embassy sailed to Alexandria. This much is historically verified, that the Roman embassy, led by Popillius, appeared with a fleet in Alexandria, and imperiously commanded Antiochus to desist from his undertaking against Egypt and to return to his own land (Liv. xlv. 10–12). The LXX. have therefore translated these words by: *καὶ ἥξουσι Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἐξώσουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐμβριμήσονται αὐτῷ*, and correctly, so far as the prophecy has received the first historical accomplishment in that *factum*. וְנִכְאָה, *he shall lose courage*, is rightly explained by Jerome: *non quod interierit, sed quod omnem arrogantiæ perdiderit magnitudinem.*[1] וְיָשָׁב וְזָעַם, not: he was again enraged, for nothing is said of a previous וְזָעַם. וְיָשָׁב, *and he turned round* (back) from his expedition against Egypt. Since he was not able to accomplish anything against the נֶגֶב (*the south*), he turns his indignation against Judah to destroy the covenant people (cf. ver. 28). The וְיָשָׁב in ver. 30*b* resumes the וְיָשָׁב in ver. 30*a*, so as further to express how he gave vent to his anger. Hitzig's interpretation of the first וְיָשָׁב of the return to Palestine, of the second, of the return from Palestine to Antioch, is not justified. וְיָבֶן, *he shall observe*, direct his attention to the Jews who forsook the holy covenant, *i.e.* the apostate Jews, that he might by their help execute his plans against the Mosaic religion—*partim ornando illos honoribus, partim illorum studiis ad patriam religionem oblite-randam comparatis obsecundando*, as C. B. Michaelis excellently remarks; cf. 1 Macc. i. 11–16 with ii. 18.

[1] The historical facts have been briefly and conclusively brought together by Hitzig thus: "On the complaint of the Alexandrians the Roman senate sent an embassage, at the head of which was C. Popillius Lænas (Polyb. xxix. 1; Liv. xliv. 19). After being detained at Delos (Liv. xliv. 29), they set sail to Egypt after the battle at Pydna (Liv. xlv. 10). Here he met Antiochus four Roman miles from Alexandria, and presented to him the message of the senate. When Antiochus explained that he wished to lay the matter before his counsellors, Popillius described with the staff he carried in his hand a circle round the king, and commanded him to give his answer before he left this circle. Antiochus, confounded by the circumstance, submitted and withdrew from Egypt (Liv. xlv. 12; Polyb. xxix. 11; Appian, *Syr.* c. 66; Justin. xxxiv. 3)."

Ver. 31. Here is stated what he accomplished by the help of the apostate Jews. זְרֹעִים, *arms*, figuratively for help (ver. 5), are warlike forces, as vers. 15 and 22. That the plur. has here the masculine form, while in those verses it has the fem. form, furnishes no reason for a difference of meaning, since זְרוֹעַ in its proper sense of arm occurs *promiscue* with both endings in the plur.; cf. for זְרֹעִים Gen. xlix. 24, Isa. li. 5, 2 Kings ix. 24. מִן in מִמֶּנּוּ is not partitive, *a part of him, i.e.* the host as a part of the king (Hitzig), but *out from him*, or by his command. יַעֲמְדוּ, *to stand up*, not *to stand still*, as Hitzig, on the ground of the supposition that Antiochus on his return from Egypt placed a standing army-corps in Jerusalem, would interpret it, contrary to the usage of the word, since עָמַד does not signify *to stand still* in the sense of *to remain behind*, though it means to endure, to keep the ground (vers. 6, 15). It is disputed whether these זְרֹעִים denote military forces, troops of the hostile king (Hävernick, v. Leng., Maur., Hitz., Klief.), or his accomplices of the apostate party of the Jews, and thus essentially identical with עֹזְבֵי בְרִית, ver. 30 (Calvin, Hengstb. *Christol.* iii. 1, p. 110, Kran., and others). In favour of the latter view, Kranichfeld argues that the עֹזְבֵי בְרִית (*those that forsake the covenant*), according to ver. 30, come under consideration as a support to the king, and the מִמֶּנּוּ of this verse before us evidently refers to the king's own army, and therefore would be superfluous. But these two reasons prove nothing. The מִמֶּנּוּ is not superfluous, even though it were used of the king's own army. Since in vers. 30 and 32 the king of the north is the subject of the clause, it was necessary in זְרֹעִים to define in what relation they stood to the king. But the other remark, that the עֹזְבֵי בְרִית come into view as a support to the king, does not prove that these are the same who desecrate the sanctuary and set up the abomination of desolation. On the contrary, if מִמֶּנּוּ denotes the causal exit, the זְרֹעִים cannot be the apostate Jews, but only warlike forces which the king leads forth. If we refer זְרֹעִים to the apostate Jews, then we must, with Hengstenberg and Gesenius, take מִמֶּנּוּ in the sense of *eo jubente*. Moreover, the זְרֹעִים manifestly stand in contrast to the מֵרְשִׁיעֵי בְרִית of ver. 32. By his troops (military forces) the king lays waste the sanctuary, and he makes by means of smooth words those who sin against the covenant heathen. Kranichfeld himself recognises this contrast, and therefore will understand as the subject to וְחִלְּלוּ not merely "those that forsake the covenant" (ver. 30), but these along with and including the warlike power of the

hostile king. An expedient which the difficulty suggested. הַמִּקְדָּשׁ is the temple, and הַמָּעוֹז (*the strength*) is in apposition. This apposition, however, does not say that the temple was fortified (v. Leng., Hitzig, Ewald), but it points out the temple as the spiritual fortress of Israel. The temple is the "*Feste Burg*" (firm tower) of the holy covenant (ver. 28), as the dwelling-place of Jehovah, which is a firm fortress to His people; cf. Ps. xxxi. 4, 5 (3, 4); Isa. xxv. 4; Ps. xviii. 3 (2). חִלְּלוּ הַמ׳ is essentially identical with הֻשְׁלַךְ מְכוֹן מִקְדָּשׁוֹ, ch. viii. 11. The two following clauses state what the desecration consists in: in the taking away, the removal of the stated worship of Jehovah, and in the placing, setting up of the abomination of desolation, *i.e.* of the idol-altar on Jehovah's altar of burnt-offering; see under ch. viii. 11 (p. 297 f.). מְשֹׁמֵם is not the genitive, but an adjective to הַשִּׁקּוּץ (without the article after the definite noun, as *e.g.* ch. viii. 13): *the desolating abomination, i.e.* the abomination which effects the desolation. With reference to the fulfilment, cf. 1 Macc. i. 37, 45, 54, and above, p. 371.

Vers. 32–35. *The consequences to the people of Israel which result from this sin against the holy covenant.*—The ungodly shall become heathen, *i.e.* shall wholly apostatize from the true God; but, on the other hand, the pious shall be strengthened in their confidence in the Lord. This is in general the import of ver. 32, the first half of which, however, has been very differently interpreted. מַרְשִׁיעֵי בְרִית signifies neither "those who sinfully make a covenant" (Hävernick), nor "sinners among the covenant people" (v. Lengerke), nor "those who condemn the covenant," *i.e.* those who reject the sign of the covenant, circumcision (Hitzig). The latter meaning is altogether arbitrary. Against the second is the fact that רְשָׁעִים is in use for sinners; against the first, that הִרְשִׁיעַ בְּרִית could only mean: "to declare the covenant punishable." הִרְשִׁיעַ means to act wickedly, to sin, and בְּרִית can only be the accusative of reference, which is subordinated to the participle for the purpose of limitation (Ewald, § 288); literally, "the acting wickedly with reference to the covenant." The absence of the article in בְּרִית is no proof against the reference of the word to the holy covenant. The article is wanting in Daniel where otherwise the determination is found from the connection, *e.g.* ch. viii. 13. Sinning against the covenant is, it is true, a stronger expression than עָזַב בְּרִית (*to forsake the covenant*), but it does not include the idea of the entire apostasy from God, but only insolent violation of the covenant law, so that

of מְרַשְּׁעֵי בְרִית it can very well be predicated יַחֲנִיף. חָנֵף does not mean *to pollute* (Kran.), but *to desecrate, to make profane;* and spoken of persons, *to make them as heathen*, as frequently in the Syriac. חַלָּקוֹת, *flatteries*, here *deceitful promises* of earthly advantage; cf. under ver. 21. For the subject spoken of here, see 1 Macc. ii. 18. יֹדְעֵי אֱלֹהָיו are the true confessors of the Lord. The suffix to אֱלֹהָיו is neither to be interpreted distributively nor to be referred to עַם. To יֶחֱזִיקוּ we are to supply בַּבְּרִית from the context: "to hold fast to the covenant." וְעָשׂוּ, as vers. 17, 28, 30, to carry out the design. In what way this is done is explained in vers. 33 and 34*a*.

Ver. 33. מַשְׂכִּילֵי is not *the teachers*, but *intelligentes*, those who have insight or understanding. The pious are meant by the word, those who know their God (ver. 32). This is seen from the contrast רְשָׁעִים, ch. xii. 10. According to the O. T. view, wisdom, insight, are correlative ideas with the fear of God, piety, Ps. xiv. 1, Job xxviii. 28; and לָרַבִּים with the article, *the* many, the great multitude of the people who bring themselves forward to view by the judicious appearance of the pious, are moved to hold fast by the law of the Lord. Yet they who understand shall for a time fall by the sword, etc. The subject to נִכְשְׁלוּ is not the רַבִּים, or those with the teachers (Hitzig), but the מַשְׂכִּילֵי עָם, but not all, but, according to ver. 35, a number of them; for in ver. 35 falling is not first specially predicated of the teachers, as Hitzig thinks, but only the effect which that would have on the whole people. The words point to a warlike rising up of the faithful members of the covenant people against the hostile king, and have had their first historical fulfilment in the insurrection of the Maccabees against Antiochus Epiphanes; cf. 1 Macc. ii. ff. In 1 Macc. i. 57, ii. 38, iii. 41, v. 13, 2 Macc. vi. 11, there are examples of this falling by the sword. The רַבִּים after יָמִים in several *Codd.* is a worthless gloss.

Ver. 34. Through the fall of the pious in war little help shall come to the people of God. מְעָט (*little*) is not "spoken contemptuously" (Hitzig), but the help is so named in comparison with the great deliverance which shall come to the people of God in the time of the end by the complete destruction of the oppressor. We may not therefore, with Hitzig and others, limit this expression to the circumstance that with the victories of Judas Maccabæus (1 Macc. iii. 11 ff., 23 ff., iv. 14, etc.) they were far from gaining all, for they also met with a defeat (1 Macc. v. 60 f.). For with the

overthrow of Antiochus and the liberation of the Jews from the Syrian yoke, full help was not yet rendered to the people of God. The "little help" consists in this, that by the rising up and the wars of those that had understanding among the people the theocracy was preserved, the destruction of the service of Jehovah and of the church of God, which was aimed at by the hostile king, was prevented, and, as the following clauses express, the purifying of the people of God is brought about. This purifying is the design and the fruit of the oppression which God brings upon His people by means of the hostile king. The attaining of this end is a "little help" in comparison with the complete victory over the arch-enemy of the time of the end. Many shall connect themselves with the מַשְׂכִּילִים (*intelligentes*, ver. 33*a*) with flatteries (as ver. 21). "The successes of Judas, and the severity with which he and Mattathias treated the apostates (1 Macc. ii. 44, iii. 5, 8), had the result of causing many to join them only through hypocrisy (1 Macc. vii. 6; 2 Macc. xiv. 6), who again forsook them as soon as opportunity offered; 1 Macc. vi. 21 ff., ix. 23" (Hitzig, Kliefoth).

Ver. 35. Such has been the experience in all periods of the church's history. Therefore does the church need to pass through the purifying process of affliction, in which not only the lukewarm fall away in the time of conflict, but also many even מִן־הַמַּשְׂכִּילִים. מִן is here partitive. יִכָּשְׁלוּ (*they shall fall*) is to be understood (cf. ver. 33, נִכְשְׁלוּ בח') not merely of death in battle, but of other calamities, such as being imprisoned, plundered, etc. לְצָרוֹף בָּהֶם, *to melt, i.e. to purify by them*, not *as to* them; for בְּ does not represent the accusative, as Kranichfeld thinks, referring in confirmation to Ewald, § 282. The use of בְּ there spoken of is of a different nature. The suffix in בָּהֶם refers neither to "those that understand" alone (Häv.), nor to the "many," ver. 33 (v. Leng.), still less to the flatterers in ver. 34 (Maurer), but to all of these together, or to the whole company of the people of God in the sum of their individuals. The verbs לְבָרֵר וְלַלְבֵּן serve to strengthen the expression (לַלְבֵּן for לְלַבֵּן on account of the assonance). עַד־עֵת קֵץ (*to the time of the end*) is connected with יִכָּשְׁלוּ, the chief idea of the passage. The stumbling and falling of "those who understand" (the pious) shall continue to the time of the end, to bring about the purification of the people for their glorification in the time of the end. For the end stretches itself out yet to the time appointed (cf. ver. 27); *i.e.* it does not come in with the "little

help" which Israel received by the rising up of "those who understand" against the hostile king, thus not with the afflictions that came upon them by Antiochus, but it shall come afterwards at the time appointed by God. The assertion that "the end is connected with the death of king Antiochus Epiphanes" (Hitzig, Bleek, and others) is founded on a misunderstanding of the following section, vers. 36–45. On the contrary, Kranichfeld has rightly remarked, that "the statements made in vers. 36 to 39 *incl.* regarding the king of the north, now fall, in accordance with the context, into the period which shall expire at that time of the end (ver. 35, cf. ver. 40)." From ver. 40 the events of the time of the end are then to be prophesied.

Ver. 36–ch. xii. 3. *The second and last stadium in the dominion of the enemy of God, with his destruction, and the deliverance of the people of God.*

This part of the prophecy is divided into three sections: (1) Vers. 36–39 describe the rising of the hostile king above all divine and human ordinances; (2) vers. 40–45, his last undertaking against the king of the south for the gaining of the dominion of the world, together with his overthrow; (3) ch. xii. 1–3, the deliverance of the people of God from the last tribulation.

Regarding the king whose course to its end is described in vers. 36–45, the views of interpreters differ. Following the example of Porphyry, Ephrem Syrus, and Grotius, almost all modern interpreters find predicted here only a description of the conduct of Antiochus Epiphanes to the time of his destruction; believing interpreters, such as C. B. Michaelis, Hävernick, and others, regarding the whole as having a typical reference to Antichrist. On the contrary, Jerome, Theodoret, Luther, Oecolampadius, Osiander, Calovius, Geier, and at length Kliefoth, interpret this section as a direct prophecy of Antichrist; according to which, הַמֶּלֶךְ, ver. 36, representing not Antiochus Epiphanes, but the prince, *i.e.* the Antichrist, who is prophesied of under the figure of the little horn growing up among the ten kingdoms of the fourth world-kingdom, and described in ch. ix. 26 as נְגִיד הַבָּא, must be introduced as a new subject in ver. 36. The rabbinical interpreters have also adopted the idea of a change of subject in ver. 36, for Aben Ezra, Jacchiades, and Abarbanel take Constantine the Great, while R. Solomon takes the Roman empire generally, as the subject. Essentially the reference of the section to the Antichrist is correct; but the supposition of a change of subject in the prophetic repre-

sentation is not established. If in the words, "the fall of those who understand, to purify and make white, shall continue to the time of the end" (ver. 35), it is also said that the end does not yet come with the proceedings of the enemy of God prophesied of in vers. 28–34, but lies beyond that; so also, in the verses referred to, the destruction of this enemy (Antiochus) is neither directly nor indirectly so spoken of as to justify the conclusion that "the words 'to purify and make white,' etc., extend beyond his time." If the contents of vers. 36–45 lie beyond the end of the enemy who has been hitherto spoken of, then ought his destruction to have been mentioned, especially since with the words, "to the time of the end, because yet for a time appointed," ver. 35, the words of ver. 27, "for yet the end of the time appointed," are resumed. All attempts to give to the former of these expressions in ver. 35 a different meaning from that contained in the latter, ver. 27 (Calovius, Geier, Kliefoth), amount to verbally impossible interpretations. The non-mention also of the destruction of this enemy (Antiochus) in vers. 32–35 is not justified by the remark that this was already known to Daniel from ch. viii., and that in vers. 36–45 the duration of Antichrist is also omitted (Klief.). For the verses do not treat of the duration of the proceedings of the enemy of God, but of his end or his destruction. The destruction of the enemy at the time of the end is, however, expressly declared, ver. 45. This would also have been stated in vers. 32–34 if the king in ver. 36 had been a different person from the one previously described. הַמֶּלֶךְ with the definite article undeniably points back to the king whose appearance and conduct are described in vers. 21–33. The definite article neither denotes that the Antichrist of ch. vii. and ix. 26 f. was known to Daniel (Klief.), nor is it to be emphatically interpreted in the sense of *the* king simply (Geier). This is only so far right, that that which is said regarding this king, vers. 36–39, partly goes far beyond what Antiochus did, partly does not harmonize with what is known of Antiochus, and, finally, partly is referred in the N. T. expressly to the Antichrist; cf. ver. 36 with 2 Thess. ii. 4, and ch. xii. 1 with Matt. xxiv. 21. These circumstances also are not satisfactorily explained by the remark that the prophecy regarding Antiochus glances forward to the Antichrist, or that the image of the type (Antiochus) hovers in the image of the antitype (Antichrist); they much rather show that in the prophetic contemplation there is comprehended in the image of *one* king what has been historically fulfilled in its begin-

nings by Antiochus Epiphanes, but shall only meet its complete fulfilment by the Antichrist in the time of the end.

Vers. 36–39. *The hostile king exalting himself above all divine and human ordinances at the time of the end.*

Ver. 36. This exaltation of the king is here introduced by the formula וְעָשָׂה כִרְצֹנוֹ, which expresses the self-will and the irresistible might of his proceeding; cf. ch. iii. 16 and viii. 4,—" a feature common to Antiochus and Antichrist" (Klief.). He shall raise himself above every god, not merely " subjectively in his lofty imagination" (Hitzig), but also by his actions. כָּל־אֵל, *every god*, not merely the God of Israel, but also the gods of the heathen. This does not agree with Antiochus. The *ἰσόθεα φρονεῖν ὑπερηφανῶς* which is said of him, 2 Macc. ix. 12, is not an exalting of himself above every god. " Antiochus was not an *ἄθεος*; he even wished to render the worship of Zeus universal; and that he once spoiled the temple does not imply his raising himself above every god" (Klief.). Of Antiochus much rather, as is said by Livy (xli. 20), *in duabus tamen magnis honestisque rebus fere regius erat animus, in urbium donis et deorum cultu.* On the contrary, these words before us are expressly referred to Antichrist, 2 Thess. ii. 4.

Yet further, in his arrogance he shall speak נִפְלָאוֹת, *wonderful*, *i.e.* impious and astonishing things, against the God of gods, *i.e.* the true God. This clause expounds and strengthens the מְמַלֵּל רַבְרְבָן (*speaking great things*), which is said of the enemy at the time of the end, ch. vii. 8, 11, 20. In this he will prosper, but only till the anger of God against His people (זַעַם as ch. viii. 19) shall be accomplished. Regarding כָּלָה see at ch. ix. 27. This anger of God is irrevocably determined (נֶחֱרָצָה), that His people may be wholly purified for the consummation of His kingdom in glory. The *perf.* נֶעֱשָׂתָה does not stand for the *imperf.* because it is decreed, but in its proper meaning, according to which it represents the matter as finished, settled. Here it accordingly means: " for that which is irrevocably decreed is accomplished, is not to be recalled, but must be done."

Ver. 37. The exalting of himself above all on the part of the king is further described. " He shall not regard the gods of his fathers," *i.e.* shall cast aside the worship of the gods transmitted to him from his fathers. This again does not accord with Antiochus Epiphanes, regarding whom it is true that history records that he wished to suppress the worship practised by the Jews, but it knows

nothing[1] of attempts made by him to destroy the gods and the worship of other nations. The words which follow, עַל־חֶמְדַּת נָשִׁים, the old interpreters understood of the love of women, or of conjugal love; the modern, after the example of J. D. Michaelis and Gesenius, on the contrary, understand them of the goddess Anaïtis or Mylitta, the Assyrian Venus, and refer them specially to the spoiling of the temple of this goddess in Elymaïs (1 Macc. vi. 1, cf. 2 Macc. i. 13). Ewald finally would understand by the expression "the desire of women," the Syrian deity Tammuz-Adonis. The connection requires us to think on a deity, because these words are placed between two expressions which refer to the gods. But the connection is not altogether decisive; rather the עַל כֹּל in the clause at the end of the verse denotes that the subject spoken of is not merely the king's raising himself above the gods, but also above other objects of pious veneration. A verbal proof that חֶמְדַּת נָשִׁים denotes the Anaïtis or Adonis as the favourite deity of women has not been adduced. For these words, *desiderium mulierum*, denote not that which women desire, but that which women possess which is desirable; cf. under 1 Sam. ix. 20. But it is impossible that this can be Anaïtis or Adonis, but it is a possession or precious treasure of women. This desirable possession of women is without doubt love; so that, as C. B. Michaelis has remarked, the expression is not materially different from אַהֲבַת נָשִׁים, *the love of women*, 2 Sam. i. 26. The thought: "he shall not regard the

[1] The statement in 1 Macc. i. 41 ff., "Moreover king Antiochus wrote to his whole kingdom that all should be one people, and every one should have his laws: so all the heathen agreed according to the commandment of the king," does not amount to a proof of this. "For," as Grimm rightly remarks, "the account of such a decree of Antiochus to *all* (not Hellenic) peoples of his kingdom is very doubtful. No profane historian records anything about it, neither does Josephus, nor the author of the second book of the Maccabees in the parallel passages. It is true that Antiochus, according to Livy, xli. 20, put great honour upon Jupiter by building a splendid temple to Tages, and according to Polybius, xxvi. 10, 11, he excelled all kings who preceded him in expensive sacrifices and gifts in honour of the gods; but this is no proof of a *proselytizing* fanaticism." The contrary rather appears from Josephus, *Antt.* xii. 5. 5, where the Samaritans, in a letter to Antiochus, declare, contrary to the opinion entertained regarding them by their governor, that by descent and custom they were not *Jews*. Their letter rests on the supposition that the royal decree was directed only against the Jews. Cf. Flathe, *Gesch. Macedoniens*, ii. p. 596. Diodorus also (xxxiv. 1), to whom Hitzig refers, only states that Antiochus wished to dissolve τὰ νόμιμα of the Jewish people, and to compel the Jews to abandon their manner of life (τὰς ἀγωγὰς μεταθέσθαι).

desire of women, or the love of women," agrees perfectly with the connection. After it has been said in the first clause: he shall set himself free from all religious reverence transmitted from his fathers, from all piety toward the gods in which he had been trained, it is then added in the second clause: not merely so, but generally from all piety toward men and God, from all the tender affections of the love of men and of God. The "love of women" is named as an example selected from the sphere of human piety, as that affection of human love and attachment for which even the most selfish and most savage of men feel some sensibility. Along with this he shall set himself free from כָּל־אֱלוֹהַּ, from all piety or reverence toward God or toward that which is divine (Klief.). This thought is then established by the last clause: "for he shall magnify himself above all." To עַל כֹּל we may not supply אֱלוֹהַּ; for this clause not only presents the reason for the foregoing clause, עַל כָּל־אֱלוֹהַּ וגו', but for both of the foregoing clauses. Hitzig and Kliefoth are right in their interpretation: "above everything, or all, gods and men," he shall magnify himself, raise himself up in arrogance.

Ver. 38. On the other hand, he will honour the god of fortresses. That מָעֻזִּים is not, with Theodotion, the Vulgate, Luther, and others, to be regarded as the proper name of a god, is now generally acknowledged. But as to which god is to be understood by the "god of fortresses," there is very great diversity of opinion. Grotius, C. B. Michaelis, Gesenius, and others think on Mars, the god of war, as the one intended; Hävernick, v. Lengerke, Maurer, and Ewald regard Jupiter Capitolinus, to whom Antiochus purposed to erect a temple in Antioch (Livy, xli. 20); others, Jupiter Olympius; while Hitzig, by changing מָעֻזִּים into מָעֹז יָם, *fortress of the sea*, thinks that Melkart, or the Phœnician Hercules, is referred to. But according to the following passage, this god was not known to his fathers. That could not be said either of Mars, or Jupiter, or Melkart. Add to this, "that if the statement here refers to the honouring of Hercules, or Mars, or Zeus, or Jupiter, then therewith all would be denied that was previously said of the king's being destitute of all religion" (Klief.). The words thus in no respect agree with Antiochus, and do not permit us to think on any definite heathen deity. עַל בְּנוֹ does not signify *on his foundation, pedestal* (Häv., v. Leng., Maurer, Hitzig, Ewald), because the remark that he honoured God on his pedestal would be quite inappropriate, unless it had been also said that he had

erected a statue to him. עַל כַּנּוֹ has here the same meaning as in vers. 20, 21, and 7: "in his place or stead" (Gesenius, de Wette, Kliefoth, and others). But the suffix is not, with Klief., to be referred to עַל כֹּל: in the place of all that, which he did not regard, but it refers to כָּל־אֱלוֹהַּ: in the place of every god; which is not overthrown by the objection that in that case the suffix should have been plur., because the suffix is connected with the singular אלוה. The "god of fortresses" is the personification of war, and the thought is this: he will regard no other god, but only war; the taking of fortresses he will make his god; and he will worship this god above all as the means of his gaining the world-power. Of this god, war as the object of deification, it might be said that his fathers knew nothing, because no other king had made war his religion, his god to whom he offered up in sacrifice all, gold, silver, precious stones, jewels.

Ver. 39. With the help of this god, who was unknown to his fathers, he will so proceed against the strong fortresses that he rewards with honour, might, and wealth those who acknowledge him. This is the meaning of the verse, which has been very differently rendered. The majority of modern interpreters separate the two parts of the verse from each other, for they refer the first hemistich to the preceding, and in the second they find a new thought expressed. Hävernick and v. Lengerke supply a demonstrative כֹּה, *thus:* — thus shall he do to the armed fortresses together with the strange gods, *i.e.* fill the fortified temples with treasures, and promote their worship. But the supplement כֹּה is here just as arbitrary as is the interpreting of the armed fortresses of temples. Hitzig misses the object to וְעָשָׂה, and seeks it by changing עִם into עַם: he prepares for the armed fortresses a people of a strange god; but apart from the fact that the change of the text is arbitrary, the use of the expression "people of a strange god" for colonists is most singular. Ewald translates the expression thus: "he proceeds with the strong fortresses as with the strange god," and explains: "he loves the fortresses only just as a god;" but he has given no proof that לְ עָשָׂה means to love. The missing object to וְעָשָׂה follows in the second hemistich, just as in Deut. xxxi. 4, Josh. viii. 2, Isa. x. 11. עָשָׂה means simply to do anything to one (Kran., Klief.). עִם אֱלוֹהַּ נֵכָר, *with the help of the strange god* (עִם of assistance, as in 1 Sam. xiv. 45), not: in the mind of the strange god (Kliefoth). מִבְצָרֵי מָעֻזִּים, *fortified, i.e. strong fortresses,* are not the fortified walls and houses, but the

inhabitants of the fortified cities. With these he does according to his will with the help of his god, *i.e.* of war, namely in this, that he rewards with honour and power only those who acknowledge him. אֲשֶׁר הִכִּיר, *who acknowledges, sc.* him, the king who made war his god. Hitzig has incorrectly interpreted: whom he acknowledges. The *Keri* יַכִּיר for the *Kethiv* הִכִּיר is an unnecessary emendation here, as in Isa. xxviii. 15 with עָבַר. The verb הִכִּיר is chosen to reflect upon the word נֵכָר. It means to recognise, properly to acknowledge him as what he is or wishes to be; cf. Deut. xxi. 17. Such an one he shall increase with honour, confer upon him sovereignty over many, and divide the land. בְּמָחִיר is not for payment, for recompense, as the contrast to חִנָּם (*gratuitously*) (Kran.). That is not a suitable rendering here. The word rather means *pro præmio*, as a reward (Maur., Klief.), as a reward for the recognition accorded to him. The Vulgate renders it rightly according to the sense, *gratuito*. In this most modern interpreters find a reference to the circumstance that Antiochus occupied the Jewish fortresses with heathen garrisons, and rewarded his adherents with places of honour and with possessions of land (2 Macc. iv. 10, 24, v. 15). But this is what all conquerors do, and it was not peculiar to Antiochus, so that it could be mentioned as characteristic of him. The words contain the altogether common thought that the king will bestow honour, power, and possessions on those who acknowledge him and conduct themselves according to his will, and they accord with the character of Antichrist in a yet higher degree than with that of Antiochus.

Vers. 40–43. *The last undertakings of the hostile king, and his end.*

By the words בְּעֵת קֵץ, which introduce these verses, the following events are placed in the time of the end. Proceeding from the view that the whole of the second half of this chapter (vers. 21–45) treats of Antiochus and his undertakings, most modern interpreters find in the verses the prophecy of a last expedition of this Syrian king against Egypt, and quote in support of this view the words of Jerome: *Et hæc Porphyrius ad Antiochum refert, quod undecimo anno regni sui rursus contra sororis filium, Ptolem. Philometorem dimicaverit, qui audiens venire Antiochum congregaverit multa populorum millia, sed Antiochus quasi tempestas valida in curribus et in equitibus et in classe magna ingressus sit terras plurimas et transeundo universa vastaverit, veneritque ad Judæam et*

arcem munierit de ruinis murorum civitatis et sic perrexerit in Ægyptum. But regarding this expedition not only are historians silent, but the supposition of such a thing stands in irreconcilable contradiction to the historical facts regarding the last undertakings of Antiochus. According to 1 Macc. iii. 27 ff., Antiochus, on receiving tidings of the successful insurrection of the Maccabees, and of the victory which Judas had won, since he found that money was wanting to him to carry on the war, resolved to return to Persia, "there to collect the tribute of the countries" (1 Macc. iii. 31); and after he had made Lysias governor, he delivered to him the one half of his army, that he might with it "destroy and root out the strength of Israel," and with the other half departed from Antioch and crossed the Euphrates into the high countries, *i.e.* the high-lying countries on the farther side of the Euphrates (1 Macc. iii. 33–37). There he heard of the great treasures of a rich city in Persia, and resolved to fall upon this city and to take its treasures; but as the inhabitants received notice of the king's intention, he was driven back and compelled to return to Babylon, having accomplished nothing. On his return he heard in Persia the tidings of the overthrow of Lysias in a battle with the Maccabees, and of the re-erection of the altar of Jehovah at Jerusalem; whereupon he was so overcome with terror and dismay, that he fell sick and died (1 Macc. vi. 1–16). The historical truth of this report is confirmed by Polybius, who mentions (*Fragm.* xxxi. 11) that Antiochus, being in difficulty for want of money, sought to spoil the temple of Artemis in Elymaïs, and in consequence of the failure of his design he fell ill at Tabae in Persia, and there died. By these well-established facts the supposition of an invasion of Egypt by Antiochus in the eleventh, *i.e.* the last year of his reign, is excluded. The Romans also, after they had already by their intervention frustrated his design against Egypt, would certainly have prevented a new war, least of all would they have permitted an entire subjugation of Egypt and the south, which we must accept after vers. 42 and 43. Besides, the statement made by Porphyry shows itself to be destitute of historical validity by this, that according to it, Antiochus must have made the assault against Egypt, while on the contrary, according to the prophecy, ver. 40, the king of the south begins the war against the king of the north, and the latter, in consequence of this attack, passes through the lands with a powerful host and subdues Egypt.

For these reasons, therefore, v. Lengerke, Maurer, and Hitzig have abandoned the statement of Porphyry as unhistorical, and limited themselves to the supposition that the section (vers. 40–45) is only a comprehensive repetition of that which has already been said regarding Antiochus Epiphanes, according to which "the time of the end" (ver. 40) denotes not the near time of the death of Antiochus, but generally the whole period of this king. But this is, when compared with vers. 27 and 35, impossible. If thus, according to ver. 35, the tribulation with which the people of God shall be visited by the hostile king for their purification shall last till the time of the end, then the time of the end to which the prophecies of vers. 40–45 fall cannot designate the whole duration of the conduct of this enemy, but only the end of his reign and of his persecutions, in which he perishes (ver. 40). On the contrary, the reference to ch. viii. 17 avails nothing, because there also עֵת קֵץ has the same meaning as here, *i.e.* it denotes the termination of the epoch referred to, and is there only made a more general expression by means of לְעֵת than here, where by בְּעֵת and the connection with ver. 35 the end is more sharply defined. To this is to be added, that the contents of vers. 40–45 are irreconcilable with the supposition that in them is repeated in a comprehensive form what has already been said of Antiochus, for here something new is announced, something of which nothing has been said before. This even Maurer and Hitzig have not been able to deny, but have sought to conceal as much as possible,—Maurer by the remark: *res a scriptore iterum ac sæpius pertractatas esse, extremam vero manum operi defuisse;* and Hitzig by various turnings—"as it seems," "but is not more precisely acknowledged," "the fact is not elsewhere communicated"—which are obviously mere make-shifts.

Thus vers. 40-45 do not apply to Antiochus Epiphanes, but, with most ancient interpreters, they refer only to the final enemy of the people of God, the Antichrist. This reference has been rightly vindicated by Kliefoth. We cannot, however, agree with him in distinguishing this enemy in ver. 40 from the king of the south and of the north, and in understanding this verse as denoting "that at the time of this hostile king, which shall be the time of the end, the kings of the south as well as of the north shall attack him, but that he shall penetrate into their lands and overthrow them." Without taking into account the connection, this interpretation is not merely possible, but it is even very natural

to refer the suffix in עָלָיו and in עִמּוֹ to one and the same person, namely, to the king who has hitherto been spoken of, and who continues in vers. 40–45 to be the chief subject. But the connection makes this reference impossible. It is true, indeed, that the suffix in עִמּוֹ refers without doubt to this king, but the suffix in עָלָיו can be referred only to the king of the south named immediately before, who pushes at him, because the king against whom the king of the south pushes, and of whom mention is made vers. 21–39, is not only distinctly designated as the king of the north (vers. 13–21), but also, according to vers. 40–43, he advances from the north against the Holy Land and against Egypt; thus also, according to vers. 40*b*–43, must be identical with the king of the north. In vers. 40–43 we do not read of a war of the hostile king against the king of the south *and* the king of the north. The words in which Kliefoth finds indications of this kind are otherwise to be understood.

Ver. 40. If we now more closely look into particulars, we find that עֵת קֵץ is not the end of the hostile king, but, as in vers. 27 and 35, the end of the present world-period, in which also, it is true, occurs the end of this king (קִצּוֹ, ver. 45). For the figurative expression יִתְנַגַּח (*shall push*), cf. ch. viii. 4. In the word there lies the idea that the king of the south commences the war, makes an aggression against the hostile king. In the second clause the subject is more precisely defined by "the king of the north" for the sake of distinctness, or to avoid ambiguity, from which it thence follows that the suffix in עָלָיו refers to the king of the south. If the subject were not named, then "the king of the south" might have been taken for it in this clause. The words, "with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships," are an oratorical exemplification of the powerful war-host which the king of the north displayed; for the further statement, "he presses into the countries, overflows and passes over" (שָׁטַף וְעָבַר as ver. 10), does not agree with the idea of a fleet, but refers to land forces. The plur. בָּאֲרָצוֹת (*into the countries*) does not at all agree with the expedition of a *Syrian* king against Egypt, since between Syria and Egypt there lay *one* land, Palestine; but it also does not prove that "the south-land and the north-land, the lands of the kings of the south and of the north, are meant" (Klief.), but it is to be explained from this, that the north, from which the angry king comes in his fury against the king of the south, reached far beyond Syria. The king of the north is thought of as the ruler of the distant north.

Ver. 41. Penetrating into the countries and overflowing them

with his host, he comes into the glorious land, *i.e.* Palestine, the land of the people of God. See at ver. 16 and ch. viii. 9. "And many shall be overthrown." רַבּוֹת is not neuter, but refers to אֲרָצוֹת, ver. 40. For "that the whole lands are meant, represented by their inhabitants (cf. the verb masc. יִכָּשֵׁלוּ [*shall be overthrown*]), proceeds from the exceptions of which the second half of the verse makes mention" (Kran.). The three peoples, Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites, are represented as altogether spared, because, as Jerome has remarked, they lay in the interior, out of the way of the line of march of Antiochus to Egypt (v. Leng., Hitzig, and others). This opinion Hitzig with justice speaks of as altogether superficial, since Antiochus would not have omitted to make war against them, as *e.g.* his father overcame the Ammonites in war (Polyb. v. 71), if they had not given indubitable proofs of their submission to him. Besides, it is a historical fact that the Edomites and Ammonites supported Antiochus in his operations against the Jews (1 Macc. v. 3–8, iv. 61); therefore Maurer remarks, under יִמָּלְטוּ (*they shall escape*): *eorum enim in oppremendis Judæis Antiochus usus est auxilio.* But since the king here spoken of is not Antiochus, this historizing interpretation falls of itself to the ground. There is further with justice objected against it, that at the time of Antiochus the nation of Moab no longer existed. After the Exile the Moabites no longer appear as a nation. They are only named (Neh. xiii. 1 and Ezra ix. 1), in a passage cited from the Pentateuch, along with the Philistines and the Hittites, to characterize the relations of the present after the relations of the time of Moses. Edom, Moab, and Ammon, related with Israel by descent, are the old hereditary and chief enemies of this people, who have become by name representatives of all the hereditary and chief enemies of the people of God. These enemies escape the overthrow when the other nations sink under the power of the Antichrist. רֵאשִׁית בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן, "the firstling of the sons of Ammon," *i.e.* that which was most valued or distinguished of the Ammonites as a first-fruit, by which Kranichfeld understands the chief city of the Ammonites. More simply others understand by the expression, "the flower of the people, the very kernel of the nation;" cf. Num. xxiv. 20, Amos vi. 1, Jer. xlix. 35. The expression is so far altogether suitable as in the flower of the people the character of the nation shows itself, the enmity against the people of God is most distinctly revealed; but in this enmity lies the reason for this people's being spared by the enemy of God.

Ver. 42. The stretching forth of his hand upon the countries is a sign expressive of his seizing them, taking possession of them, for which he falls upon them. בָּאֲרָצוֹת are not other countries besides those which, according to ver. 40, he overflowed (Klief.), but the same. Of these lands Egypt is specially noticed in ver. 42 as the most powerful, which had hitherto successfully withstood the assaults of the king of the north, but which in the time of the end shall also be overthrown. Egypt, as the chief power of the south, represents the mightiest kingdoms of the earth. לֹא תִהְיֶה לְפַלֵּיטָה (*and there shall not be for an escape*), expressive of complete overthrow, cf. Joel ii. 3, Jer. l. 29.

Ver. 43. Along with the countries all their treasures fall into the possession of the conqueror, and also all the allies of the fallen kingdom shall be compelled to submit to him. The genitive מִצְרַיִם belongs not merely to חֲמֻדוֹת (*precious things*), but to all the beforenamed objects. בְּמִצְעָדָיו (*at his steps*) = בְּרַגְלָיו, Judg. iv. 10, denotes the camp-followers, but not as mercenary soldiers (v. Leng., Hitz.). The *Lybians* and *Cushites* represent all the allies of the Egyptians (cf. Ezek. xxx. 5, Nah. iii. 9), the most southern nations of the earth.

Vers. 44, 45. *The end of the hostile king.*

As has been already seen, the expressions in vers. 40–43 regarding this king do not agree with Antiochus Epiphanes, so also the statements regarding his end are in contradiction to the historical facts regarding the end of the Syrian king. When the hostile king took possession of Egypt and its treasures, and made the Lybians and Cushites subject to him, tidings from the east and the north overwhelm him with terror. The *masc.* יְבַהֲלֻהוּ stands *ad sensum* related to the persons who occasion the reports. The reports excited his anger, so that he goes forth to destroy many. We have to think thus on the reports of revolt and insurrections in the east and the north of his kingdom, which came to his ears in Egypt. On this ground Hitzig, with other interpreters, refuses to refer the statement in ver. 44 to the expedition of Antiochus against the Parthians and Armenians (Tacit. *hist.* v. 8, and App. *Syr.* c. 45, 46; 1 Macc. iii. 37), because Antiochus did not undertake this expedition from Egypt; and rather, in regard to the east, thinks on the tidings from Jerusalem of the rebellion of Judea (2 Macc. v. 11 ff.; 1 Macc. i. 24), and in regard to the north, on the very problematical expedition against the Aradiæi, without observing, however, that no Scripture writer designates Jerusalem as

lying in the east of Egypt. But besides, Antiochus, since he was occupied for some years beyond the Euphrates, and there met with his death, could not shortly before his end lead an expedition out of Egypt against Aradus. What Porphyry says[1] (in Jerome under ver. 44) regarding an expedition of Antiochus undertaken from Egypt and Lybia against the Aradiæi and the Armenian king Artaxias, he has gathered only from this verse and from notices regarding the wars of Antiochus against the Aradiæi and king Artaxias (after whose imprisonment, according to App. *Syr.* c. 46, he died), without having any historical evidence for it. But even though the statement of Porphyry were better established, yet it would not agree with ver. 45; for when the king goes forth, in consequence of the report brought to him, to destroy many, he plants, according to ver. 45, his palace-tent near to the holy mount, and here comes to his end; thus meeting with his destruction in the Holy Land not far from Jerusalem, while Antiochus, according to Polybius and Porphyry, died in the Persian city of Tabae on his return from Persia to Babylon.

Ver. 45. נָטַע of planting a tent, only here instead of the usual word נָטָה, to spread out, to set up, probably with reference to the great palace-like tent of the oriental ruler, whose poles must be struck very deep into the earth. Cf. the description of the tent of Alexander the Great, which was erected after the oriental type, in Polyæn. *Strateg.* iv. 3. 24, and of the tent of Nadir-Schah in Rosenmüller, *A. u. N. Morgl.* iv. p. 364 f. These tents were surrounded by a multitude of smaller tents for the guards and servants, a circumstance which explains the use of the plur. אָהֳלֵי is incorrectly taken by Theodotion, Porphyry, Jerome, and others for a *nomen propr.*, meaning in Syriac, palace or tower. בֵּין לְהַר = בֵּין וּבֵין, Gen. i. 6, Joel ii. 17, of a space between two other places or objects. הַר צְבִי־קֹדֶשׁ, the holy hill of the delight, *i.e.* of Palestine (cf. ch. viii. 9), is without doubt the mountain on which stood the temple of Jerusalem, as v. Leng., Maur., Hitzig, and Ewald acknowledge. The interpretation of the mountain of the temple of Anaïtis in Elymaïs (Dereser, Hävernick) needs no refutation. According to this, יַמִּים cannot designate the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea, as Kliefoth supposes, but it is only the poetic

[1] The words are: *Pugnans contra Ægyptios et Lybias, Æthiopiasque pertransiens, audiet sibi ab aquilone et oriente prælia concitari, unde et regrediens capit Aradios resistentes et omnem in littore Phœnicis vastavit provinciam; confestimque pergit ad Artaxiam regem Armeniæ, qui de orientis partibus movebatur.*

plur. of fulness, as a sign of the great Mediterranean Sea. Since now this scene where the great enemy of the people of God comes to his end, *i.e.* perishes, in no respect agrees with the place where Antiochus died, then according to Hitzig the pseudo-Daniel does not here accurately distinguish the separate expeditions from one another, and must have omitted between the first and the second half of the verse the interval between the return of Antiochus from Egypt and his death, because Antiochus never again trod the soil of Palestine. Such expedients condemn themselves. With "he shall come to his end," cf. ch. viii. 25, where the end of this enemy of God is described as a being "broken without the hand of man." Here the expression "and none shall help him" is added to designate the hopelessness of his overthrow.

The placing of the overthrow of this enemy with his host near the temple-mountain agrees with the other prophecies of the O. T., which place the decisive destruction of the hostile world-power by the appearance of the Lord for the consummation of His kingdom upon the mountains of Israel (Ezek. xxxix. 4), or in the valley of Jehoshaphat at Jerusalem, or at Jerusalem (Joel iv. 2 [iii. 2], 12 f.; Zech. xiv. 2), and confirms the result of our exposition, that the hostile king, the last enemy of the world-power, is the Antichrist. With this also the conclusion, ch. xii. 1–3, is in harmony.

Ch. xii. 1–3. *The final deliverance of Israel from the last tribulation, and their consummation.*

Ver. 1. וּבָעֵת הַהִיא points back to בְּעֵת קֵץ (ch. xi. 40). At the time of the end, in which the hostile persecutor rises up to subdue the whole world, and sets up his camp in the Holy Land to destroy many in great anger and to strike them with the ban (הַחֲרִים, ch. xi. 44), *i.e.* totally to outroot them (ch. xi. 40–45), the great angel-prince Michael shall come forth and fight for the people of God against their oppressor. Regarding Michael, see under ch. x. 13, p. 417. "Who stands over the sons of thy people," *i.e.* stands near, protecting them (cf. for עָמַד עַל in the sense of coming to protect, Esth. viii. 11, ix. 16), describes Michael, who carries on his work as Israel's שַׂר (ch. x. 21). That Michael, fighting for Daniel's people, goes forth against the hostile king (ch. xi. 45), is, it is true, not said *expressis verbis*, but it lies in the context, especially in the יִמָּלֵט עַמֶּךָ (*thy people shall be delivered*) of the second half of the verse, as well as in the expressions regarding Michael, ch. x. 13 and 21.

But the people of God need such powerful help for their

deliverance, because that time shall be one of oppression without any parallel. The description of this oppression seems to be based on Jer. xxx. 7 (C. B. Michaelis, Hengstenberg); but that which is there said is here heightened by the relative clause (cf. Joel ii. 2), which enlarges the thought, Ex. ix. 18, 24. This עֵת צָרָה (*time of distress*) is the climax of the oppression which the hostile king shall bring upon Israel, and occurs at the same time as the expiry of the last (the seventieth) week, ch. ix. 26. "The salvation of Israel (יִמָּלֵט), which is here thought of as brought about under the direction of Michael, coincides essentially with the description, ch. vii. 18, 26 f., 14, ix. 24." Thus Kranichfeld rightly remarks. He also rightly identifies the continued victorious deliverance of Israel from the oppression (ver. 1) with the setting up of the Messianic kingdom, described in ch. vii. 2, 9, and finds in this verse (ch. xii. 1) the Messianic kingdom dissolving the world-kingdoms.

With this the opposers of the genuineness of the book of Daniel also agree, and deduce therefrom the conclusion, that the pseudo-Daniel expected, along with the overthrow of Antiochus Epiphanes, the appearance of the Messianic kingdom of glory. This conclusion would be indisputable if the premises from which it is drawn, that בָּעֵת הַהִיא (*at that time*) is the time of Antiochus, were well founded. All attempts of believing interpreters, who, with Porphyry, Grotius, Bleek, v. Lengerke, Hitzig, and others, find the death of Antiochus prophesied in ch. xi. 45, to dismiss this conclusion, appear on close inspection to be untenable. According to Hävernick, with וּבָעֵת הַהִיא (*and at that time*) a new period following that going before is introduced, and that בָּעֵת הַהִיא means *at some future time*. The appearance of Michael for his people denotes the appearance of the Messiah; and the sufferings and oppressions connected with his appearance denote the sufferings which the people of Israel shall endure at the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, but which shall be most fully realized only at the second coming of the Lord, Matt. xxiv. 21, 22. But this explanation is shattered against the בָּעֵת הַהִיא, which never has the meaning "at some time," *i.e.* in the further future, and is refuted by the following remark of Hitzig:—"Not once," says he, with good ground, "can the words בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא be proved by such passages as 2 Kings iii. 6, Isa. xxviii. 5, Gen. xxxix. 11, to have the meaning of *at that day*; in בעת ההיא we may not by any means seek such a meaning, and the copula here puts a complete barrier in the way of such arbitrariness. Moreover, if the epoch of Antiochus

Epiphanes was indeed a time of oppression, how could a reader then not refer this הוּא to the time of that king described in the foregoing chapter?" Finally, מַשְׂכִּילִים (*intelligentes*), ver. 3, refers back to the מַשְׂכִּילֵי עָם who helped many to knowledge, and who lost their lives in the persecution (ch. xi. 33, 34), and now are raised to eternal life.[1]

Hävernick, however, was right, in opposing those who refer ver. 1 to the period of persecution under Antiochus, in arguing that the statement of the unheard-of greatness of the affliction is far too strong for such a period, and at the same time that the promise of the deliverance of those that shall be found written in the book does not accord with that Syrian oppression, although he is in error when he interprets the appearance of Michael of the first appearance of Christ. This interpretation receives no support either from ch. ix. 26 or from Matt. xxiv. 21, 22, because both passages treat of the coming of Christ in glory. But if the reference of this verse to the appearance of Christ in the flesh is inconsistent with the words, still more so is its reference to the period of Antiochus. Those interpreters who advance this view are under the necessity of violently separating ver. 1 from vers. 2 and 3, which undoubtedly treat of the resurrection from the dead.

According to Auberlen, who has rightly conceived that the מַשְׂכִּילִים, ch. xii. 3, allude to the מַשְׂכִּילִים, ch. xi. 33 and 34, the מַצְדִּיקֵי הָרַבִּים to the יָבִינוּ לָרַבִּים, ch. xi. 33, vers. 2 and 3 do not intimate any progress in the development of the history, but by mentioning the resurrection only, are referred to the eternal retribution which awaits the Israelites according to their conduct during the time of great persecution under Antiochus, because, as C. B. Michaelis has said, *ejus* (*i.e.* of the resurrection) *consideratio magnam vim habet ad confirmandum animum sub tribulationibus.* As to the period between the time of trial and the resurrection, nothing whatever is said; for in vers. 2 and 3 every designation of time is wanting, while in ver. 1 the expression "at this time" twice occurs. Thus Hengstenberg (*Christol.* iii. 1, p. 6) has remarked, "Whether there be a longer or a shorter time between the tribulation of the Maccabean era and the resurrection, the consolation from the fact of the resurrection remains equally powerful. Therefore it is so connected with the deliverance from the persecution

[1] These arguments extend also to the overthrow of Ebrard's view, that the expression "to this time" refers to the time after Antiochus Epiphanes shall have died.

as if the one immediately followed the other." But with this it is conceded that the resurrection from the dead is so associated with the deliverance of Israel from the tyranny of Antiochus as if it came immediately after it, as the opponents of the genuineness of the book affirm. But this interpretation is obviously a mere make-shift.

Vers. 2, 3. These verses do not at all present the form of a parenetic reference to the retribution commencing with the resurrection. Ver. 2 is by the copula ו connected with ver. 1, and thereby designates the continuance of the thought of the second half of ver. 1, *i.e.* the further representation of the deliverance of God's people, namely, of all those who are written in the book of life. Since many of the מַשְׂכִּילִים who know their God (ch. xi. 33) lose their life in the persecution, so in the promise of deliverance a disclosure of the lot awaiting those who sealed with their blood their fidelity to God was not to be avoided, if the prophecy shall wholly gain its end, *i.e.* if the promise of the deliverance of all the pious shall afford to the people of God in the times of oppression strength and joy in their enduring fidelity to God. The appeal to the fact that vers. 2 and 3 contain no designation of time proves nothing at all, for this simple reason, that the verses connected by "and" are by this copula placed under ver. 1, which contains a designation of time, and only further show how this deliverance shall ensue, namely thus, that a part of the people shall outlive the tribulation, but those who lose their lives in the persecution shall rise again from the dead.

To this is to be added that the contents of ver. 1 do not agree with the period of persecution under Antiochus. That which is said regarding the greatness of the persecution is much too strong for it. The words, "There shall be a time of trouble such as never was מִהְיוֹת גּוֹי, since there was a nation or nations," designate it as such as never was before on the earth. Theodoret interprets thus: *οἵα οὐ γέγονεν, ἀφ' οὗ γεγένηται ἔθνος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἕως τοῦ καιροῦ ἐκείνου.* With reference to these words our Lord says: *οἵα οὐ γέγονεν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κόσμου ἕως τοῦ νῦν, οὐδ' οὐ μὴ γένηται*, Matt. xxiv. 21. Though the oppression which Antiochus brought upon Israel may have been most severe, yet it could not be said of it without exaggeration, that it was such a tribulation as never had been from the beginning of the world. Antiochus, it is true, sought to outroot Judaism root and branch, but Pharaoh also wished to do the same by his command to destroy all

the Hebrew male children at their birth; and as Antiochus wished to make the worship of the Grecian Zeus, so also Jezebel the worship of the Phœnician Hercules, in the place of the worship of Jehovah, the national religion in Israel.

Still less does the second hemistich of ver. 1 refer to the deliverance of the people from the power of Antiochus. Under the words, "every one that shall be found written in the book," Hitzig remarks that they point back to Isa. iv. 3, and that the book is thus the book of life, and corrects the vain interpretation of v. Lengerke, that "to be written in the book" means *in an earthly sense* to live, to be appointed to life, by the more accurate explanation, "The book of life is thus the record of those who shall live, it is the list of the citizens of the Messianic kingdom (Phil. iv. 3), and in Isaiah contains the names of those who reach it living, in Daniel also of those who must first be raised from the dead for it." Cf. regarding the book of life, under Ex. xxxii. 32.

Accordingly בָּעֵת הַהִיא extends into the Messianic time. This is so far acknowledged by Hofmann (*Weiss. u. Erf.* i. p. 313, and *Schriftbew.* ii. 2, p. 697), in that he finds in ver. 1, from "and there shall be a time," and in vers. 2 and 3, the prophecy of the final close of the history of nations, the time of the great tribulation at the termination of the present course of the world, the complete salvation of Israel in it, and the resurrection of the dead at the end of the world. Since, however, Hofmann likewise refers the last verses of the preceding chapter to the time of Antiochus and his destruction, and can only refer the וּבָעֵת הַהִיא at the beginning of ch. xii., from its close connection with the last words of ch. xi., to the time which has hitherto been spoken of, so he supposes that in the first clause of the first verse of this chapter (xii.) there cannot be a passing over to another time, but that this transition is first made by וְהָיְתָה. This transition he seeks indeed, in the 2d ed. of his *Schriftbew. l.c.*, to cover by the remark: that we may not explain the words of the angel, וְהָיְתָה עֵת וגו׳, as if they meant: that time shall be a time of trouble such as has not been till now; but much rather that they are to be translated: "and there shall *arise* a time of trouble such as never was to that time." But this separation of the words in question from those going before by the translation of וְהָיְתָה "and there shall arise," is rendered impossible by the words following, עַד הָעֵת הַהִיא; for these so distinctly point back to the words with which the verse commences, that we may not empty them of their definite contents by the ambiguous "till

that time." If the angel says, There shall arise a time of oppression such as has never been since there were nations till that time when Michael shall appear for his people, or, as Hofmann translates it, shall "hold fast his place," then to every unprejudiced reader it is clear that this tribulation such as has never been before shall arise not for the first time centuries after the appearance of Michael or of his "holding fast his place," but in the time of the war of the angel-prince for the people of God. In this same time the angel further places the salvation of the people of Daniel and the resurrection of the dead.[1]

The failure of all attempts to gain a space of time between ch. xi. 45 and xii. 1 or 2 incontrovertibly shows that the assertions of those who dispute the genuineness of the book, that the pseudo-Daniel expected along with the death of Antiochus the commencement of the Messianic kingdom and of the resurrection of the dead, would have a foundation *if* the last verses of ch. xi. treated of the last undertakings of this Syrian king against the theocracy. This *if*, it has, however, been seen from ch. xi., is not established. In ch. xi. 40–45 the statements do not refer to Antiochus, but to the time of the end, of the last enemy of the holy God, and of his destruction. With that is connected, without any intervening space, in ch. xii. 1 the description of the last oppression of the people of God and their salvation to everlasting life. The prophecy of that unheard-of great tribulation Christ has in Matt. xxiv. 21 referred, wholly in the sense of the prophetic announcement, to the yet future θλῖψις μεγάλη which shall precede the coming of the Son of man in the clouds of heaven to judge the world and to bring to a consummation the kingdom of God. That this tribulation shall come only upon Israel, the people of God, is not said; the מְהִיוֹת גּוֹי refers much more to a tribulation that shall come upon the whole

[1] Hofmann's explanation of the words would only be valid if the definition of time אַחֲרִי הָעֵת הַהִיא stood after וְהָיְתָה in the text, which Hofm. in his most recent attempts at its exposition has interpolated inadvertently, while in his earlier exposition (*Weiss. u. Erf.* i. p. 314) he has openly said: "These last things connect themselves with the prospect of the end of that oppressor of Israel, not otherwise than as when Isaiah spoke of the approaching assault of the Assyrians on Jerusalem as of the last affliction of the city, or as in Jeremiah the end of those seventy years is also the end of all the sufferings of his people. There remains therefore a *want of clearness* in this prospect," etc. This want of clearness he has, in his most recent exposition in the *Schriftbew.*, not set aside, but increased, by the supposition of an immediate transition from the time of Antiochus to the time of the end.

of humanity. In it shall the angel-prince Michael help the people of Daniel, *i.e.* the people of God. That he shall destroy the hostile king, the Antichrist, is not said. His influence extends only to the assistance which he shall render to the people of God for their salvation, so that all who are written in the book of life shall be saved. Christ, in His eschatological discourse, Matt. xxiv., does not make mention of this assistance, but only says that for the elect's sake the days of the oppression shall be shortened, otherwise that no one would be saved (ἐσώθη, Matt. xxiv. 22). Wherein the help of Michael consists, is seen partly from that which is said in ch. x. 13 and 21 regarding him, that he helped the Angel of the Lord in the war against the hostile spirit of the Persian and the Javanic world-kingdom, partly from the war of Michael against the dragon described in Rev. xii. 7 ff. From these indications it is clear that we may not limit the help on the part of Michael to the help which he renders to the saints of God in the last war and struggle, but that he stands by them in all wars against the world-power and its princes, and helps them to victory.

But the salvation which the people of God shall experience in the time of the unparalleled great oppression is essentially different from the help which was imparted to the people of Israel in the time of the Maccabees. This is called "a little help," ch. xi. 34. So also is the oppression of Israel in the time of the Maccabees different from the oppression in the end of the time, as to its object and consequences. The former oppression shall, according to ch. xi. 33–35, serve to purify the people and to make them white to the time of the end; the oppression at the time of the end, on the contrary, according to ch. xii. 1–3, shall effect the salvation (הִמָּלֵט) of the people, *i.e.* prepare the people for the everlasting life, and bring about the separation of the righteous from the wicked for eternity. These clearly stated distinctions confirm the result already reached, that ch. xii. 1–3 do not treat of the time of Antiochus and the Maccabees.

The promised salvation of the people (יִמָּלֵט) is more particularly defined by the addition to עַמֶּךָ: "every one who shall be found written in the book," *sc.* of life (see above, p. 478); thus every one whom God has ordained to life, all the genuine members of the people of God. נִמְלָט, shall be saved, *sc.* out of the tribulation, so that they do not perish therein. But since, according to ch. xi. 33 ff., in the oppression, which passes over the people of God for their purification, many shall lose their lives, and this also shall be

the case in the last and severest oppression, the angel gives to the prophet, in ver. 2, disclosures also regarding the dead, namely, that they shall awaken out of the sleep of death. By the connection of this verse with the preceding by ו, without any further designation of time, the resurrection of the dead is placed as synchronous with the deliverance of the people. "For that the two clauses, 'thy people shall be delivered' (ver. 1), and 'many shall awake,' not only reciprocally complete each other, but also denote contemporaneous facts, we only deny by first denying that the former declares the final salvation of Israel" (Hofm. *Schriftbew.* ii. 2, p. 598). יְשֵׁנִים, *sleeping*, is here used, as in Job iii. 13, Jer. li. 39, of death; cf. *καθεύδειν*, Matt. ix. 24, 1 Thess. v. 10, and *κοιμᾶσθαι*, 1 Thess. iv. 14. אַדְמַת־עָפָר, occurring only here, formed after Gen. iii. 19, means not *the dust of the earth*, but *dusty earth, terra pulveris*, denoting the grave, as עָפָר, Ps. xxii. 30.

It appears surprising that רַבִּים, *many*, shall awake, since according to the sequel, where the rising of some to life and of some to shame is spoken of, much rather the word *all* might have been expected. This difficulty is not removed by the remark that *many* stands for *all*, because רַבִּים does not mean *all*. Concerning the opinion that *many* stands for *all*, Hofmann remarks, that the expression "sleeping in the dust of earth" is not connected with the word *many* (רַבִּים), but with the verb "shall awake" (יָקִיצוּ): "of them there shall be many, of whom those who sleep in the earth shall arise" (Hofm.). So also C. B. Michaelis interprets the words by reference to the Masoretic accentuation, which has separated רַבִּים from מְיֻשְׁנֵי (*sleeping*), only that he takes מִן in the sense of stating the *terminus mutationis a quo*. But by this very artificial interpretation nothing at all is gained; for the thought still remains the same, that of those who sleep in the dust *many* (not *all*) awake. The partitive interpretation of מִן is the only simple and natural one, and therefore with most interpreters we prefer it. The רַבִּים can only be rightly interpreted from the context. The angel has it not in view to give a general statement regarding the resurrection of the dead, but only disclosures on this point, that the final salvation of the people shall not be limited to those still living at the end of the great tribulation, but shall include also those who have lost their lives during the period of the tribulation.

In ch. xi. 33, 35, the angel had already said, that of "those that understand" many shall fall by the sword and by flame, etc. When the tribulation at the time of the end increases to an un-

paralleled extent (ch. xii. 1), a yet greater number shall perish, so that when salvation comes, only a remnant of the people shall be then in life. To this surviving remnant of the people salvation is promised; but the promise is limited yet further by the addition: "every one that is found written in the book;" not all that are then living, but only those whose names are recorded in the book of life shall be partakers of the deliverance, *i.e.* of the Messianic salvation. But many (רַבִּים) of those that sleep, who died in the time of tribulation, shall awake out of sleep, some to everlasting life, and some to everlasting shame. As with the living, so also with the dead, not all attain to salvation. Also among those that arise there shall be a distinction, in which the reward of the faithful and of the unfaithful shall be made known. The word "many" is accordingly used only with reference to the small number of those who shall then be living, and not with reference either to the universality of the resurrection of the dead or to a portion only of the dead, but merely to add to the multitude of the dead, who shall then have part with the living, the small number of those who shall experience in the flesh the conclusion of the matter.

If we consider this course of thought, then we shall find it necessary neither to obtrude upon רַבִּים the meaning of *all*,—a meaning which it has not and cannot have, for the universality of the resurrection is removed by the particle מִן, which makes it impossible that רַבִּים = הָרַבִּים, *οἱ πολλοί* = *πάντες* (cf. Rom. v. 15 with ver. 12),—nor shall we need to adopt the conclusion that here a partial resurrection is taught, in contradiction to the doctrine of the N. T., and particularly of Christ, who has quoted this passage in John v. 24, using for the רַבִּים the word *πάντες*; for this conclusion can only be drawn from the misapprehension of the course of thought here presented, that this verse contains a general statement of the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, an idea which is foreign to the connection.

From the correct interpretation of the course of thought arises the correct answer to the controverted question, whether here we are taught concerning the resurrection of the people of Israel, or concerning the resurrection of mankind generally. Neither the one nor the other of these things is *taught* here. The prophetic words treat of the people of Daniel, by which we are to understand the people of Israel. But the Israel of the time of the end consists not merely of Jews or of Jewish Christians, but embraces all peoples who belong to God's kingdom of the New Covenant

founded by Christ. In this respect the resurrection of all is here *implicite* intimated, and Christ has explicitly set forth the thoughts lying *implicite* in this verse; for in John v. 28 f. He teaches the awakening from sleep of all the dead, and speaks, with unmistakeable reference to this passage before us, of an *ἀνάστασις ζωῆς* and an *ἀνάστασις κρίσεως*. For in the O. T. our verse is the only passage in which, along with the resurrection to everlasting life, there is mention also made of the resurrection to everlasting shame, or the resurrection of the righteous and of the wicked. The conception of חַיֵּי עוֹלָם, *ζωὴ αἰώνιος*, meets us here for the first time in the O. T. חַיִּים denotes, it is true, frequently the true life with God, the blessed life in communion with God, which exists after this life; but the addition עוֹלָם does not generally occur, and is here introduced to denote, as corresponding to the eternal duration of the Messianic kingdom (ch. ii. 44, vii. 14, 27, cf. ch. ix. 24), the life of the righteous in this kingdom as imperishable. לַחֲרָפוֹת לִדְרָאוֹן עוֹלָם forms the contrast to לְחַיֵּי עוֹלָם; for first חֲרָפוֹת, *shame* (a plur. of intensive fulness), is placed over against the חַיֵּי, then this shame is designated in reference to Isa. lxvi. 24 as דִּרָאוֹן, *contempt*, an object of aversion.

Ver. 3. Then shall they who in the times of tribulation have led many to the knowledge of salvation receive the glorious reward of their faithfulness. With this thought the angel closes the announcement of the future. הַמַּשְׂכִּילִים refers back to ch. xi. 33–35, and is here, as there, not limited to the teachers, but denotes the intelligent who, by instructing their contemporaries by means of word and deed, have awakened them to stedfastness and fidelity to their confession in the times of tribulation and have strengthened their faith, and some of whom have in war sealed their testimony with their blood. These shall shine in eternal life with heavenly splendour. The splendour of the vault of heaven (cf. Ex. xxiv. 10) is a figure of the glory which Christ designates as a light like the sun (" The righteous shall shine forth as the sun," Matt. xiii. 43, referring to the passage before us). Cf. for this figure also Rev. ii. 28 and 1 Cor. xv. 40 ff. By the expression מַצְדִּיקֵי הָרַבִּים Kranichfeld would understand such as take away the sins of the people in the offering up of sacrifice, *i.e.* the priests who attend to the offering of the sacrifices, because the expression is borrowed from Isa. liii. 11, " where it is predicated of the Messianic priest *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, in the fullest sense of the word, what is said here of the common priests." But this interpretation is not satisfactory.

In Isa. liii. 11 the Servant of Jehovah justifies many, not by the sacrifice, but by His righteousness, by this, that He, as צַדִּיק who has done no sin, takes upon Himself the sins of the people and, gives His soul an offering for sin. הַצַּדִּיק is neither in the law of sacrifices nor anywhere in the O. T. named as the effect of the sacrifice, but always only שְׂאֵת עָוֹן (נָשָׂא) (*to take up, take away iniquity*) and כִּפֶּר, and in the expiatory sacrifices with the constant addition וְנִסְלַח לוֹ; cf. Lev. iv. 26, 31, 35, v. 10, 16, Ps. xxxii. 1 ff.

Nor is the practice of offering sacrifice anywhere described as a הַצְדִּיק. This word signifies to assist in obtaining, or to lead to, righteousness, and is here to be read in this general interpretation, and not to be identified with the Pauline δικαιοῦσθαι. The מַצְדִּיקִים are those who by their צְדָקָה, *i.e.* by their fidelity to the law, led others to צְדָקָה, showed them by their example and teaching the way to righteousness.

The salvation of the people, which the end shall bring in, consists accordingly in the consummation of the people of God by the resurrection of the dead and the judgment dividing the pious from the godless, according to which the pious shall be raised to eternal life, and the godless shall be given up to everlasting shame and contempt. But the leaders of the people who, amid the wars and conflicts of this life, have turned many to righteousness, shall shine in the imperishable glory of heaven.

Chap. xii. 4–13. *The Close of the Revelation of God and of the Book.*

As the revelation in ch. viii. closes with the direction, "Wherefore shut thou up the vision" (ver 26), so this before us closes with the command (ver. 4), "But thou Daniel shut up these words;" and as in the former case הֶחָזוֹן denotes the vision interpreted to him by the angel, so here הַדְּבָרִים can only be the announcements of the angel, ch. xi. 2–xii. 3, along with the preceding appearance, ch. x. 2–xi. 1, thus only the revelation designated as דָּבָר, ch. x. 1. Accordingly, also, סְתֹם is obviously to be interpreted in the meaning illustrated and defended under ch. viii. 26, *to shut up* in the sense of guarding; and thus also חֲתֹם, to seal (see p. 319). Thus all the objections against this command are set aside which Hitzig has derived from the sealing, which he understands of the sealing up of the book, so that he may thereby cast doubt on the genuineness of the book.

It is disputed whether הַסֵּפֶר is only the last revelation, ch. x.–xii. (Hävernick, v. Leng., Maurer, Kran.), or the whole book (Bertholdt, Hitzig, Auberlen, Kliefoth). That סֵפֶר might designate a short connected portion, a single prophecy, is placed beyond a doubt by Nah. i. 1, Jer. li. 63. The parallelism of the members of the passage also appears to favour the opinion that הַסֵּפֶר stands in the same meaning as הַדְּבָרִים. But this appearance amounts to a valid argument only under the supposition that the last revelation stands unconnected with the revelations going before. But since this is not the case, much rather the revelation of these chapters is not only in point of time the last which Daniel received, but also forms the essential conclusion of all earlier revelations, then the expression used of the sealing of this last revelation refers plainly to the sealing of the whole book. This supposition is unopposed. That the writing down of the prophecy is not commanded to Daniel, cannot be objected against. As this is here and in ch. viii. 26 presupposed as a matter of course, for the receiving of a revelation without committing it to writing is not practicable, so we may without hesitation suppose that Daniel wrote down all the earlier visions and revelations as soon as he received them, so that with the writing down of the last of them the whole book was completed. For these reasons we understand by הַסֵּפֶר the whole book. For, as Kliefoth rightly remarks, the angel will close, ver. 4, the last revelation, and along with it the whole prophetical work of Daniel, and dismiss him from his prophetical office, as he afterwards, ver. 13, does, after he has given him, vers. 5–12, disclosures regarding the periods of these wonderful things that were announced. He must seal the book, *i.e.* guard it securely from disfigurement, "till the time of the end," because its contents stretch out to the time of the end. Cf. ch. viii. 26, where the reason for the sealing is stated in the words, "for yet it shall be for many days." Instead of such a statement as that, the time of the end is here briefly named as the *terminus*, down to which the revelation reaches, in harmony with the contents of ch. xi. 40–xii. 3, which comprehend the events of the time of the end.

The two clauses of ver. 4*b* are differently explained. The interpretation of J. D. Michaelis, "Many shall indeed go astray, but on the other side also the knowledge shall be great," is verbally just as untenable as that of Hävernick, "Many shall wander about, *i.e.* in the consciousness of their misery, strive after salvation, knowledge." For שׁוּט signifies neither to go astray (*errare*) nor

to wander about, but only to go to and fro, to pass through a land, in order to seek out or search, to go about spying (Zech. iv. 10, of the eyes of God; Ezek. xxvii. 8 and 26, to row). From these renderings there arises for this passage before us the meaning, to search through, to examine, a book; not merely to "read industriously" (Hitzig, Ewald), but thoroughly to search into it (Gesenius). The words do not supply the reason for the command to seal, but they state the object of the sealing, and are not (with many interpreters) to be referred merely to the time of the end, that then for the first time many shall search therein and find great knowledge. This limiting of their import is connected with the inaccurate interpretation of the sealing as a figure either of the incomprehensibility of the prophecy or of the secrecy of the writing, and is set aside with the correct interpretation of this figure. If Daniel, therefore, must only place the prophecy securely that it may continue to the time of the end, the sealing thus does not exclude the use of it in transcriptions, then there exists no reason for thinking that the searching into it will take place only for the first time in the end. The words וְיִשְׁטְטוּ רַבִּים וגו׳ are not connected with the preceding by any particle or definition of time, whereby they should be limited to עֵת קֵץ. To this is to be added, that this revelation, according to the express explanation of the angel (ch. x. 14), refers to all that shall be experienced by the people of Daniel from the time of Cyrus to the time of the end. If, then, it must remain sealed or not understood till the time of the end, it must have lain unused and useless for centuries, while it was given for the very purpose of reflecting light on the ways of God for the pious in all times, and of imparting consolation amid their tribulations to those who continued stedfast in their fidelity. In order to serve these purposes it must be accessible at all times, so that they might be able to search into it, to judge events by it and to strengthen their faith. Kliefoth therefore is right in his thus interpreting the whole passage: "Daniel must place in security the prophecies he has received until the time of the end, so that through all times many men may be able to read them and gain understanding (better: obtain knowledge) from them." הַדַּעַת is the knowledge of the ways of the Lord with His people, which confirms them in their fidelity towards God.

Vers. 5–7. With ver. 4 the revelation might have concluded, as that in ch. viii. ends with the direction to shut up the vision. But then a disclosure regarding the times of the events pro-

phesied of, which Daniel might have expected according to the analogy of the visions in ch. viii. and ix., would have been wanting. This disclosure is given to him in vers. 5–12, and that in a very solemn, impressive way. The appearance which hitherto he has seen is changed. He sees two other angels standing on the banks of the river, the one on this side and the other on that side. וְהִנֵּה . . . וָאֶרְאֶה (*then I looked, and lo*) does not, it is true, indicate a new vision so much as a new scene in the vision, which still continued. The words שְׁנַיִם אֲחֵרִים, *two others*, *sc.* heavenly beings or angels (without the article), show that they now for the first time became visible, and were different from the one who was hitherto seen by him and had spoken with him. Therefore the supposition that the one of these two angels was Gabriel, who had communicated to him the revelation, fails, even if, which is according to our exposition, p. 412, not the case, the speaker in ch. xi. and xii. were this angel.

Ver. 6. Besides these two now first seen by Daniel, he who was "clothed in linen" is named as standing above the waters of the river; but when we take into view the whole scene, he is by no means to be regarded as now for the first time coming into view. The use of the article (לָאִישׁ), and the clothing that characterized him, point him out as the person spoken of in ch. x. 5 f. Hence our view developed in p. 414 is confirmed, viz. that previously the man clothed in linen was visible to Daniel alone, and announced to him the future. He also in the sequel alone speaks with Daniel. One of the other two makes inquiry regarding the end of the wonderful things, so as to give occasion to him (as in ch. viii. 13 and 14) to furnish an answer. With this the question presses itself upon us, For what purpose do the two angels appear, since only one of them speaks—the other neither does anything nor speaks? Leaving out of view the opinion of Jerome, Grotius, Stäudlin, and Ewald, that the two angels were the guardian spirits of Persia and Greece, and other conceits, such *e.g.* as that they represent the law and the prophets (after a gloss in the *Cod. Chis.*), which Geier has rejected as *figmenta hominum textus auctoritate destituta*, we confine ourselves to a consideration of the views of Hitzig and Kliefoth.

Hitzig thinks that the two angels appear as witnesses of the oath, and that for that reason there are two; cf. Deut. xix. 15 with xxxi. 28. But these passages do not prove that for the ratification of an oath witnesses are necessary. The testimony of two

or three witnesses was necessary only for the attestation of an accusation laid before a judge. Add to this also that in ch. viii. 13 f. two angels appear along with him whose voice came from the Ulai (ch. viii. 16), without any oath being there given. It is true that there the two angels speak, but only the utterance of one of them is communicated. Hence the conjecture is natural, that here also both of the angels spake, the one calling to the other the question that was addressed to the Angel of the Lord hovering over the water, as Theodot. and Ephrem Syrus appear to have thought, and as Klief. regards as probable. In any case the appearance of the angels on the two banks of the river stands in actual connection with the hovering of the man clothed in linen above the waters of this river, in which the circumstance merits consideration that the river, according to ch. x. 4 the Tigris, is here called יְאֹר, as besides the Nile only is called in the O. T. The hovering above the stream can represent only the power or dominion over it. But Kliefoth is inclined to regard the river as an emblem of time flowing on to eternity; but there is no support in Scripture for such a representation. Besides, by this the appellation יְאֹר is not taken into consideration, by which, without doubt, the river over which the Angel of the Lord hovers is designated as a Nile; *i.e.* it is indicated that as the Angel of the Lord once smote the waters of the Nile to ransom his people out of Egypt, so in the future shall he calm and suppress the waves of the river which in Daniel's time represented the might of the world-kingdom.[1] The river Hiddekel (Tigris) was thus a figure of the Persian world-power, through whose territory it flowed (cf. for this prophetic type, Isa. viii. 6, 7, Ps. cxxiv. 3, 4), and the designation of the river as יְאֹר, *Nile*, contains an allusion to the deliverance of Israel from the power of Egypt, which in its essence shall be repeated in the future. Two other angels stand as servants by the side of the Angel of the Lord, the ruler over the Hiddekel, prepared to execute his will. Thus interpreted, all the features of the vision gain an interpretation corresponding with the contents of the prophecy.

But the significance of the whole scene, which presents itself to

[1] C. B. Michaelis has similarly interpreted the standing (or hovering) over the waters of the river as *symbolum potestatis atque dominii supremi, quo non solum terram continentem et aridam, sed etiam aquas pedibus quasi suis subjectas habet, et ea quæ aquarum instar tumultuantur, videlicet gentes, adversus ecclesiam Dei insurgentes atque frementes, compescere et coercere potest.* Only he has not in this regard to the name יְאֹר.

the prophet after he received the announcement, at the same time shows that the vers. 5–12 form no mere supplementary communication, which is given to Daniel before he is wholly dismissed from his prophetical office, regarding the question that lay upon his heart as to the duration of the severe tribulation that was announced, but that this disclosure constitutes an integral part of the foregoing revelation, and is placed at the end of the angel's message only because a change of scene was necessary for the giving prominence to the import of this disclosure.

Thus, to give the prophet the firm certainty that the oppression of his people spoken of, on the part of the ungodly world-rulers, when it has gained its end, viz. the purification of the people, shall bring about, along with the destruction of the enemy of the last time, the salvation of those who are truly the people of God in their advancement to eternal life in glory, the Angel of the Lord standing above the waters of the river presents himself to view as the guide and ruler of the affairs of the nations, and announces with a solemn oath the duration and the end of the time of tribulation. This announcement is introduced by the question of the angel standing by the river: "Till when the end, *i.e.* how long continues the end, of these wonderful things?" not: "When shall the end of these things be?" (Kran.) הַפְּלָאוֹת are, according to the context, the extraordinary things which the prophecy had declared, particularly the unheard-of oppressions described in ch. xi. 30 ff.; cf. with פְּלָאוֹת the synonym נִפְלָאוֹת, ch. xi. 36 and viii. 24. But the question is not: "How long shall all these פְּלָאוֹת themselves continue?" but: "How long shall קֵץ הַפְּלָאוֹת, the end of these wonderful things, continue?" The end of these things is the time of the end prophesied of from ch. xi. 40 to xii. 3, with all that shall happen in it. To this the man clothed with linen answers with a solemn oath for the confirmation of his statement. The lifting up of his hands to heaven indicates the solemnity of the oath. Commonly he who swears lifts up only one hand; cf. Deut. xxxii. 40, Ezek. xx. 5, and the remark under Ex. vi. 8; but here with greater solemnity both hands are lifted up, and he swears בְּחֵי הָעוֹלָם, by Him that liveth for ever. This predicate of God, which we have already heard from the mouth of Nebuchadnezzar, ch. iv. 31; here points back to Deut. xxxii. 40, where God swears, "I lift up my hand to heaven, and say, I live for ever," and is quoted from this verse before us in Rev. x. 6, and there further expanded. This solemn form of swearing shows that the question

and answer must refer not to the duration of the period of the persecution under Antiochus, but to that under the last enemy, the Antichrist. The definition of time given in the answer leads us also to this conclusion: a time, two times, and half a time; which accurately agrees with the period of time named in ch. vii. 25 as that of the duration of the actions of the enemy of God who would arise out of the fourth world-kingdom. The כִּי serves, as ὅτι frequently, only for the introducing of the statement or the answer. לְ before מוֹעֵד does not signify *till* (= עַד, ch. vii. 25), but *to* or *upon*, *at*. In both of the clauses of the answer, "space of time and point of time, duration and final end, are connected, and this relation is indicated by an interchange of the prepos. לְ and בְּ" (Hitzig). In לְמוֹעֵד וגו׳ (*for a time*, etc.) is given the space of time on or over which the קֵץ פְּלָאוֹת (*the end of these wonders*) stretches itself, and in the following clause, וּכְכַלּוֹת וגו׳ (*and when he shall have accomplished*, etc.), the point of time in which the wonderful things reach their end. Thus the two expressions of the oath are related to one another.

In the second clause יַד נְפֹץ are differently expounded. Ancient and very wide-spread is the exposition of נְפֹץ by *to scatter*. Theodotion has translated the words thus: *ἐν τῷ συντελεσθῆναι διασκορπισμόν*; and Jerome (Vulg.): *cum completa fuerit dispersio manus populi sancti*. Hävernick, v. Lengerke, Gesenius, de Wette, Hitzig: when at the end the dispersion of a portion of the holy people, which Häv., v. Leng., and others understand of the dispersion of Israel into the different countries of the world, which dispersion shall be brought to an end, according to the prophetic view, at the time of the Messianic final victory; Joel iii. 5 ff. (ii. 32 ff.); Amos ix. 11 ff. Hitzig, however, refers this to the circumstance that Simon and Judas Maccabæus brought back their people to Judea who were living scattered among the heathen in Galilee and Gilead (1 Macc. v. 23, 45, 53, 54). But against such an interpretation of the word נְפֹץ, Hofmann (*Weiss. u. Erf.* i. p. 314) has with justice replied, that the reference to the reunion of Israel, which is nowhere else presented in Daniel, would enter very unexpectedly into this connection, besides that נְפֹץ does not agree with its object יָד, though we should translate this by "might," or altogether improperly by "part." יָד has not the meaning "part," which is attributed to it only on the ground of an incorrect interpretation of certain passages. נְפֹץ signifies *to beat to pieces, to shatter*; cf. Ps. ii. 9, cxxxvii. 9, and in the *Pu.* Isa. xxvii. 9. This

is the primary meaning of the word, from which is attempted to be derived the meaning, to burst asunder, to scatter. This primary meaning of the word, however, Hengstenberg, Maurer, Auberlen, Kranichfeld, Kliefoth, and Ewald have rightly maintained in this place. Only we may not, with them, translate בַּלּוֹת by: to have an end, for then the answer would be tautological, since the breaking to pieces of the might of the people is identical with their scattering, but it has the meaning *to make perfect, to accomplish*, so that nothing more remains to be done. יָד, *hand*, is the emblem of active power; the shattering of the hand is thus the complete destruction of power to work, the placing in a helpless and powerless condition, such as Moses has described in the words כִּי אָזְלַת יָד (*for the hand is gone*), Deut. xxxii. 36, and announced that when this state of things shall arise, then "the Lord shall judge His people, and repent Himself for His servants." With this harmonizes the conclusion of the oath: then all these things shall be finished, or shall complete themselves. כָּל־אֵלֶּה (*all these things*) are the הַפְּלָאוֹת, ver. 6. To these "wonderful things" belong not merely the crushing of the holy people in the tribulation such as never was before, but also their deliverance by the coming of the angel-prince Michael, the resurrection of the dead, and the eternal separation of the righteous from the wicked (ch. xii. 1–3). This last designation of the period of time goes thus, beyond a doubt, to the end of all things, or to the consummation of the kingdom of God by the resurrection of the dead and the final judgment. With this also agrees the expression עַם קְדֹשׁ, which is not to be limited to the converted Jews. The circumstance that in Daniel's time the Israel according to the flesh constituted the "holy people," does not necessitate our understanding *this* people when the people of God are spoken of in the time of the end, since then the faithful from among all nations shall be the holy people of God.

But by the majority of modern interpreters the designation of time, three and a half times, is referred to the duration of the oppression of the Jews under Antiochus Epiphanes; whence Bleek, v. Lengerke, Maurer, Hitzig, Ewald, and others conclude that the Maccabean pseudo-Daniel placed together as synchronous the death of Antiochus and the beginning of the Messianic salvation. Hävernick finds in the answer two different designations of time, but has said nothing as to the relation they bear to each other; Hofmann (*Weiss. u. Erf.* i. p. 314) finds an obscurity in this, that the end of all things is simply placed in connection with the end of the

oppressor Antiochus (see under ver. 1, p. 475). But, thus Kliefoth rightly asks, on the contrary, "How is it only possible that the catastrophe of Antiochus, belonging to the middle of the times, and the time of the end lying in the distant future, are so comprehended in one clause in an answer to a question regarding a point of time? How was it possible that to the question, How long continues the end of the wonders? it could be answered: For three and a half years shall Antiochus carry on his work; and when it comes to an end in the breaking of the people, then all shall come to an end? Thus the last only would be an answer to the question, and the first an addition not appertaining to it. Or how were it possible that for the expression, 'all shall be ended,' two characteristics were given, one of which belonged to the time of Antiochus and the other to the time of the end?" And, we must further ask, are we necessitated by the statement to make such an unnatural supposition? Certainly not. The two clauses do not give two different definitions of time, *i.e.* refer to different periods of time, but only two definitions of one period of time, the first of which describes its course according to a symbolical measure of time, the second its termination according to an actual characteristic. None of these definitions of time has any reference to the oppression of the holy people by Antiochus, but the one as well as the other refers to the tribulation of the time of the end. The measure of time: time, times, and half a time, does not indeed correspond to the duration of the dominion of the little horn proceeding from the Javanic world-kingdom (spoken of in ch. viii.) = 2300 evening-mornings (ch. viii. 14), but literally (for מוֹעֵד corresponds with the Chald. עִדָּן) agrees with that in ch. vii. 25, for the dominion of the hostile king, the Antichrist, rising out of the ten kingdoms of the fourth or last world-kingdom. כִּבְלוֹת נִפֶּץ יָד also refers to this enemy; for of him it is said, ch. vii. 21, 25, that he shall prevail against and destroy the saints of the Most High (יִבְלֶא, ver. 25).

The reference of both the statements in the oath to the history of the end, or the time of Antichrist, has therefore been recognised by Auberlen and Zündel, although the latter understands also, with Hofmann, ch. xi. 36–45 of the oppression of Israel by Antiochus. To the question, how long the end of the terrible things prophesied of in ch. xi. 40–xii. 1 shall continue, the Angel of the Lord hovering over the waters answered with a solemn oath: Three and a half times, which, according to the prophecy of ch. vii. 25 and ix. 26, 27,

are given for the fullest unfolding of the power of the last enemy of God till his destruction; and when in this time of unparalleled oppression the natural strength of the holy people shall be completely broken to pieces, then shall these terrible things have reached their end. Regarding the definition of time, cf. the exposition under ch. vii. 25, p. 241 f.

Ver. 8. Daniel heard this answer, but he understood it not. To שָׁמַעְתִּי, as to לֹא אָבִין, the object is wanting, because it can easily be supplied from the connection, namely, the meaning of the answer of the man clothed in linen. Grotius has incorrectly supplied *quid futurum esset* from the following question, in which he has also incorrectly rendered אַחֲרִית אֵלֶּה by *post illius triennii et temporis semestris spatium*. Hävernick has also defined the object too narrowly, for he has referred the non-understanding merely to the mysterious number (a time, two times, etc.). It was, besides, not merely the double designation of time in ver. 7 which first at the hour of his receiving it, but while it was yet unintelligible to the hearer, compelled Daniel, as Hitzig thinks, to put the further question. The whole answer in ver. 7 is obscure. It gives no measure for the "times," and thus no intelligible disclosure for the prophet regarding the *duration* of the end, and in the definition, that at the time of the deepest humiliation of the people the end shall come, leaves wholly undefined *when* this shall actually take place.[1] Hence his desire for a more particular disclosure.

The question, "what the end of these?" is very differently interpreted. Following the example of Grotius, Kliefoth takes אַחֲרִית in the sense of that which follows something which is either clearly seen from the connection or is expressly stated, and explains אַחֲרִית אֵלֶּה of that which follows or comes after this. But אֵלֶּה is not, with most interpreters, to be taken as identical with כָּל־אֵלֶּה of ver. 7; for since "this latter phrase includes all the things prophesied of down to the consummation, then would this question refer to what must come after the absolute consummation of all things, which would be meaningless." Besides, the answer, vers. 11 and 12, which relates to the things of Antiochus, would not harmonize

[1] As to this latter circumstance L'Empereur remarks: *Licet Daniel ex antecedentibus certo tempus finiendarum gravissimarum calamitatum cognoverit, tamen illum latuit, quo temporis articulo calamitas inceptura esset: quod ignorantiam quandam in tota prophetia peperit, cum a priori termino posterioris exacta scientia dependeret. Initium quidem variis circumstantiis definitum fuerat: sed quando circumstantiæ futuræ essent, antequam evenirent, ignorabatur.*

with such a question. Much more are we, with Auberlen (p. 75 f.), to understand אֵלֶּה of the present things and circumstances, things then in progress at the time of Daniel and the going forth of the prophecy. In support of this interpretation Auberlen adds, "The angel with heavenly eye sees into the far distant end of all; the prophet, with human sympathies, regards the more immediate future of his people." But however correct the remark, that אֵלֶּה is not identical with כָּל־אֵלֶּה, *this* not identical with *all this*, there is no warrant for the conclusion drawn from it, that אֵלֶּה designates the present things and circumstances existing under Antiochus at the time of Daniel. אֵלֶּה must, by virtue of the connection in vers. 7 and 8, be understood of the same things and circumstances, and a distinction between the two is established only by כֹּל. If we consider this distinction, then the question, What is the last of these things? contains not the meaningless thought, that yet something must follow after the absolute consummation, but the altogether reasonable thought, Which shall be the last of the פְּלָאוֹת prophesied of? Thus Daniel could ask in the hope of receiving an answer from which he might learn the end of all these פְּלָאוֹת more distinctly than from the answer given by the angel in ver. 7. But as this reference of אֵלֶּה to the present things and circumstances is excluded by the connection, so also is the signification attributed to אַחֲרִית, of that which follows something, verbally inadmissible; see under ch. viii. 19 (p. 312).

Most other interpreters have taken אַחֲרִית as synonymous with קֵץ, which Hävernick seeks to establish by a reference to ch. viii. 19 and 23, and Deut. xi. 12. But none of these passages establishes this identity. קֵץ is always thus distinguished from אַחֲרִית, that it denotes a matter after its conclusion, while אַחֲרִית denotes the last or the uttermost of the matter. A distinction which, it is true, may in many cases become irrelevant. For if this distinction is not noticed here, we would be under the necessity, in order to maintain that the two questions in vers. 6 and 8 are not altogether identical, of giving to מָה the meaning *qualis* (Maurer), of what nature (Hofmann, v. Lengerke, and others); a meaning which it has not, and which does not accord with the literal idea of אַחֲרִית. "Not *how?* but *what?* is the question; מָה is not the predicate, but the subject, the thing inquired about." Thus Hitzig, who is altogether correct in thus stating the question: "What, *i.e.* which event is the uttermost, the last of the פְּלָאוֹת, which stands before the end?"

Ver. 9. The answer, לֵךְ דָּנִיֵּאל, *go thy way, Daniel*, is quieting, and

at the same time it contains a refusal to answer; yet it is not wholly a refusal, as is clear from vers. 11 and 12. The disclosure regarding the end which is given to him in these verses shows distinctly that the end of the things is not so revealed as that men shall be able to know it beforehand with certainty.[1] לֵךְ signifies neither go hence, *i.e.* depart, die (Bertholdt, Hävernick), nor go away, instead of standing waiting for an answer (Hitzig), for the angel does give him an answer; but as the *formula dimittentis ut excitantis ad animi tranquillitatem* (C. B. Michaelis), it has the meaning: *vade Daniel, h. e. mitte hanc præsentem tuam curam.* "Be at peace, leave this matter alone" (Geier and others, and similarly v. Lengerke, Kranichfeld, Kliefoth). The clause assigning the reason for the command לֵךְ, כִּי סְתֻמִים וגו׳ (*for the words are shut up*, etc.), is chiefly interpreted as referring the closing and sealing up to the incomprehensibility of the prophecy. Thus *e.g.* Ewald explains it: "For hidden and sealed up are the words, all the things contained in these prophecies, till the time of the end; then shall they be easily unsealed and deciphered." But since, according to ver. 4, Daniel himself must shut up and seal the book, the participles in the clause, assigning the reason for the command לֵךְ, cannot have the meaning of the perfect, but only state what is or shall be done: shut up—they shall be (remain) till the time of the end; thus they only denote the shutting up and sealing which must be accomplished by Daniel. But Daniel could not make the prophecy unintelligible, since (ver. 8) he himself did not understand it; nor could he seal it up till the time of the end, since he did not live to see the end. The shutting up and sealing which was commanded to the prophet can therefore only consist in this, that the book should be preserved in security against any defacement of its contents, so that it might be capable of being read at all times down to the time of the end, and might be used by God's people for the strengthening of their faith; cf. ch. viii. 26. "Thus Daniel is calmed in regard to his not understanding it by the fact that this whole prophecy (הַדְּבָרִים as in ver. 4) shall be guarded and placed

[1] On this Calvin has well remarked: *Quamvis Daniel non stulta curiositate inductus quæsierit ex angelo de fine mirabilium, tamen non obtinet, quod petebat, quia scilicet voluit Deus ad modum aliquem intelligi quæ prædixerat, sed tamen aliquid manere occultum usque dum veniret maturum plenæ revelationis tempus. Hæc igitur ratio est, cur angelus non exaudiat Danielem. Pium quidem erat ejus votum (neque enim optat quicquam scire plus quam jus esset), verum Deus scit quod opus sit, ideo non concessit quod optabat.*

in safety, and shall continue through all times down to the end" (Kliefoth). For the use of it in all times is supposed in ver. 10.

Ver. 10. The first clause of this verse is interpreted from ch. xi. 35. The being purified is effected through tribulation and affliction, which the people shall endure to the end. The prophecy shall serve for the gaining of this object. It is true, indeed, that this perfection shall not be attained by all; they that are ungodly shall remain ungodly still, and therefore they do not come to the understanding of the words which all the wise shall gain. יָבִינוּ and לֹא יָבִינוּ stand in such distinct relation to the לֹא אָבִין (*I understood not*), ver. 8, that they must be taken in the same sense in both places, *i.e.* not to have insight in general, but by supplying הַדְּבָרִים as the object from ver. 8, *to have understanding of the prophecy*. This is denied of the wicked or the godless. Only the wise shall gain it. Thus the angel says to Daniel for the purpose of calming him regarding his non-understanding:—Calm thyself, Daniel, if thou dost not understand these words. The prophecy shall be preserved for all times to the end of the days. These times shall bring many tribulations, to purify thy people; and though by these afflictions all shall not be converted, but the wicked shall remain wicked still and shall not understand the prophecy, yet the wise shall be purified and made white by the afflictions, and the longer they are tried the better shall they learn to understand the prophecy. Thus, though thou thyself understandest it not, yet it shall be a source of great blessing to the people of God, and in all times, even unto the end, they shall have more and more an understanding of it.

Thus has Kliefoth rightly presented the meaning of both verses, and in confirmation of this interpretation has referred to 1 Pet. i. 10, 12, where, with reference to the passage before us (cf. Hengstenberg, *Beitrag.* i. p. 273 f.), it is said that the prophets received the prophecies of the end not for themselves alone, but much rather for "*us*," for those who come after.

Vers. 11, 12. The angel gives to the prophet yet one revelation more regarding the duration of the time of tribulation and its end, which should help him to understand the earlier answer. The words, "from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination of the desolation," so distinctly point back to ch. xi. 31, that they must here be referred, as there, to the wickedness of Antiochus in his desecrating the sanctuary of the Lord. The circumstance that the שִׁקּוּץ (*abomination*) is here de-

scribed as שֹׁמֵם and in ch. xi. 31 as מְשֹׁמֵם, indicates no material distinction. In ch. xi. 31, where the subject spoken of is the proceedings of the enemy of God causing desolation, the abomination is viewed as מְשֹׁמֵם, *bringing desolation;* here, with reference to the end of those proceedings, as שֹׁמֵם, *brought to desolation;* cf. under ch. ix. 27 (p. 372). All interpreters therefore have found in these two verses statements regarding the duration of the persecutions carried on by Antiochus Epiphanes, and have sought to compare them with the period of 2300 evening-mornings mentioned in ch. viii. 14, in order thus to reckon the duration of the time during which this enemy of God shall prosecute his wicked designs.

But as the opinions regarding the reckoning of the 2300 evening-mornings in ch. viii. 14 are very diverse from each other (see p. 303 ff.), so also are they here. First the interpretation of וְלָתֵת (*and set up*) is disputed. Wieseler is decidedly wrong in thinking that it designates the *terminus ad quem* to מֵעֵת הוּסַר (*from the time shall be removed*), as is generally acknowledged. Hitzig thinks that with וְלָתֵת the foregoing infin. הוּסַר is continued, as Eccles. ix. 1, Jer. xvii. 10, xix. 12, and therewith a second *terminus a quo* supposed. This, however, is only admissible if this second *terminus* stands in union with the first, and a second *terminus ad quem* also stands over against it as the parallel to the later *terminus ad quem.* Both here denote: the daily sacrifice shall be taken away forty-five days before the setting up of the *βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως*, and by so much the date in ver. 12 comes below that of ver. 11. According to this, both verses are to be understood thus: from the time of the taking away of the daily sacrifice are 1290 days, and from the time of the setting up of the abomination of desolation are 1335 days. But this interpretation is utterly destitute of support. In the first place, Hitzig has laid its foundation, that the setting up of the idol-abomination is separated from the cessation of the worship of Jehovah by forty-five days, only by a process of reasoning in a circle. In the second place, the אַשְׁרֵי הַמְחַכֶּה (*blessed is he that waiteth*), ver. 12, decidedly opposes the combining of the 1335 days with the setting up of the idol-abomination; and further, the grammatical interpretation of וְלָתֵת is not justified. The passages quoted in its favour are all of a different character; there a clause with definite time always goes before, on which the infinitive clause depends. Kranichfeld seeks therefore to take הוּסַר also not as an infinitive, but as a relative asyndetical connec-

tion of the *præter. proph.* to עֵת, by which, however, no better result is gained. For with the relative interpretation of הוּסַר: the time, since it is taken away . . . וְלָתֵת cannot so connect itself that this infinitive yet depends on עֵת. The clause beginning with וְלָתֵת cannot be otherwise interpreted than as a final clause dependent on מֵעֵת הוּסַר וגו׳; thus here and in ch. ii. 16, as in the passages quoted by Hitzig, in the sense: to set (to set up) the abomination, so that the placing of the abomination of desolation is viewed as the object of the taking away of the תָּמִיד (*daily sacrifice*). From this grammatically correct interpretation of the two clauses it does not, however, follow that the setting up of the idol-abomination first followed later than the removal of the daily sacrifice, so that וְלָתֵת signified "to set up afterwards," as Kliefoth seeks to interpret it for the purpose of facilitating the reckoning of the 1290 days. Both can be done at the same time, the one immediately after the other.

A *terminus ad quem* is not named in both of the definitions. This appears from the words "blessed is he that waiteth . . ." By this it is said that after the 1335 days the time of tribulation shall be past. Since all interpreters rightly understand that the 1290 and the 1335 days have the same *terminus a quo*, and thus that the 1290 days are comprehended in the 1335, the latter period extending beyond the former by only forty-five days; then the oppression cannot properly last longer than 1290 days, if he who reaches to the 1335 days is to be regarded as blessed.

With regard to the reckoning of these two periods of time, we have already shown (p. 302) that neither the one nor the other accords with the 2300 evening-mornings, and that there is no ground for reckoning those 2300 evening-mornings for the sake of these verses before us as 1150 days. Moreover, we have there already shown how the diversity of the two statements is explained from this, that in ch. viii. 14 a different *terminus a quo* is named from that in ch. xii. 11 f.; and besides have remarked, that according to 1 Macc. i. 54, 59, cf. with iv. 52, the cessation of the Mosaic order of worship by sacrifice lasted for a period of only three years and ten days. Now if these three years and ten days are reckoned according to the sun-year at 365 days, or according to the moon-year at 354 days with the addition of an intercalary month, they amount to 1105 or 1102 days. The majority of modern interpreters identify, it is true, the 1290 days with the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times (=years), and these two statements agree so far, since $3\frac{1}{2}$ years

make either 1279 or 1285 days: But the identifying of the two is not justified. In ver. 11 the subject plainly is the taking away of the worship of Jehovah and the setting up of the worship of idols in its stead, for which the Maccabean times furnish an historical fulfilment; in ver. 7, however, the angel speaks of a tribulation which extends so far that the strength of the holy people is altogether broken, which cannot be said of the oppression of Israel by Antiochus, since a stop was put to the conduct of this enemy by the courageous revolt of the Maccabees, and the power of valiant men put an end to the abomination of the desolation of the sanctuary. The oppression mentioned in ver. 7 corresponds not only in fact, but also with respect to its duration, with the tribulation which the hostile king of the time of the end, who shall arise from the fourth world-kingdom, shall bring upon the holy people, since, as already remarked, the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times literally correspond with ch. vii. 25. But vers. 11 and 12 treat of a different, namely, an earlier, period of oppression than ver. 7, so the 1290 and the 1335 days are not reckoned after the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times (ver. 11 and ch. vii. 35); and for the Maccabean period of tribulation there remain only the 2300 evening-mornings (ch. viii. 14) for comparison, if we count the evening-mornings, contrary to the usage of the words (see p. 302), as half-days, and so reduce them to 1150 days. But if herewith we take into consideration the historical evidence of the duration of the oppression under Antiochus, the 1290 days would agree with it only if we either fix the taking away of the legal worship from 185 to 188 days, *i.e.* six months and five or eight days, before the setting up of the idol-altar on Jehovah's altar of burnt-offering, or, if these two *facta* occurred simultaneously, extend the *terminus ad quem* by six months and five or eight days beyond the day of the re-consecration of the altar. For both suppositions historical evidence is wanting. The former is perhaps probable from 1 Macc. iv. 45, cf. with ver. 54; but, on the contrary, for the second, history furnishes no epoch-making event of such significance as that the cessation of the oppression could be defined by it.

The majority of modern interpreters, in the reckoning of the 1290 and the 1335 days, proceed from ch. viii. 14, and with them Kliefoth holds, firstly, that the 2300 evening-mornings are 1150 days, the termination of which constitutes the epoch of the re-consecration of the temple, on the 25th of the month Kisleu of the year 148 of the Seleucidan æra (*i.e.* 164 B.C.); and secondly, he supposes that the *terminus a quo* of the 2300 evening-mornings (ch.

viii. 14) and of the 1290 or 1335 days is the same, namely, the taking of Jerusalem by Apollonius (1 Macc. i. 29 ff.), and the setting aside of the תָּמִיד which followed immediately after it was taken, about 140 days earlier than the setting up of the idol-altar As the *terminus ad quem* of the 2300 evening-mornings the re-consecration of the temple is taken, with which the power of Antiochus over Israel was broken, and the beginning of the restoration made. No *terminus ad quem* is named in this passage before us, but perhaps it lies in the greater number of the days, as well as in this, that this passage speaks regarding the entire setting aside of the power of Antiochus—an evidence and a clear argument for this, that in ch. xii. 11 and 12 a further *terminus ad quem*, reaching beyond the purification of the temple, is to be supposed. This *terminus* is the death of Antiochus. "It is true," Kliefoth further argues, "we cannot establish it to a day and an hour, that between the putting away of the daily sacrifice and the death of Antiochus 1290 days intervened, since of both *facta* we do not know the date of the day. But this we know from the book of the Maccabees, that the consecration of the temple took place on the 25th day of the month Kisleu in the 148th year of the Seleucidan æra, and that Antiochus died in the 149th year; and if we now add the 140 days, the excess of 2300 above 1290 after the consecration of the temple, we certainly come into the year 149. The circumstance also, that in the whole connection of this chapter the tendency is constantly toward the end of Antiochus, the Antichrist, induces us to place the death of that persecutor as the *terminus ad quem* of the 1290 days. Consequently we shall not err if, with Bleek, Kirmss, Hitzig, Delitzsch, Hofmann, Auberlen, Zündel, we suppose, that as the purifying of the temple is the end of the 2300 evening-mornings, so the death of Antiochus is the end of the 1290 days. The end of the 1335 days, ver. 12, must then be an event which lies forty-five days beyond the death of Antiochus, and which certainly attests the termination of the persecution under Antiochus and the commencement of better days, and which at least bears clear evidence of the introduction of a better time, and of a settled and secure state of things. We are not able to adduce proof of such a definite event which took place exactly forty-five days after the death of Antiochus, simply because we do not know the date of the death of Antiochus. The circumstances, however, of the times after the death of Antiochus furnish the possibility of such an event. The successor of Antiochus Epiphanes, An-

tiochus Eupator, certainly wrote to the Jews, after they had vanquished his host under Lysias, asking from them a peace; but the alienation between them continued nevertheless, and did not absolutely end till the victory over Nicanor, 2 Macc. xi.–xv. Hence there was opportunity enough for an event of the kind spoken of, though we may not be able, from the scantiness and the chronological uncertainty of the records of these times, to prove it positively." Hereupon Kliefoth enters upon the conjectures advanced by Hitzig regarding the unknown joyful event, and finds that nothing important can be brought forward in opposition to this especially, that the termination of the 1335 days may be the point of time when the tidings of the death of Antiochus, who died in Babylonia, reached the Jews in Palestine, and occasioned their rejoicing, since it might easily require forty-five days to carry the tidings of that event to Jerusalem; and finally he throws out the question, whether on the whole the more extended period of 1335 days must have its termination in a single definite event, whether by the extension of the 1290 days by forty-five days the meaning may not be, that whoever lives beyond this period of 1290 days, *i.e.* the death of Antiochus, in patience and in fidelity to the truth, is to be esteemed blessed. "The forty-five days were then only added to express the living beyond that time, and the form of this expression was chosen for the purpose of continuing that contained in ver. 11."

We cannot, however, concur in this view, because not only is its principal position without foundation, but also its contents are irreconcilable with historical facts. To change the 2300 evening-mornings into 1150 days cannot be exegetically justified, because according to the Hebrew mode of computation evening and morning do not constitute a half but a whole day. But if the 2300 evening-mornings are to be reckoned as so many days, then neither their *terminus a quo* nor their *terminus ad quem* stands in a definite relation to the 1290 days, from which a conclusion may be drawn regarding the *terminus ad quem* of the latter. Then the death of Antiochus Epiphanes does not furnish a turning-point for the commencement of a better time. According to 1 Macc. vi. 18–54, the war against the Jews was carried on by his successor Eupator more violently than before. And on the news that Philippus, returning from Persia, sought to deprive him of the government, Lysias advised the king to make peace with the Jews, and to promise to them that they would be permitted to live accord-

ing to their own laws. On this the Jews opened the citadel of Zion; but the king, after he had entered into it, violated his oath, and ordered its walls to be demolished. It was not till two years after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes that Judas gained a decisive victory over Nicanor, which was celebrated by the Jews by a joyful festival, which they resolved to keep every year in memory of that victory (1 Macc. vii. 26–50). In these circumstances it is wholly impossible to suppose an event forty-five days after the death of Antiochus which could clearly be regarded as the beginning of a better time, and of a settled and secure state of things, or to regard the reception in Palestine of the news of the death of Antiochus as an event so joyful, that they were to be esteemed as blessed who should live to hear the tidings.

After all, we must oppose the opinion that the 1290 and the 1335 days are to be regarded as historical and to be reckoned chronologically, and we are decidedly of opinion that these numbers are to be interpreted symbolically, notwithstanding that days as a measure of time are named. This much seems to be certain, that the 1290 days denote in general the period of Israel's sorest affliction on the part of Antiochus Epiphanes by the taking away of the Mosaic ordinance of worship and the setting up of the worship of idols, but without giving a statement of the duration of this oppression which can be chronologically reckoned. By the naming of "days" instead of "times" the idea of an immeasurable duration of the tribulation is set aside, and the time of it is limited to a period of moderate duration which is exactly measured out by God. But this is more strictly represented by the second definition, by which it is increased by 45 days: 1335 days, with the expiry of which the oppression shall so wholly cease, that every one shall be blessed who lives till these days come. For 45 days have the same relation to 1290 that $1\frac{1}{2}$ have to 43, and thus designate a proportionally very brief time. But as to this relation, the two numbers themselves show nothing. If we reduce them to the measure of time usual for the definition of longer periods, the 1290 days amount to 43 months, or 3 years and 7 months, and the 1335 days to $44\frac{1}{2}$ months, or 3 years and $8\frac{1}{2}$ months, since generally, and still more in symbolical definitions of time, the year is wont to be reckoned at 12 months, and the months at 30 days. Each of the two periods of time thus amounts to a little more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ years; the first exceeds by 1 month and the second by $2\frac{1}{2}$ months, only a little more than the half of 7 years,—a period occurring

several times in the O. T. as the period of divine judgments (see p. 306). By the reduction of the days to years and parts of a year the two expressions are placed in a distinct relation to the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times, which already appears natural by the connection of the two questions in vers. 6 and 8. On the one hand, by the circumstance that the 1290 days amount to somewhat more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, the idea that "times" stands for years is set aside; but on the other hand, by the use of "days" as a measure of time, the obscurity of the idea: time, times, and half a time, is lessened, and Daniel's inquiry as to the end of the terrible things is answered in a way which might help him to the understanding of the first answer, which was to him wholly unintelligible.

Such an answer contains the two definitions of time under the supposition that the hostile undertakings of Antiochus against Judaism, in their progress and their issue, form a type of the persecution of the last enemy Antichrist against the church of the Lord, or that the taking away of the daily sacrifice and the setting up of the idol-abomination by Antiochus Epiphanes shows in a figure how the Antichrist at the time of the end shall take away the worship of the true God, renounce the God of his fathers, and make war his god, and thereby bring affliction upon the church of God, of which the oppression which Antiochus brought upon the theocracy furnished a historical pattern. But this typical relation of the two periods of oppression is clearly set forth in ch. xi. 21–xii. 3, since in the conduct and proceedings of the hostile king two stadia are distinguished, which so correspond to each other in all essential points that the first, ch. xi. 21–35, is related to the second, ch. xi. 36–xii. 3, as the beginning and the first attempt is related to the complete accomplishment. This also appears in the wars of this king against the king of the south (ch. xi. 25–29, cf. with ch. xi. 40–43), and in the consequences which this war had for his relation to the people of God. On his return from the first victorious war against the south, he lifted up his heart against the holy covenant (ch. xi. 28), and being irritated by the failure of the renewed war against the south and against the holy covenant, he desolated the sanctuary (vers. 30 and 31); finally, in the war at the time of the end, when Egypt and the lands fell wholly under his power, and when, alarmed by tidings from the east and the north, he thought to destroy many, he erected his palace-tent in the Holy Land, so that he might here aim a destructive blow

against all his enemies—in this last assault he came to his end (ch. xi. 40–45).

Yet more distinctly the typical relation shows itself in the description of the undertakings of the enemy of God against the holy covenant, and their consequences for the members of the covenant nation. In this respect the first stadium of his enmity against the God of Israel culminates in the taking away of His worship, and in the setting up of the abomination of desolation, *i.e.* the worship of idols, in the sanctuary of the Lord. Against this abomination the wise of the people of God raise themselves up, and they bring by their rising up "a little help," and accomplish a purification of the people (ch. xi. 31–35). In the second stadium, *i.e.* at the time of the end, the hostile king raises himself against the God of gods, and above every god (ch. xi. 37), and brings upon the people of God an oppression such as has never been from the beginning of the world till now; but this oppression ends, by virtue of the help of the archangel Michael, with the deliverance of the people of God and the consummation by the resurrection of the dead, of some to everlasting life, and of some to everlasting shame (ch. xii. 1–3).

If thus the angel of the Lord, after he said to Daniel that he might rest as to the non-understanding of his communication regarding the end of the wonderful things (ver. 7), because the prophecy shall at the time of the end give to the wise knowledge for the purifying of many through the tribulation, so answers the question of Daniel as to the אַחֲרִית אֵלֶּה that he defines in symbolically significant numbers the duration of the sufferings from the removal of the worship of Jehovah to the commencement of better times, with which all oppression shall cease, then he gave therewith a measure of time, according to which all those who have understanding, who have lived through this time of oppression, or who have learned regarding it from history, may be able to measure the duration of the last tribulation and its end so far beforehand, as, according to the fatherly and wise counsel of God, it is permitted to us to know the times of the end and of our consummation. For, from the comparison of this passage with that in ch. viii. 14 regarding the duration of the crushing under feet of the holy people by the enemy rising from the Javanic world-kingdom, it is clear that as the 2300 evening-mornings do not contain a complete heptad of years, so the 1290 days contain only a little more than half a heptad. In this lies the

comfort, that the severest time of oppression shall not endure much longer than half the time of the whole period of oppression. And if we compare with this the testimony of history regarding the persecution of the Old Covenant people under Antiochus, in consequence of which God permitted the suppression of His worship, and the substitution of idol-worship in its stead, for not fully $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, but only for 3 years and 10 days, then we are able to gather the assurance that He shall also shorten, for the sake of His elect, the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times of the last tribulation. We should rest here, that His grace is sufficient for us (2 Cor. xii. 9). For as God revealed to the prophets, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto us, the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow, that they might search and inquire what and what manner of time the Spirit of Christ who was in them did signify; so in the times of the accomplishment, we who are living are not exempted from searching and inquiring, but are led by the prophetic word to consider the signs of the times in the light of this word, and from that which is already fulfilled, as well as from the nature and manner of the fulfilment, to confirm our faith, for the endurance amid the tribulations which prophecy has made known to us, that God, according to His eternal gracious counsel, has measured them according to their beginning, middle, and end, that thereby we shall be purified and guarded for the eternal life.

Ver. 13. After these disclosures regarding the time of the end, the angel of the Lord dismisses the highly-favoured prophet from his life's work with the comforting assurance that he shall stand in his own lot in the end of the days. לֵךְ לְקֵץ evidently does not mean "go to the end, *i.e.* go thy way" (Hitzig), nor "go hence in relation to the end," as Kranichfeld translates it, because לְקֵץ with the article points back to עֵת קֵץ, ver. 9. For though this reference were placed beyond a doubt, yet לְקֵץ could only declare the end of the going: go to the end, and the meaning could then with Ewald only be: "but go thou into the grave till the end." But it is more simple, with Theodoret and most interpreters, to understand לְקֵץ of the end of Daniel's life: go to the end of thy life (cf. for the constr. of הָלַךְ with לְ, 1 Sam. xxiii. 18). With this וְתָנוּחַ simply connects itself: and thou shalt rest, namely, in the grave, and rise again. תַּעֲמֹד = תָּקוּם, *to rise up*, *sc.* from the rest of the grave, thus to rise again. לְגֹרָלְךָ, *in thy lot*. גּוֹרָל, *lot*, of the inheritance divided to the Israelites by lot, referred to the inheritance of the saints in light (Col. i. 12), which shall be possessed by the

righteous after the resurrection from the dead, in the heavenly Jerusalem. לְקֵץ הַיָּמִים, *to = at, the end of the days, i.e.* not = אַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים, in the Messianic time, but in the last days, when, after the judgment of the world, the kingdom of glory shall appear.

Well shall it be for us if in the end of our days we too are able to depart hence with such consolation of hope!

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